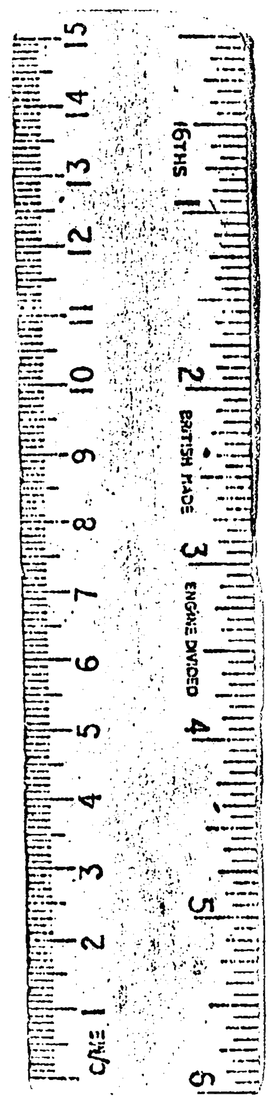

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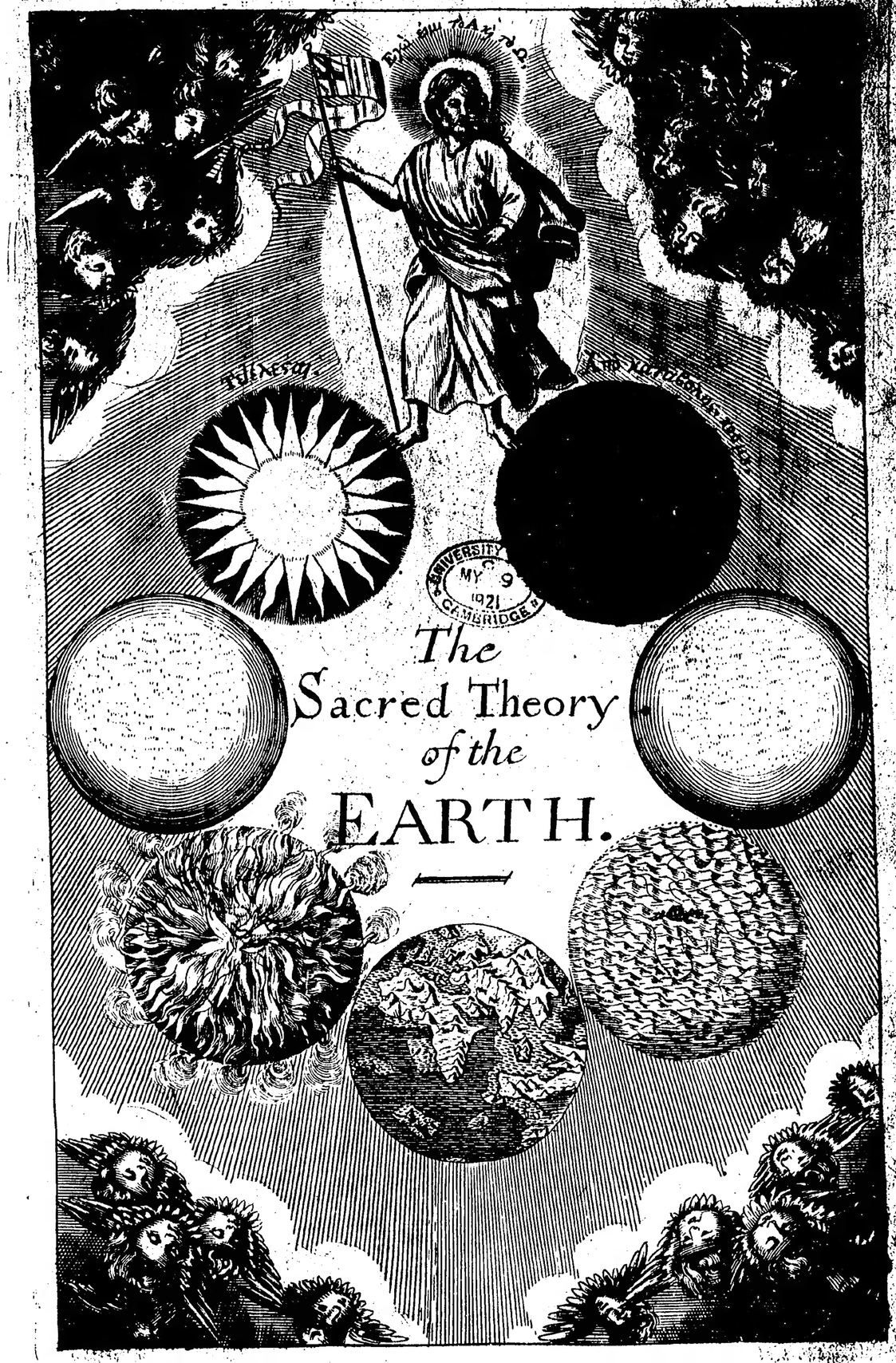

The Sacred Theory of the EARTH.

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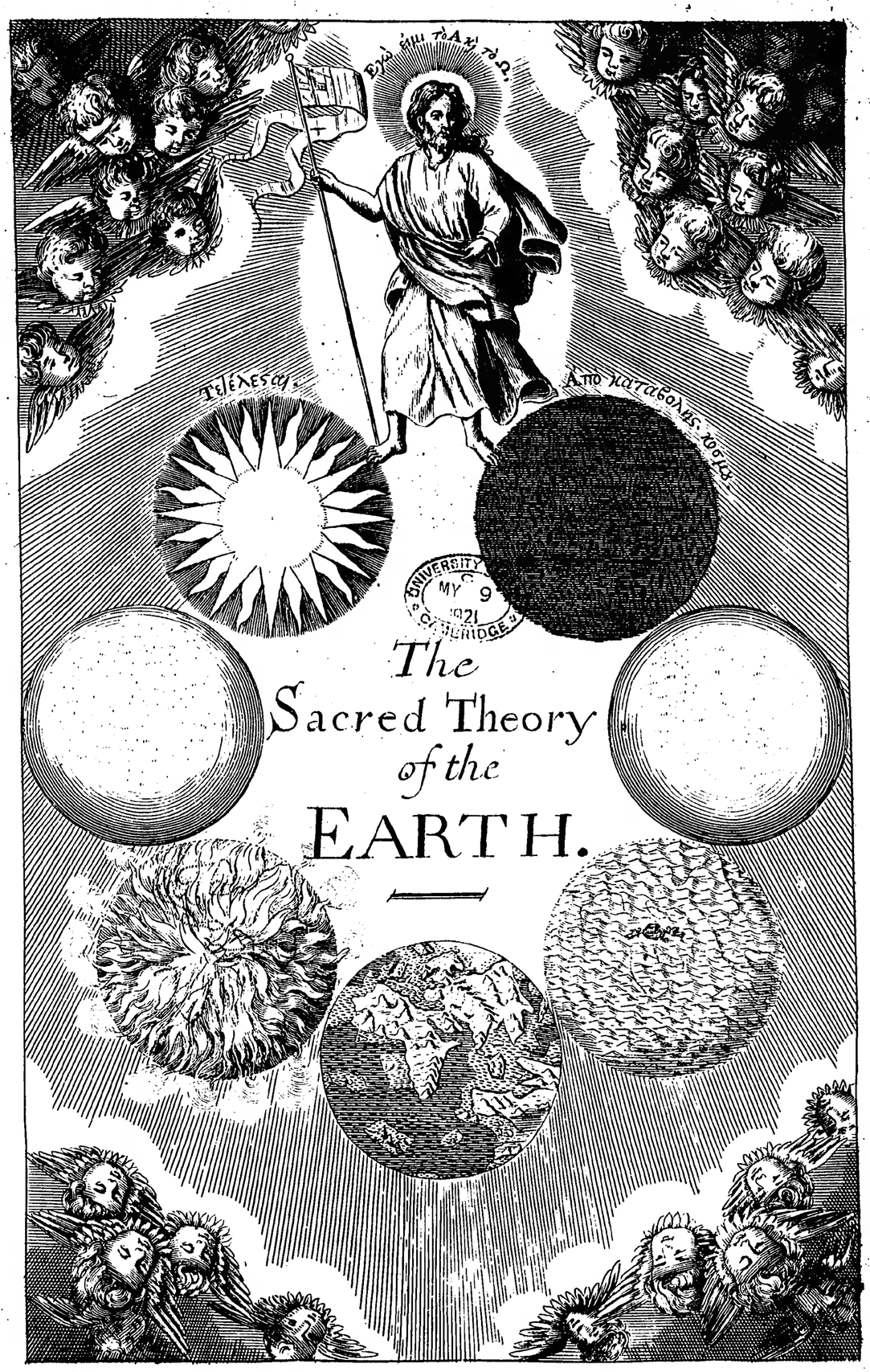

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The Sacred Theory of the EARTH.

Fff. 52.

THE

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OF THE
EARTH:

Containing an Account
OF THE
Original of the Earth,
AND OF ALL THE
GENERAL CHANGES
Which it hath already undergone,
OR
IS TO UNDERGO
Till the CONSUMMATION of all Things.

THE TWO FIRST BOOKS
Concerning The DELUGE,
AND
Concerning PARADISE.

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The Third Edition review'd by the Author.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-Head in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1697.

FH. 52.

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TO THE

KINGS

MOST

Excellent Majesty.

SIR,

NEW-found Lands and Countreys accrew to the Prince, whose Subject makes the first Discovery; And having retriev'd a World that had been lost, for some thousands of Years, out of the Memory of Man, and the Records of Time, I thought it my Duty to lay it at Your Majesty's Feet. 'Twill not enlarge Your Dominions, 'tis past and gone; nor dare I say it will enlarge Your Thoughts; But I hope it may gratifie Your Princely curiosity to read the Description of it, and see the Fate that attended it.

We have still the broken Materials of that first World, and walk upon its Ruines; while it stood, there was the Seat of Paradise, *and the Scenes of the* Golden Age; *when it fell, it made the Deluge; And this unshapen Earth we now inhabit, is the Form it was found in when the Waters had retir'd,*

and

and the dry Land appear'd. These things, Sir, I propoſe and preſume to prove in the following Treatiſe, which I willingly ſubmit to Your Majeſty's Judgment and Cenſure: being very well ſatisfied, that if I had ſought a Patron in all the Liſt of Kings, Your Contemporaries: Or in the Roll of Your Nobles of either Order: I could not have found a more competent Judge in a Speculatitn of this Nature. Your Majeſty's Sagacity, and happy Genius for Natural Hiſtory, for Obſervations and Remarks upon the Earth, the Heavens, and the Sea, is a better preparation for Inquiries of this kind, than all the dead Learning of the Schools.

Sir, This Theory in the full extent of it, is to reach to the laſt Period of the Earth, and the End of all things; But this firſt Volume takes in only ſo much as is already paſt, from the Origin of the Earth, to this preſent time and ſtate of Nature. To deſcribe in like manner the Changes and Revolutions of Nature that are to come, and ſee thorough all ſucceeding Ages, will require a ſteddy and attentive Eye, and a retreat from the noiſe of the World; Eſpecially ſo to connect the parts, and preſent them all under one view, that we may ſee, as in a Mirrour, the ſeveral faces of Nature, from Firſt to Laſt, throughout all the Circle of Succeſſions.

Your Majeſty having been pleas'd to give encouragement to this Tranſlation, I humbly preſent it to Your Gracious Acceptance. And 'tis our Intereſt, as well as Duty, in Diſquiſitions of this Nature, to Addreſs our ſelves to Your Majeſty, as the Defender

der of our Philoſophick Liberties; *againſt thoſe that would uſurp upon the Fundamental privilege and Birth-right of Mankind,* The Free uſe of Reaſon. *Your Majeſty hath always appear'd the Royal Patron of Learning and the Sciences: and 'tis ſuitable to the Greatneſs of a Princely Spirit, to favour and promote whatſoever tends to the enlargement of Humane Knowledge, and the improvement of Humane Nature. To be Good and Gracious, and a Lover of Knowledge, are, methinks, two of the moſt amiable things in this World; And that Your Majeſty may always bear that Character, in preſent and future Ages, and after a long and proſperous Reign, enjoy a bleſſed Immortality, is the conſtant Prayer of*

Your MAJESTY'S

Moſt Humble and moſt

Obedient Subject,

THOMAS BURNET.

PREFACE

PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

HAVING given an account of this whole Work in the first Chapter, and of the method of either Book, whereof this Volume consists, in their proper places, there remains not much to be said here to the Reader. This Theory of the Earth may be call'd *Sacred*, because it is not the common Physiology of the Earth, or of the Bodies that compose it, but respects only the great Turns of Fate, and the Revolutions of our Natural World: such as are taken notice of in the Sacred Writings, and are truly the Hinges upon which the Providence of this Earth moves; or whereby it opens and shuts the several successive Scenes whereof it is made up. This *English* Edition is the same in substance with the *Latin*, though, I confess, 'tis not so properly a Translation, as a new Composition upon the same ground, there being several additional Chapters in it, and several new-moulded.

As every Science requires a peculiar Genius, so likewise there is a Genius peculiarly improper for every one; and as to Philosophy, which is the Contemplation of the works of Nature, and the Providence that governs them, there is no temper or Genius, in my mind, so improper for it, as that which we call a *mean* and *narrow Spirit*; and which the *Greeks* call *Littleness of Soul*. This is a defect in the first make of some Mens minds, which can scarce ever be corrected afterwards, either by Learning or Age. And as Souls that are made little and incapacious cannot enlarge their thoughts to take in any great compass of Times

or

or things; ſo what is beyond their compaſs, or above their reach, they are apt to look upon as Fantaſtical, or at leaſt would willingly have it paſs for ſuch in the World. Now as there is nothing ſo great, ſo large, ſo immenſe, as the works of Nature, and the methods of Providence, men of this complexion muſt needs be very unfit for the contemplation of them. Who would ſet a purblind Man at the top of the Maſt to diſcover Land? or upon an high Tower to draw a Landskip of the Country round about? for the ſame reaſon, ſhort-ſighted minds are unfit to make Philoſophers, whoſe proper buſineſs it is to diſcover and deſcribe in comprehenſive Theories the *Phænomena* of the World, and the Cauſes of them.

This original diſeaſe of the Mind is ſeldom cur'd by Learning, which cures many others; Like a fault in the firſt *Stamina* of the Body, it cannot eaſily be rectified afterwards. 'Tis a great miſtake to think that every ſort of Learning makes a Man a competent Judge of Natural Speculations; We ſee unhappy examples to the contrary amongſt the Chriſtian Fathers, and particularly in S. *Auſtin*, who was unqueſtionably a Man of Parts and Learning, but interpoſing in a controverſie where his Talent did not lie, ſhow'd his zeal againſt the *Antipodes* to very ill purpoſe, though he drew his Reaſons partly from Scripture. And if within a few Years, or in the next Generation, it ſhould prove as certain and demonſtrable, that the *Earth is mov'd*, as it is now, that there are *Antipodes*; thoſe that have been zealous againſt it, and ingag'd the Scripture in the Controverſie, would have the ſame reaſon to repent of their forwardneſs, that S. *Auſtin* would have now, if he was alive. 'Tis a dangerous thing to engage the authority of Scripture in diſputes about the Natural World, in oppoſition to Reaſon; leſt Time, which brings all things to light, ſhould diſcover that to be evidently falſe which we had made Scripture to aſſert: And I remember S. *Auſtin* in his Expoſition upon *Geneſis*, hath laid down a rule to this very purpoſe, though he had the unhappineſs, it ſeems, not to follow it always himſelf. The reaſon alſo, which he gives there for his rule,

is

is very good and ſubſtantial: *For*, ſaith He, *if the Unbelievers or Philoſophers ſhall certainly know us to be miſtaken, and to err in thoſe things that concern the Natural World, and ſee that we alledge our* (Sacred) *Books for ſuch vain opinions, how ſhall they believe thoſe ſame Books when they tell them of the* RESURRECTION *of the Dead, and the World to come, if they find them to be fallaciouſly writ in ſuch things as lie within their certain Knowledge?*

Gen. ad lit. lib. 1. c 19. Plerumque accidit ut aliquid de Terrâ, de Cœlo, de cæteris hujus mundi elementis, &c. Cùm enim quenquam Chriſtianorum in cæ re quam optimè nôrunt, errare deprehenderint, & vanam ſententiam ſuam ex noſtris libris aſſerere, quo pacto illis libris creditur ſunt de Reſurrectione Mortuorum, & ſpe vitæ æternæ regnóque cœlorum, quando de his rebus quas jam experiri vel indubitatis numeris percipere potuerunt, fallaciter putaverint eſſe conſcriptos?

We are not to ſuppoſe that any truth concerning the Natural World can be an Enemy to Religion; for Truth cannot be an Enemy to Truth, God is not divided againſt himſelf; and therefore we ought not upon that account to condemn or cenſure what we have not examin'd or cannot diſprove; as thoſe that are of this narrow Spirit we are ſpeaking of, are very apt to do. Let every thing be try'd and examin'd in the firſt place, whether it be *True* or *Falſe*; and if it be found falſe, 'tis then to be conſider'd, whether it be ſuch a falſity as is prejudicial to Religion or no. But for every new Theory that is propos'd, to be alarm'd, as if all Religion was falling about our Ears, is to make the World ſuſpect that we are very ill aſſur'd of the foundation it ſtands upon. Beſides, do not all Men complain, even Theſe as well as others, of the great ignorance of Mankind? how little we know, and how much is ſtill unknown? and can we ever know more, unleſs ſomething new be Diſcover'd? It cannot be old when it comes firſt to light, when firſt invented, and firſt propos'd. If a Prince ſhould complain of the poorneſs of his Exchequer, and the ſcarcity of Money in his Kingdom, would he be angry with his Merchants, if they brought him home a *Cargo* of good Bullion, or a Maſs of Gold out of a foreign Countrey? and give this reaſon only for it, *He* would have no *new Silver*; neither ſhould any be Currant in his Dominions but what had his own Stamp and Image upon it: How ſhould this Prince or his People grow rich? To complain of want, and yet refuſe all offers of a ſupply, looks very ſullen, or very fantaſtical.

I might mention alſo upon this occaſion another Genius and diſpoſition in Men, which often makes them improper for Philoſophical Contemplations; not ſo much, it may be, from the narrowneſs of their Spirit and Underſtanding, as becauſe they will not take time to extend them. I mean Men of Wit and Parts, but of ſhort Thoughts, and little Meditation, and that are apt to diſtruſt every thing for a Fancy or Fiction that is not the dictate of Senſe, or made out immediately to their Senſes. Men of this Humour and Character call ſuch Theories as theſe, Philoſophick Romances, and think themſelves witty in the expreſſion; They allow them to be pretty amuſements of the Mind, but without Truth or Reality. I am afraid if an Angel ſhould write the Theory of the Earth, they would paſs the ſame judgment upon it; Where there is variety of Parts in a due Contexture, with ſomething of ſurprizing aptneſs in the harmony and correſpondency of them, this they call a Romance; but ſuch Romances muſt all Theories of Nature, and of Providence be, and muſt have every part of that Character with advantage, if they be well repreſented. There is in them, as I may ſo ſay, a *Plot* or *Myſtery* purſued through the whole Work, and certain Grand Iſſues or Events upon which the reſt depend, or to which they are ſubordinate; but theſe things we do not make or contrive our ſelves, but find and diſcover them, being made already by the Great Author and Governour of the Univerſe: And when they are clearly diſcover'd, well digeſted, and well reaſon'd in every part, there is, methinks, more of beauty in ſuch a Theory, at leaſt a more maſculine beauty, than in any Poem or Romance; And that ſolid truth that is at the bottom, gives a ſatisfaction to the Mind, that it can never have from any Fiction, how artificial ſoever it be.

To enter no farther upon this matter, 'tis enough to obſerve, that when we make Judgments and Cenſures upon general preſumptions and prejudices, they are made rather from the temper and model of our own Spirits, than from Reaſon; and therefore, if we would neither impoſe upon our ſelves, nor others, we muſt lay

lay aſide that lazy and fallacious method of Cenſuring by the Lump, and muſt bring things cloſe to the teſt of *True* or *Falſe*, to explicit proof and evidence; And whoſoever makes ſuch Objections againſt an *Hypotheſis*, hath a right to be heard, let his Temper and Genius be what it will. Neither do we intend that any thing we have ſaid here, ſhould be underſtood in another ſence.

To conclude, This Theory being writ with a ſincere intention to juſtifie the Doctrines of the *Univerſal Deluge*, and of a *Paradiſiacal* ſtate, and protect them from the Cavils of thoſe that are no well-wiſhers to Sacred Hiſtory, upon that account it may reaſonably expect fair uſage and acceptance with all that are well-diſpos'd; And it will alſo be, I think, a great ſatisfaction to them to ſee thoſe pieces of moſt ancient Hiſtory, which have been chiefly preſerv'd in Scripture, confirm'd a-new, and by another Light, that of Nature and Philoſophy; and alſo freed from thoſe miſconceptions or miſrepreſentations which made them ſit uneaſie upon the Spirits even of the beſt Men, that took time to think. Laſtly, In things purely Speculative, as theſe are, and no ingredients of our Faith, it is free to differ from one another in our Opinions and Sentiments; and ſo I remember S. *Auſtin* hath obſerv'd upon this very ſubject of *Paradiſe*; Wherefore as we deſire to give no offence our ſelves, ſo neither ſhall we take any at the difference of Judgment in others; provided this liberty be mutual, and that we all agree to ſtudy *Peace*, *Truth*, and a *good Life*.

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THE THEORY OF THE EARTH.

Book I.

Concerning the Deluge, and the Diſſolution of the Earth.

CHAP. I.

THE INTRODUCTION;

An Account of the whole Work; of the Extent and general Order of it.

SINCE I was firſt inclin'd to the Contemplation of Nature, and took pleaſure to trace out the Cauſes of Effects, and the dependance of one thing upon another in the viſible Creation, I had always, methought, a particular curioſity to look back into the Sources and ORIGINAL of Things; and to view in my Mind, ſo far as I was able, the Beginning and Progreſs of a RISING WORLD.

And after ſome Eſſays of this Nature, and, as I thought, not unſucceſsful, I carried on my enquiries further, to try whether this *Riſing World*, when form' d and finiſh'd, would continue always the ſame; in the ſame form, ſtructure, and conſiſtency; or what changes it would ſucceſſively undergo, by the continued action of the ſame Cauſes that firſt produc'd it; And, laſtly, what would be its final Period and Conſummation. This whole Series and compaſs of things taken together, I call'd a COURSE OF NATURE, or a SYSTEM OF NATURAL PROVIDENCE; and thought there was nothing belonging to the External World more fit or more worthy

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our ſtudy and meditation, nor any thing that would conduce more to diſcover the ways of Divine Providence, and to ſhew us the grounds of all true knowledge concerning Nature. And therefore to clear up the ſeveral parts of this Theory, I was willing to lay aſide a great many other Speculations, and all thoſe dry ſubtleties with which the Schools, and the Books of Philoſophers are uſually fill'd.

But when we ſpeak of a *Riſing World*, and the Contemplation of it, we do not mean this of the *Great Univerſe*; for who can deſcribe the Original of that vaſt Frame? But we ſpeak of the *Sublunary World*, This Earth and its dependencies, which roſe out of a Chaos about ſix thouſand years ago; And ſeeing it hath fall'n to our lot to act upon this Stage, to have our preſent home and reſidence here, its ſeems moſt reaſonable, and the place deſign'd by Providence, where we ſhould firſt imploy our thoughts to underſtand the works of God and Nature. We have accordingly therefore deſign'd in this Work to give an account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the great and General Changes that it hath already undergone, or is hence forwards to undergo, till the Conſummation of all Things. For if from thoſe Principles we have here taken, and that Theory we have begun in theſe Two Firſt Books, we can deduce with ſucceſs and clearneſs the Origin of the Earth, and thoſe States of it that are already paſt; Following the ſame Thred, and by the conduct of the ſame Theory, we will purſue its Fate and Hiſtory through future Ages, and mark all the great Changes and Converſions that attend it *while Day and Night ſhall laſt*; that is, ſo long as it continues an Earth.

By the States of the Earth that are already paſt, we underſtand chiefly *Paradiſe* and the *Deluge*; Names well known and as little known in their Nature. By the Future States we underſtand the *Conflagration*, and what new Order of Nature may follow upon that, till the whole Circle of Time and Providence be compleated. As to the firſt and paſt States of the Earth, we ſhall have little help from the Ancients, or from any of the Philoſophers, for the diſcovery or deſcription of them; We muſt often tread unbeaten paths, and make a way where we do not find one; but it ſhall be always with a Light in our hand, that we may ſee our ſteps, and that thoſe that follow us may not follow us blindly. There is no Sect of Philoſophers that I know of, that ever gave an account of the Univerſal Deluge, or diſcover'd, from the Contemplation of the Earth, that there had been ſuch a thing already in Nature. 'Tis true, they often talk of an alternation of *Deluges* and *Conflagrations* in this Earth, but they ſpeak of them as things to come; at leaſt they give no proof or argument of any that hath already deſtroyed the World. As to *Paradiſe*, it ſeems to be repreſented to us by the *Golden Age*; whereof the Ancients tell many ſtories, ſometimes very luxuriant, and ſometimes very defective: For they did not ſo well underſtand the difference betwixt the New-made Earth and the Preſent, as to ſee what were the juſt grounds of the Golden Age, or

or of Paradiſe: Tho' they had many broken Notions concerning thoſe things, As to the *Conflagration* in particular, This hath always been reckon'd One amongſt the Opinions or Dogmata of the Stoicks, *That the World was to be deſtroy'd by Fire*, and their Books are full of this Notion; but yet they do not tell us the Cauſes of the Conflagration, nor what preparations there are in Nature, or will be, towards that great Change. And we may generally obſerve this of the *Ancients*, that their Learning or Philoſophy conſiſted more in Concluſions, than in Demonſtrations; They had many Truths among them, whereof they did not know themſelves the Premiſſes or the Proofs: Which is an argument to me, that the knowledge they had, was not a thing of their own invention, or which they came to by fair Reaſoning and obſervations upon Nature, but was delivered to them from others by Tradition and Ancient Fame, ſometimes more publick, ſometimes more ſecret: Theſe Concluſions they kept in Mind, and communicated to thoſe of their School, or Sect, or Poſterity, without knowing, for the moſt part, the juſt grounds and reaſons of them.

'Tis the Sacred Writings of Scripture that are the beſt Monuments of Antiquity, and to thoſe we are chiefly beholden for the Hiſtory of the Firſt Ages, whether Natural Hiſtory or Civil. 'Tis true, the Poets, who were the moſt Ancient Writers amongſt the *Greeks*, and ſerv'd them both for Hiſtorians, Divines, and Philoſophers, have deliver'd ſome things concerning the firſt Ages of the World, that have a fair reſemblance of Truth, and ſome affinity with thoſe accounts that are given of the ſame things by Sacred Authors, and theſe may be of uſe in due time and place; but yet, leſt any thing fabulous ſhould be mixt with them, as commonly there is, we will never depend wholly upon their credit, nor aſſert any thing upon the authority of the Ancients which is not firſt prov'd by Natural Reaſon, or warranted by Scripture.

It ſeems to me very reaſonable to believe, that beſides the Precepts of Religion, which are the principal ſubject and deſign of the Books of Holy Scripture, there may be providentially conſerv'd in them the memory of things and times ſo remote, as could not be retriev'd, either by Hiſtory, or by the light of Nature; and yet were of great importance to be known, both for their own excellency, and alſo to rectifie the knowledge of men in other things conſequential to them: Such points may be, *Our great Epocha* or the Age of the Earth, The Origination of Mankind, The Firſt and Paradiſiacal State, The deſtruction of the Old World by an Univerſal Deluge, The Longevity of its Inhabitants, The manner of their preſervation, and of their Peopling the Second Earth; and laſtly, The Fate and Changes it is to undergo. Theſe I always lookt upon as the Seeds of great knowledge, or heads of Theories fixt on purpoſe to give us aim and direction how to purſue the reſt that depend upon them. But theſe heads, you ſee, are of a mixt order, and we propoſe to our ſelves in this Work only ſuch as belong to the Natural World; upon which I believe the trains of Providence are generally laid; And we muſt firſt conſider how God hath order'd Nature, and then how the Oeconomy of

the Intellectual World is adapted to it; for of these two parts consist the full System of Providence. In the mean time, what subject can be more worthy the thoughts of any serious person, than to view and consider the Rise and Fall, and all the Revolutions, not of a Monarchy or an Empire, of the *Grecian* or *Roman* State, but of an intire World.

The obscurity of these things, and their remoteness from common knowledge will be made an argument by some, why we should not undertake them; And by others, it may be, the very same thing will be made an argument why we should; for my part I think *There is nothing so secret that shall not be brought to Light*, within the compass of *Our World*; for we are not to understand that of the whole Universe, nor of all Eternity, our capacities do not extend so far; But whatsoever concerns this Sublunary World in the whole extent of its duration, from the Chaos to the last period, this I believe Providence hath made us capable to understand, and will in its due time make it known. All *I* say, betwixt the first Chaos and the last Completion of Time and all things temporary, This was given to the disquisitions of men; On either hand is Eternity, before the World and after, which is without our reach: But that little spot of ground that lies betwixt those two great Oceans, this we are to cultivate, this we are Masters of, herein we are to exercise our thoughts, to understand and lay open the Treasures of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness hid in this part of Nature and of Providence.

As for the difficulty or obscurity of an argument, that does but add to the pleasure of contesting with it, when there are hopes of victory; and success does more than recompence all the pains. For there is no sort of joy more grateful to the mind of Man, than that which ariseth from the invention of Truth; especially when 'tis hard to come by. Every Man hath a delight suited to his Genius, and as there is pleasure in the right exercise of any faculty, so especially in that of Right-reasoning; which is still the greater, by how much the consequences are more clear, and the chains of them more long: There is no Chase so pleasant, methinks, as to drive a Thought, by good conduct, from one end of the World to the other; and never to lose sight of it till it fall into Eternity, where all things are lost as to our knowledge.

This Theory being chiefly Philosophical, Reason is to be our first Guide; and where that falls short, or any other just occasion offers it self, we may receive further light and confirmation from the Sacred Writings. Both these are to be lookt upon as of Divine Original, God is the Author of both; He that made the Scripture made also our Faculties, and 'twere a reflection upon the Divine Veracity, for the one or the other to be false when rightly us'd. We must therefore be careful and tender of opposing these to one another, because that is, in effect, to oppose God to himself. As for Antiquity and the Testimonies of the Ancients, we only make general reflections upon them, for Illustration rather than proof of what we propose; not thinking it proper for an English Treatise to multiply citations out of Greek or Latin Authors.

I am very sensible it will be much our interest, That the Reader of this Theory should be of an ingenuous and unprejudic'd Temper; neither does it so much require Book-learning and Scholarship, as good natural sence to distinguish *True* and *false*, and to discern what is well prov'd, and what is not. It often happens that Scholastick Education, like a Trade, does so fix a Man in a particular way, that he is not fit to judge of any thing that lies out of that way; and so his Learning becomes a clog to his natural parts, and makes him more indocile, and more incapable of new thoughts and new improvements, than those that have only the Talents of Nature. As Masters of exercise had rather take a Scholar that never learn'd before, than one that hath had a bad Master; so generally one would rather chuse a Reader without art, than one ill-instructed; with Learning, but opinionative and without judgment; yet it is not necessary they should want either, and Learning well plac'd strengthens all the powers of the Mind. To conclude, just reasoning and a generous love of Truth, whether with or without Erudition, is that which makes us most competent Judges what is True; and further than this, in the perusal and examination of This Work, as to the Author as much Candor as you please, but as to the Theory we require nothing but attention and impartiality.

CHAP. II.

A general account of Noah's *Flood; A computation what quantity of Water would be necessary for the making of it; that the common Opinion and Explication of that Flood is not intelligible.*

'TIS now more than Five Thousand Years since our World was made, and though it would be a great pleasure to the Mind, to recollect and view at this distance those first Scenes of Nature: What the face of the Earth was when fresh and new, and how things differ'd from the state we now find them in, the speculation is so remote, that it seems to be hopeless, and beyond the reach of Humane Wit. We are almost the last Posterity of the First Men, and faln into the dying Age of the World; by what footsteds or by what guide, can we trace back our way to those First Ages, and the first order of things? And yet, methinks, it is reasonable to believe, that Divine Providence, which sees at once throughout all the Ages and Orders of the World, should not be willing to keep Mankind finally and fatally ignorant of that part of Nature and of the Universe, which is properly their Task and Province to manage and understand. We are the Inhabi-

Inhabitants of the Earth, the Lords and Maſters of it; and we are endow'd with Reaſon and Underſtanding; doth it not then properly belong to us to examine and unfold the Works of God in this part of the Univerſe, which is faln to our lot, which is our heritage and habitation? And it will be found, it may be, upon a ſtricter Enquiry, that in the preſent form and conſtitution of the Earth, there are certain marks and Indications of its firſt State; with which if we compare thoſe things that are recorded in Sacred Hiſtory, concerning the firſt Chaos, Paradiſe, and an Univerſal Deluge, we may diſcover, by the help of thoſe Lights, what the Earth was in its firſt Original, and what Changes have ſince ſucceded in it.

And though we ſhall give a full account of the Origin of the Earth in this Treatiſe, yet that which we have propos'd particularly for the Title and Subject of it, is to give an account of the primæval PARADISE, and of the Univerſal DELUGE, Thoſe being the two moſt important things that are explain'd by the Theory we propoſe. And I muſt beg leave in treating of theſe two, to change the Order, and treat firſt of the Deluge, and then of Paradiſe: For though the State of Paradiſe doth precede that of the Flood in Sacred Hiſtory, and in the nature of the thing, yet the explication of both will be more ſenſible, and more effectual, if we begin with the Deluge; there being more Obſervations and Effects, and thoſe better known to us, that may be refer'd to this, than to the other; and the Deluge being once truly explain'd, we ſhall from thence know the Form and Quality of the Ante-diluvian Earth. Let us then proceed to the explication of that great and fatal Inundation, whoſe Hiſtory is well known; and according to *Moſes*, the beſt of Hiſtorians, in a few words is this----.

Sixteen Hundred and odd years after the Earth was made, and inhabited, it was over-flow'd, and deſtroy'd in a Deluge of Water. Not a Deluge that was National only, or over-run ſome particular Country or Region, as *Judea* or *Greece*, or any other, but it overſpread the face of the whole Earth, from Pole to Pole, and from Eaſt to Weſt, and that in ſuch exceſs, that the Floods over-reacht the Tops of the higheſt Mountains; the Rains deſcending after an unuſual manner, and the fountains of the *Great Deep* being broke open; ſo as a general deſtruction and devaſtation was brought upon the Earth, and all things in it, Mankind and other living Creatures; excepting only *Noah* and his Family, who by a ſpecial Providence of God was preſerv'd in a certain Ark, or Veſſel made like a Ship, and ſuch kinds of living Creatures as he took in to him. After theſe Waters had rag'd for ſome time on the Earth, they began to leſſen and ſhrink, and the great waves and fluctuations of this *Deep* or *Abyſſe*, being quieted by degrees, the Waters retir'd into their Chanels and Caverns within the Earth; and the Mountains and Fields began to appear, and the whole habitable Earth in that form and ſhape wherein we now ſee it. Then the World began again, and from that little Remnant preſerv'd in the Ark, the preſent race of Mankind, and of

of Animals, in the known parts of the Earth, were propagated. Thus periſh'd the Old World, and the preſent aroſe from the ruines and remains of it.

This is a ſhort ſtory of the greateſt thing that ever yet hapned in the World, the greateſt revolution and the greateſt change in Nature; and if we come to reflect ſeriouſly upon it, we ſhall find it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to give an account of the Waters that compos'd this Deluge, whence they came or whither they went. If it had been only the Inundation of a Country, or of a Province, or of the greateſt part of a Continent, ſome proportionable cauſes perhaps might have been found out; but a Deluge overflowing the whole Earth: the whole Circuit and whole Extent of it: burying all in Water, even the greateſt Mountains: in any known parts of the Univerſe, to find Water ſufficient for this Effect, as it is generally explained and underſtood, I think is impoſſible. And that we may the better judge of the whole matter let us firſt compute how much Water would be requiſite for ſuch a Deluge: or to lay the Earth, conſider'd in its preſent form, and the higheſt Mountains, under Water. Then let's conſider whether ſuch a quantity of Water can be had out of all the ſtores that we know in Nature: And from theſe two we will take our Ground and Riſe, and begin to reflect, whether the World hath not been hitherto miſtaken in the common opinion and explication of the general Deluge.

To diſcover how much Water would be requiſite to make this Deluge, we muſt firſt ſuppoſe enough to cover the plain ſurface of the Earth, the Fields and lower Grounds; then we muſt heap up ſo much more upon this, as will reach above the tops of the higheſt Mountains; ſo as drawing a Circle over the tops of the higheſt Mountains quite round the Earth, ſuppoſe from Pole to Pole, and another to meet it round the middle of the Earth, all that ſpace or capacity contain'd within theſe Circles is to be fill'd up with Water. This I confeſs will make a prodigious maſs of Water, and it looks frightfully to the imagination; 'tis huge and great, but 'tis extravagantly ſo, as a great Monſter: It doth not look like the work of God or Nature: However let's compute a little more particularly how much this will amount to, or how many Oceans of Water would be neceſſary to compoſe this great Ocean rowling in the Air, without bounds or banks.

If all the Mountains were par'd off the Earth, and ſo the ſurface of it lay even, or in an equal convexity every where with the ſurface of the Sea, from this ſurface of the Sea, let us ſuppoſe that the height of the Mountains may be a mile and a half; or that we may not ſeem at all to favour our own opinion or calculation, let us take a mile only for the perpendicular height of the Mountains. Let us on the other ſide ſuppoſe the Sea to cover half the Earth, as 'tis generally believ'd to do; and the common depth of it, taking one place with another, to be about a quarter of a mile, or 250 paces. I ſay, taking one place with another, for though the middle Chanel of the great Ocean be far deeper, we may obſerve, that there is commonly a deſcent or declivity

clivity from the ſhore to the middle part of the Chanel, ſo that one comes by degrees into the depth of it; and thoſe ſhory parts are generally but ſome fathoms deep. Beſides, in arms of the Sea, in Straits, and among Iſlands, there is commonly no great depth, and ſome places are plain ſhallows. So as upon a moderate computation, one place compar'd with another, we may take a quarter of a mile, or about an hundred fathoms, for the common meaſure of the depth of the Sea, if we were caſt into a Chanel of an equal depth every where. This being ſuppos'd, there would need four Oceans to lie upon this Ocean, to raiſe it up to the top of the Mountains, or ſo high as the Waters of the Deluge riſe; then four Oceans more to lie upon the Land, that the Water there might ſwell to the ſame height; which together make eight Oceans for the proportion of the Water requir'd in the Deluge.

'Tis true, there would not be altogether ſo much Water requir'd for the Land as for the Sea, to raiſe them to an equal height; becauſe Mountains and Hills would fill up part of that ſpace upon the Land, and ſo make leſs Water requiſite. But to compenſate this, and confirm our computation, we muſt conſider in the firſt place, that we have taken a much leſs height of the Mountains than is requiſite, if we reſpect the Mediterraneous Mountains, or thoſe that are at a great diſtance from the Sea; For their height above the ſurface of the Sea, computing the declivity of the Land all along from the Mountains to the Sea-ſide (and that there is ſuch a declivity is manifeſt from the courſe and deſcent of the Rivers) is far greater than the proportion we have taken: The height of Mountains is uſually taken from the foot of them, or from the next Plain, which if it be far from the Sea, we may reaſonably allow as much for the declenſion of the Land from that place to the Sea, as for the immediate height of the Mountain; So, for inſtance, the Mountains of the Moon in *Africa*, whence the *Nile* flows, and after a long courſe falls into the Mediterranean Sea by *Egypt*, are ſo much higher than the ſurface of that Sea, firſt, as the Aſcent of the Land is from the Sea to the foot of the Mountains, and then as the height of the Mountains is from the bottom to the top: For both theſe are to be computed when you meaſure the height of a Mountain, or of a mountainous Land, in reſpect of the Sea: And the height of Mountains to the Sea being thus computed, there would be need of ſix or eight Oceans to raiſe the Sea alone as high as the higheſt In-land Mountains; And this is more than enough to compenſate the leſs quantity of Water that would be requiſite upon the Land. Beſides, we muſt conſider the Regions of the Air upwards to be more capacious than a Region of the ſame thickneſs in or near the Earth, ſo as if an Ocean pour'd upon the ſurface of the dry Land, ſuppoſing it were all ſmooth, would riſe to the height of half a quarter of a mile every where; the like quantity of Water pour'd again at the height of the Mountains, would not have altogether the ſame effect, or would not there raiſe the maſs half a quarter of a mile higher; for the ſurfaces of a Globe, the

the farther they are from their Center, are the greater; and ſo accordingly the Regions that belong to them. And, laſtly, we muſt conſider that there are ſome Countries or Valleys very low, and alſo many Caverns or Cavities within the Earth, all which in this caſe were to be firſt fill'd with Water. Theſe things being compar'd and eſtimated, we ſhall find that notwithſtanding the room that Hills and Mountains take up on the dry Land, there would be at leaſt eight Oceans requir'd, or a quantity of Water eight times as great as the Ocean, to bring an Univerſal Deluge upon the Earth, as that Deluge is ordinarily underſtood and explained.

The proportion of Water for the Deluge being thus ſtated, the next thing to be done, is to enquire where this Water is to be found; if any part of the Sublunary World will afford us ſo much: Eight Oceans floating in the Air, make a great bulk of Water, I do not know what poſſible Sources to draw it from. There are the Clouds above, and the Deeps below and in the bowels of the Earth; and theſe are all the ſtores we have for Water; and *Moſes* directs us to no other for the Cauſes of the Deluge. *The Fountains* (he ſaith) *of the great Abyſſe were broken up, or burſt aſunder*, and the Rain deſcended for forty days, the *Cataracts* or *Floodgates* of Heaven being open'd. And in theſe two, no doubt, are contain'd the cauſes of the great Deluge, as according to *Moſes*, ſo alſo according to reaſon and neceſſity; for our World affords no other treaſures of Water. Let us therefore conſider how much this Rain of Forty Days might amount to, and how much might flow out of the Abyſſe, that ſo we may judge whether theſe two in conjunction would make up the Eight Oceans which we want.

As for the Rains, they would not afford us one Ocean, nor half an Ocean, nor the tenth part of an Ocean, if we may truſt to the Obſervations made by others concerning the quantity of Water that falls in Rain. *Merſennus* gives us this account of it. "It ap- *Cog. Phyſ. Mech.* p. 221.
"pears by our Obſervations, that a Cubical Veſſel of Braſs, whereof
"we made uſe, is fill'd an inch and an half in half an hours time;
"but becauſe that ſucks up nothing of the moiſture as the Earth
"doth, let us take an inch for half an hours Rain; whence it fol-
"lows, that in the ſpace of 40 days and nights Rain, the Waters
"in the Deluge would riſe 160 feet, if the Rains were conſtant *At. 4 feet in*
"and equal to ours, and that it rain'd at once throughout the face *24 hours.*
"of the whole Earth. But the Rain of the Deluge, ſaith he, ſhould have been 90 times greater than this, to cover, for inſtance, the Mountains of *Armenia*, or to reach 15 Cubits above them. So that according to his computation, the 40 days Rain would ſupply little more than the hundredth part of the Water requiſite to make the Deluge. 'Tis true, he makes the heighth of the Mountains higher than we do; but, however, if you temper the Calculation on all ſides as much as you pleaſe, the water that came by this Rain would be a very inconſiderable part of what was neceſſary for a Deluge. If it rain'd 40 days and 40 nights throughout the face of the whole Earth, in the Northern and Southern Hemiſphere all at once, it might be ſufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would ſignifie very little as to

the over-flowing of the Mountains. Whence another Author upon the ſame occaſion hath this paſſage. "If the Deluge had been "made by Rains only, there would not have needed 40 days, "but 40 years Rain to have brought it to paſs. And if we ſhould ſuppoſe the whole middle Region condens'd into water, it would not at all have been ſufficient for this effect, according to that proportion ſome make betwixt Air and Water; for they ſay, Air turn'd into Water takes up a hundred times leſs room than it did before. The truth is, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all the vapours of the middle Region were turn'd into water in this 40 days and 40 nights Rain, if we admit, that this Rain was throughout the whole Earth at once, in either Hemiſphere, in every Zone, in every Climate, in every Country, in every Province, in every Field; and yet we ſee what a ſmall proportion all this would amount to.

Auct. cat. in Gen. 7. 4.

Having done then with theſe Superiour Regions, we are next to examine the Inferiour, and the treaſures of water that may be had there. *Moſes* tells us, that the Fountains of the great Abyſſe were broke open, or *clove aſunder*, as the word there us'd doth imply; and no doubt in this lay the great myſtery of the Deluge, as will appear when it comes to be rightly underſtood and explain'd; but we are here to conſider what is generally underſtood by the *great Abyſſe*, in the common explication of the Deluge; and 'tis commonly interpreted either to be the Sea, or Subterraneous waters hid in the bowels of the Earth: Theſe, they ſay, broke forth and rais'd the waters, caus'd by the Rain, to ſuch an height, that together they overflowed the higheſt Mountains. But whether or how this could be, deſerves to be a little examin'd.

And in the firſt place; the Sea is not higher than the Land, as ſome have formerly imagin'd; ſanſying the Sea flood, as it were, upon a heap, higher than the ſhore; and at the Deluge a relaxation being made, it overflow'd the Land. But this conceit is ſo groſs, and ſo much againſt reaſon and experience, that none I think of late have ventur'd to make uſe of it. And yet on the other hand, if the Sea lie in an equal convexity with the Land, or lower generally than the ſhore, and much more than the midland, as it is certainly known to do, what could the Sea contribute to the Deluge? It would keep its Chanel, as it doth now; and take up the ſame place. And ſo alſo the Subterraneous waters would lie quiet in their Cells? whatſoever Fountains or paſſages you ſuppoſe, theſe would not iſſue out upon the Earth, for water doth not aſcend, unleſs by force. But lets imagine then that force us'd and appli'd, and the waters both of the Sea and Caverns under ground drawn out upon the ſurface of the Earth, we ſhall not be any whit the nearer for this; for if you take theſe waters out of their places, thoſe places muſt be fill'd again with other waters in the Deluge; ſo as this turns to no account upon the whole. If you have two Veſſels to fill, and you empty one to fill the other, you gain nothing by that, there ſtill remains one Veſſel empty, you cannot have theſe waters both in the Sea and

and on the Land, both above ground and under; nor can you ſuppoſe the Chanel of the Sea would ſtand gaping without water, when all the Earth was overflow'd, and the tops of the Mountains cover'd. And ſo for Subterraneous Cavities, if you ſuppoſe the water pumpt out, they would ſuck it in again when the Earth came to be laid under water; ſo that upon the whole, if you thus underſtand the *Abyſſe* or *great Deep*, and the breaking open its *Fountains* in this manner, it doth us no ſervice as to the Deluge, and where we expected the greateſt ſupply, there we find none at all.

What ſhall we do then? whither ſhall we go to find more than ſeven Oceans of water that we ſtill want? We have been above and below; we have drain'd the whole middle Region, and we have examin'd the Deeps of the Earth; they muſt want for themſelves, they ſay, if they give us any; And, beſides, if the Earth ſhould diſgorge all the water that it hath in its bowels, it would not amount to above half an Ocean, which would not at all anſwer our occaſions. Muſt we not then conclude, that the common explication of the Deluge makes it impoſſible? there being no ſuch quantity of water in Nature as they make requiſite for an univerſal Deluge. Yet to give them all fair play, having examin'd the waters above the Earth or in the Air, the waters upon the Earth, and the waters under the Earth; let us alſo conſider if there be not waters above the Heavens, and if thoſe might not be drawn down for the Deluge. *Moſes* ſpeaks of waters *above the firmament*, which though it be generally underſtood of the middle Region of the Air, yet ſome have thought thoſe to be waters plac'd above the higheſt Heavens, or *Super-celeſtial* waters: and have been willing to make uſe of them for a ſupply, when they could not find materials enough under the Heavens to make up the great maſs of the Deluge. But the Heavens above, where theſe waters lay, are either ſolid, or fluid; if ſolid, as Glaſs or Cryſtal, how could the waters get through 'em to deſcend upon the Earth? If fluid, as the Air or Æther, how could the waters reſt upon them? For Water is heavier than Air or Æther; So that I am afraid thoſe pure Regions will prove no fit place for that Element, upon any account. But ſuppoſing theſe waters there, how imaginary ſoever, and that they were brought down to drown the World in that vaſt quantity that would be neceſſary, what became of them, when the Deluge ceas'd; Seven or eight Oceans of water, with the Earth wrapt up in the middle of them, how did it ever get quit of them? how could they be diſpos'd of when the Earth was to be dri'd, and the World renew'd? It would be a hard task to lift them up again among the Spheres, and we have no room for them here below. The truth is, I mention this opinion of the Heavenly waters, becauſe I would omit none that had ever been made uſe of to make good the common explication of the Deluge; but otherwiſe, I think, ſince the Syſtem of the World hath been better known, and the Nature of the Heavens, there are none that would ſeriouſly aſſert theſe Super-celeſtial waters, or, at leaſt, make uſe of them ſo extravagantly, as to bring them down hither for cauſes of the Deluge.

We have now employ'd our laſt and utmoſt endeavours to find out waters for the vulgar Deluge, or for the Deluge as commonly underſtood; and you ſee with how little ſucceſs; we have left no corner unſought, where there was any appearance or report of water to be found, and yet we have not been able to collect the eighth part of what was neceſſary upon a moderate account. May we not then with aſſurance conclude, that the World hath taken wrong meaſures hitherto in their notion and explication of the general Deluge? They make it impoſſible and unintelligible upon a double account, both in requiring more water than can be found, and more than can be diſpos'd of, if it was found: or could any way be withdrawn from the Earth when the Deluge ſhould ceaſe. For if the Earth was encompaſs'd with eight Oceans of water heapt one upon another, how theſe ſhould retire into any Chanels, or be drain'd off, or the Earth any way diſengag'd from them, is not intelligible; and that in ſo ſhort a time as ſome months: For the violence of the Deluge laſted but four or five months, and in as many months after the Earth was dry and habitable. So as upon the whole enquiry, we can neither find ſource nor iſſue, beginning nor ending, for ſuch an exceſſive maſs of Waters as the Vulgar Deluge requir'd; neither where to have them, nor if we had them, how to get quit of them. And I think men cannot do a greater injury or injuſtice to Sacred Hiſtory, than to give ſuch repreſentations of things recorded there, as make them unintelligible and incredible; And on the other hand, we cannot deſerve better of Religion and Providence, than by giving ſuch fair accounts of all things propos'd by them, or belonging to them, as may ſilence the Cavils of Atheiſts, ſatisfie the inquiſitive, and recommend them to the belief and acceptance of all reaſonable perſons.

CHAP. III.

All Evaſions anſwered; That there was no new Creation of waters at the Deluge: And that it was not particular or National, but extended throughout the whole Earth. A prelude and preparation to the true Account and Explication of it: The method of the firſt Book.

THough in the preceding Chapter we may ſeem to have given a fair trial to the common opinion concerning the ſtate of the Deluge, and might now proceed to ſentence of condemnation: yet having heard of another plea, which ſome have us'd in its behalf, and another way found out by recourſe to the Supream Power, to ſupply all defects, and to make the whole matter intelligible,

telligible, we will proceed no further till that be conſider'd; being very willing to examine whatſoever may be offer'd, in that or any other way, for reſolving that great difficulty which we have propos'd, concerning *the quantity of water requiſite for ſuch a Deluge.* And to this they ſay in ſhort, that *God Almighty created waters on purpoſe to make the Deluge, and then annihilated them again when the Deluge was to ceaſe*; And this, in a few words, is the whole account of the buſineſs. This is to out the knot when we cannot looſe it; They ſhew us the naked arm of Omnipotency; ſuch Arguments as theſe come like lightning, one doth not know what Armour to put on againſt them, for they pierce the more, the more they are reſiſted: We will not therefore oppoſe any thing to them that is hard and ſtubborn, but by a ſoft anſwer deaden their force by degrees.

And I deſire to mind thoſe perſons in the firſt place of what S. *Auſtin* hath ſaid upon a like occaſion, ſpeaking concerning thoſe that diſprov'd the opinion of waters above the Heavens (which we mention'd before) by natural Reaſons. "We are not, ſaith "he, to refute thoſe perſons, by ſaying, that according to the "Omnipotence of God, to whom all things are poſſible, we ought "to believe there are waters there as heavy as we know and feel "them here below; for our buſineſs is now to enquire according "to his Scripture, how God hath conſtituted the Nature of "things, and not what he could do or work in theſe things, "by a miracle of Omnipotency. I deſire them to apply this to the preſent argument for the firſt anſwer.

Secondly, let them conſider, that *Moſes* hath aſſign'd cauſes of the Deluge; *Forty days Rain, and the diſruption of the Abyſſe*; and ſpeaks nothing of a new creation of water upon that occaſion. Thoſe were cauſes in Nature which Providence had then diſpos'd for this extraordinary effect, and thoſe the Divine Hiſtorian refers us to, and not to any productions out of nothing. Beſides, *Moſes* makes the Deluge increaſe by degrees with the Rain, and accordingly makes it ceaſe by degrees, and that the waters *going and returning*, as the waves and great commotions of the Sea uſe to do, retir'd leiſurely from the face of the Earth, and ſettled at length in their Chanels. Now this manner of the beginning or ceaſing of the Deluge doth not at all agree with the inſtantaneous actions of Creation and Annihilation.

Thirdly, let them conſider, that S. *Peter* hath alſo aſſign'd *Cauſes* of the Deluge; namely the particular conſtitution of the Earth and Heavens before the Flood; by *reaſon whereof*, he ſaith, *the World that was then, periſht in a Deluge of water.* And not by reaſon of a new creation of water. His words are theſe, "The "Heavens and the Earth were of old, conſiſting of water, and by "water; whereby, or by reaſon whereof, the World that then "was, being overflowed with water, periſhed. 2 Pet. 3. 6.

Fourthly, they are to conſider, that as we are not raſhly to have recourſe to the Divine Omnipotence upon any account, ſo eſpecially not for new Creations; and leaſt of all for the creation of new matter. The matter of the Univerſe was created many Ages before

before the Flood, and the Univerſe being full, if any more was created, then there muſt be as much annihilated at the ſame time to make room for it; for Bodies cannot penetrate one anothers dimenſions, nor be two or more within one and the ſame ſpace. Then on the other hand, when the Deluge ceas'd, and theſe waters were annihilated, ſo much other matter muſt be created again to take up their places: And methinks they make very bold with the Deity, when they make him do and undo, go forward and backwards by ſuch countermarches and retractions, as we do not willingly impute to the wiſdom of God Almighty.

Laſtly, I ſhall not think my labour loſt, if it be but acknowledg'd, that we have ſo far clear'd the way in this controverſie, as to have brought it to this iſſue; That either there muſt be new waters created on purpoſe to make a Deluge, or there could be no Deluge, as 'tis vulgarly explain'd; there not being water ſufficient in Nature to make a Deluge of that kind. This, I ſay, is a great ſtep, and, I think, will ſatisfie all parties, at leaſt all that are conſiderable; for thoſe that have recourſe to a New Creation of waters, are of two ſorts, either ſuch as do it out of lazineſs and ignorance, or ſuch as do it out of neceſſity, ſeeing they cannot be had otherwiſe; as for the firſt, they are not to be valu'd or gratifi'd; and as for the ſecond, I ſhall do a thing very acceptable to them, if I free them and the argument from that neceſſity, and ſhow a way of making the Deluge fairly intelligible, and accountable without the creation of new waters; which is the deſign of this Treatiſe. For we do not tye this knot with an Intention to puzzle and perplex the Argument finally with it, but the harder it is ty'd, we ſhall feel the pleaſure more ſenſibly when come to looſe it.

It may be when they are beaten from this new Creation of water, they will ſay the Element of Air was chang'd into water, and that was the great ſtore-houſe for the Deluge. Forty days Rain we allow, as *Moſes* does, but if they ſuppoſe any other tranſelementation, it neither agrees with *Moſes*'s Philoſophy, nor S. *Peter*'s; for then the *opening of the Abyſſe* was needleſs, and the form and conſtitution of the Antediluvian *Heavens* and *Earth*, which S. *Peter* refers the Deluge to, bore no part in the work; it might have been made, in that way, indifferently under any Heavens or Earth. Beſides they offend againſt S. *Auſtin*'s rule in this method too; for I look upon it as no leſs a miracle to turn Air into Water, than to turn Water into Wine. *Air*, I ſay, for Vapours indeed are but water made volatile, but pure Air is a body of another Species, and cannot by any compreſſion or condenſation, ſo far as is yet known, be chang'd into water. And laſtly, if the whole Atmoſphere was turn'd into water, 'tis very probable it would make no more than 34 foot or thereabouts; for ſo much Air or Vapours as is of the ſame weight with any certain quantity of water, 'tis likely, if it was chang'd into water, would alſo be of the ſame bulk with it, or not much more: Now according to the doctrine of the Gravitation of the Atmoſphere, 'tis found that 34 foot of water does counterbalance a proportionable Cylinder of Air reaching to the top of the Atmoſphere; and conſequently, if the whole Atmoſphere was converted into water, it would make no more than eleven or twelve yards water about the Earth; which the cavities of the Earth would be able in a good meaſure to ſuck up, at leaſt this is very inconſiderable as to our eight Oceans. And if you would change the higher Regions into water too, what muſt ſupply the place of that Air which you transform into water, and bring down upon the Earth? There would be little left but Fire and *Æther* betwixt us and the Moon, and I am afraid it would endanger to ſuck down the Moon too after it. In a word, ſuch an explication as this, is both, purely imaginary, and alſo very operoſe, and would affect a great part of the Univerſe; and after all, they would be as hard put to't to get rid of this water, when the Deluge was to ceaſe, as they were at firſt to procure it.

Having now examin'd and anſwered all the pleas, from firſt to laſt, for the vulgar Deluge, or the old way of explaining it, we ſhould proceed immediately to propoſe another method, and another ground for an univerſal Deluge, were it not that an opinion hath been ſtarted by ſome of late, that would in effect ſupplant both theſe methods, old and new, and take away in a great meaſure the ſubject of the queſtion. Some modern Authors obſerving what ſtraits they have been put to in all Ages, to find out water enough for *Noah*'s Flood, have ventur'd upon an expedient more brisk and bold, than any of the Ancients durſt venture upon: They ſay, *Noah*'s Flood was not Univerſal, but a National Inundation, confin'd to *Judæa*, and thoſe Countries thereabouts; and conſequently, there would not be ſo much water neceſſary for the cauſe of it, as we have prov'd to be neceſſary for an Univerſal Deluge of that kind. Their inference is very true, they have avoided that rock, but they run upon another no leſs dangerous; to avoid an objection from reaſon they deny matter of fact, and ſuch matter of fact as is well atteſted by Hiſtory, both Sacred and prophane. I believe the Authors that ſet up this opinion, were not themſelves ſatisfied with it: but ſeeing inſuperable difficulties in the old way, they are the more excuſable in chuſing, as they thought, of two evils the leſs.

But the choice methinks, is as bad on this hand, if all things be conſidered; *Moſes* repreſents the Flood of *Noah* as an overthrow and deſtruction of the whole Earth; and who can imagine, that in ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred years time (taking the lower Chronology) that the Earth had then ſtood, mankind ſhould be propagated no further than *Judæa*, or ſome neighbouring Countries thereabouts. After the Flood, when the World was renew'd again by eight perſons, they had made a far greater progreſs in *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Africa*, within the ſame ſpace of years, and yet 'tis likely they were more fruitful in the firſt Ages of the World, than after the Flood; and they liv'd ſix, ſeven, eight, nine hundred years a piece, getting Sons and Daughters. Which longevity of the firſt Inhabitants of the Earth ſeems to have been providentially deſign'd for the quicker multiplication and propagation of

of mankind; and mankind thereby would become ſo numerous within ſixteen hundred years, that there ſeems to me to be a greater difficulty from the multitude of the people that would be before the Flood, than from the want of people. For if we allow the firſt couple at the end of one hundred years, or of the firſt Century, to have left ten pair of Breeders, which is no hard ſuppoſition, there would ariſe from theſe, in fifteen hundred years, a greater number than the Earth was capable of; allowing every pair to multiply in the ſame decuple proportion the firſt pair did. But becauſe this would riſe far beyond the capacities of this Earth, let us ſuppoſe them to increaſe, in the following Centuries, in a quintuple proportion only, or, if you will, only in a quadruple; and then the Table of the multiplication of mankind from the Creation to the Flood, would ſtand thus;

Century 1	10	9	655360
2	40	10	2621440
3	160	11	10485760
4	640	12	41943040
5	2560	13	167772160
6	10240	14	671088640
7	40960	15	2684354560
8	163840	16	10737418240

This product is too exceſſive high, if compar'd with the preſent number of men upon the face of the Earth, which I think is commonly eſtimated to be betwixt three and four hundred millions; and yet this proportion of their increaſe ſeems to be low enough, if we take one proportion for all the Centuries; for, in reality, the ſame meaſure cannot run equally through all the Ages, but we have taken this as moderate and reaſonable betwixt the higheſt and the loweſt; but if we had taken only a triple proportion, it would have been ſufficient (all things conſider'd) for purpoſe. There are ſeveral other ways of computing this number, and ſome more particular and exact than this is, but which way ſoever you try, you ſhall find the product great enough for the extent of this Earth; and if you follow the Septuagint Chronology it will ſtill be far higher. I have met with three or four different Calculations, in ſeveral Authors, of the number of mankind before the Flood, and never met with any yet, but what exceeded the number of the people that are at preſent upon the face of the Earth. So as it ſeems to me a very groundleſs and forc'd conceit to imagine, that *Judæa* only, and ſome parts about it in *Aſia*, were ſtor'd with people when the Deluge was brought upon the old World. Beſides if the Deluge was confin'd to thoſe Countries, I do not ſee but the Borderers might have eſcap'd, ſhifting a little into the adjoyning places where the Deluge did not reach. But eſpecially what needed ſo much a-do to build an Ark to ſave *Noah* and his Family, if he might have ſav'd himſelf, and them, only by retiring into ſome neighbouring Countrey; as *Lot* and his family ſav'd themſelves, by withdrawing from *Sodom* when the City

City was to be deſtroyed? Had not this been a far eaſier thing; and more compendious, than the great Preparations he made of a large Veſſel, with Rooms for the Reception and Accommodation of Beaſts and Birds? And now I mention Birds, why could not they at leaſt have flown into the next dry Country? they might have pearch'd upon the Trees, and the tops of the Mountains by the way to have reſted themſelves if they were weary, for the Waters did not all of a ſudden riſe to the Mountains tops.

I cannot but look upon the Deluge as a much more conſiderable thing than theſe Authors would repreſent it, and as a kind of diſſolution of Nature. *Moſes* calls it a deſtroying of the *Earth*, as well as of Mankind, *Gen.* 6. 13. And the Bow was ſet in the Cloud to ſeal the Covenant, *that he would deſtroy the Earth no more*, *Gen.* 9. 11. or that there ſhould be no more a Flood *to deſtroy the Earth*. And 'tis ſaid, *verſe* 13. that the Covenant was made between God and the Earth, or this frame of Nature, that it ſhould periſh no more by Water. And the Rain-bow, which was a Token and pledge of this Covenant, appears not only in *Judæa*, or ſome other *Aſiatick* Provinces, but to all the Regions of the Earth, who had an equal ſhare and concern in it. *Moſes* ſaith alſo the Fountains of the great Abyſs were burſt aſunder to make the Deluge, and what means this Abyſs and the burſting of it, if reſtrain'd to *Judæa*, or ſome adjacent Countries? What appearance is there of this Diſruption *there*, more than in other Places? Furthermore, S. *Peter* plainly implies, that the Antediluvian Heavens and Earth periſh'd in the Deluge; and oppoſeth the preſent Earth and Heavens to them, as different and of another conſtitution: and ſaith, that theſe ſhall periſh by Fire, as the other periſh'd by Water. So he compares the Conflagration with the Deluge, as two general diſſolutions of Nature, and one may as well ſay, that the Conflagration ſhall be only National, and but two or three Countries burnt in that laſt Fire, as to ſay that the Deluge was ſo. I confeſs that diſcourſe of S. *Peter*, concerning the ſeveral States of the World, would ſufficiently convince me, if there was nothing elſe, That the Deluge was not a particular or National Inundation, but a *mundane* change, that extended to the whole Earth, and both to the (lower) Heavens and Earth. a *Epiſt. c.* 3, 6.

All Antiquity, we know, hath ſpoke of theſe Mundane Revolutions or Periods, that the World ſhould be ſucceſſively deſtroy'd by Water and Fire; and I do not doubt but that this Deluge of *Noah*'s, which *Moſes* deſcribes, was the firſt and leading inſtance of this kind: and accordingly we ſee that after this Period, and after the Flood, the bleſſing for multiplication, and for repleniſhing the Earth with Inhabitants, was as ſolemnly pronounc'd by God Almighty, as at the firſt Creation of Man, *Gen.* 9. 1. with *Gen.* 1. 28. Theſe conſiderations, I think, might be ſufficient to give us aſſurance from Divine Writ of the univerſality of the Deluge, and yet *Moſes* affords us another argument as demonſtrative as any, when in the Hiſtory of the Deluge, he ſaith, *Gen.* 7. 19. *The waters exceedingly prevailed upon the Earth, and all the high Hills that were under the whole Heavens were covered.* All the high Hills, he ſaith, under

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under the whole Heavens, then quite round the Earth; and if the Mountains were cover'd quite round the Earth, ſure the Plains could not ſcape. But to argue with them upon their own grounds; Let us ſuppoſe only the *Aſiatick* and *Armenian* Mountains covered with theſe waters, this they cannot deny; then unleſs there was a miracle to keep theſe waters upon heaps, they would flow throughout the Earth; for theſe Mountains are high enough to make them fall every way, and make them joyn with our Seas that environ the Continent. We cannot imagine Hills and Mountains of water to have hung about *Judæa,* as if they were congeal'd, or a maſs of water to have ſtood upon the middle of the Earth like one great drop, or a trembling Jelly, and all the places about it dry and untouch'd. All liquid bodies are diffuſive; for their parts being in motion have no tye or connexion one with another, but glide and fall off any way, as gravity and the Air preſſeth them; ſo the ſurface of water doth always conform into a Spherical convexity with the reſt of the Globe of the Earth, and every part of it falls as near to the Center as it can; wherefore when theſe waters began to riſe at firſt, long before they could ſwell to the heighth of the Mountains, they would diffuſe themſelves every way, and thereupon all the Valleys and Plains, and lower parts of the Earth would be filled throughout the whole Earth, before they could riſe to the tops of the Mountains in any part of it: And the Sea would be all raiſed to a conſiderable heighth before the Mountains could be covered. For let's ſuppoſe, as they do, that this water fell not throughout the whole Earth, but in ſome particular Country, and there made firſt a great Lake; this Lake when it begun to ſwell would every way diſcharge it ſelf by any deſcents or declivities of the ground, and theſe iſſues and derivations being once made, and ſupplied with new waters, puſhing them forwards, would continue their courſe till they arriv'd at the Sea; juſt as other Rivers do, for theſe would be but ſo many Rivers riſing out of this Lake, and would not be conſiderably deeper and higher at the Fountain than in their progreſs or at the Sea. We may as well then expect that the *Lemian*-Lake, for inſtance, out of which the *Rhone* runs, ſhould ſwell to the tops of the *Alpes* on the one hand, and the Mountains of *Switzerland* and *Burgundy* on the other, and then ſtop, without overflowing the plainer Countries that lie beyond them; as to ſuppoſe that this Diluvian Lake ſhould riſe to the Mountains tops in one place, and not diffuſe it ſelf equally into all Countries about, and upon the ſurface of the Sea: in proportion to its heighth and depth in the place where it firſt fell or ſtood.

Thus much for Sacred Hiſtory. The univerſality of the Deluge is alſo atteſted by profane Hiſtory; for the fame of it is gone through the Earth, and there are Records or Traditions concerning it, in all parts of this and the new-found World. The *Americans* do acknowledge and ſpeak of it in their Continent, as *Acoſta* witneſſeth, *Mart.* and *Laet* in their Hiſtories of them. The *Chineſes* have the Tradition of it, which is the fartheſt part of our Continent; and the *Mart.* nearer and Weſtern parts of *Aſia* is acknowledg'd the proper ſeat of it. Not to mention *Deucalion*'s Deluge in the *European* parts, which ſeems

ſeems to be the ſame under a diſguiſe: So as you may trace the Deluge quite round the Globe in profane Hiſtory; and which is remarkable, every one of theſe people have a tale to tell, ſome one way, ſome another, concerning the reſtauration of mankind; which is an argument that they thought all mankind deſtroy'd by that Deluge. In the old diſpute between the *Scythians* and the *Ægyptians* for Antiquity, which *Juſtin* mentions, they refer to a former deſtruction of the World by Water or Fire, and argue whether Nation firſt riſe again, and was original to the other. So the *Babylonians, Aſſyrians, Phœnicians* and others, mention the Deluge in their ſtories. And we cannot without offering violence to all Records and Authority, Divine and Humane, deny that there hath been an univerſal Deluge upon the Earth; and if there was an univerſal Deluge, no queſtion it was that of *Noah*'s, and that which *Moſes* deſcrib'd, and that which we treat of at preſent.

Theſe conſiderations, I think, are abundantly ſufficient to ſilence that opinion, concerning the limitation and reſtriction of the Deluge to a particular Country or Countries. It ought rather to be lookt upon as an Evaſion indeed than Opinion, ſeeing the Authors do not offer any poſitive argument for the proof of it, but depend only upon that negative argument, That an univerſal Deluge is a thing unintelligible. This ſtumbling-ſtone we hope to take away for the future, and that men ſhall not be put to that unhappy choice, either to deny matter of fact well atteſted, or admit an effect, whereof they cannot ſee any poſſible cauſes. And ſo having ſtated and propos'd the whole difficulty, and try'd all ways offer'd by others, and found them ineffectual, let us now apply our ſelves by degrees to unty the knot.

The exceſſive quantity of water is the great difficulty, and the removal of it afterwards. Thoſe eight Oceans lay heavy upon my thoughts, and I caſt about every way to find an expedient, or to find ſome way whereby the ſame effect might be brought to paſs with leſs Water, and in ſuch a manner, that that Water might afterwards conveniently be diſcharg'd. The firſt thought that came into my mind upon that occaſion, was concerning the form of the Earth, which I imagin'd might poſſibly at that time be different from what it is at preſent, and come nearer to plainneſs and equality in the ſurface of it, and ſo might the more eaſily be overflow'd, and the Deluge perform'd with leſs water. This opinion concerning the plainneſs of the firſt Earth, I alſo found in Antiquity, mention'd and refer'd to by ſeveral Interpreters in their Commentaries upon *Geneſis*, either upon occaſion of the Deluge, or of that Fountain which is ſaid, *Gen.* 2. 6. to have watered the face of the whole Earth: And a late eminent perſon, the honour of his profeſſion for Integrity and Learning, in his diſcourſe concerning the *Origination of mankind*, hath made a like judgment of the State of the Earth before the Deluge, that the face of it was more ſmooth and regular than it is now. But yet upon ſecond thoughts, I eaſily ſee that this alone would not be ſufficient to explain the Deluge, nor to give an account of the preſent form of the Earth, unequal and Mountainous as it is. 'Tis true this would give a

great advantage to the waters, and the Rains that fell for forty days together would have a great power over the Earth, being plain and ſmooth; but how would theſe waters be diſpos'd of when the Deluge ceas'd? or how could it ever ceaſe? Beſides, what means the diſruption of the great *Deep*, or the great *Abyſſe*, or what anſwers to it upon this ſuppoſition? This was aſſuredly of no leſs conſideration than the Rains, nay, I believe, the Rains were but preparatory in ſome meaſure, and that the violence and conſummation of the Deluge depended upon the diſruption of the great Abyſſe. Therefore I ſaw it neceſſary, to my firſt thought, concerning the ſmoothneſs and plainneſs of the Ante-diluvian Earth, to add a ſecond, concerning the diſruption and diſſolution of it; for as it often happens in Earthquakes, when the exteriour Earth is burſt aſunder, and a great Flood of waters iſſues out, according to the quantity and force of them, an Inundation is made in thoſe parts, more or leſs; ſo I thought, if that Abyſſe lay under ground and round the Earth, and we ſhould ſuppoſe the Earth in this manner to be broken in ſeveral places at once, and as it were a general diſſolution made, we might ſuppoſe that to make a general Deluge, as well as a particular diſſolution often makes a particular. But I will not anticipate here the explication we intend to give of the univerſal Deluge in the following Chapters, only by this previous intimation we may gather ſome hopes, it may be, that the matter is not ſo deſperate as the former repreſentation might poſſibly make us fanſie it.

Give me leave to add farther in this place, that it hath been obſerv'd by ſeveral, from the contemplation of Mountains and Rocks and Precipices, of the Chanel of the Sea, and of Iſlands, and of Subterraneous Caverns, that the ſurface of the Earth, or the exteriour Region which we inhabit, hath been broke, and the parts of it diſlocated: And one might inſtance more particularly in ſeveral parcels of Nature, that retain ſtill the evident marks of fraction and ruine; and by their preſent form and poſture ſhow, that they have been once in another ſtate and ſituation one to another. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to give an account of theſe *Phænomena*, from which ſeveral have rightly argu'd and concluded ſome general rupture or ruine in the ſuperficial parts of the Earth. But this ruine, it is true, they have imagin'd and explain'd ſeveral ways, ſome thinking that it was made the *third day* after the foundation of the Earth; when they ſuppoſe the Chanel of the Sea to have been form'd, and Mountains and Caverns at the ſame time; by a violent depreſſion of ſome parts of the Earth, and an extruſion and elevation of others to make them room. Others ſuppoſe it to have come not all at once, but by degrees, at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral Ages, from particular and accidental cauſes, as the Earth falling in upon Fires under ground, or water eating away the lower parts, or Vapours and Exhalations breaking out, and tearing the Earth. 'Tis true, I am not of their opinion in either of theſe Explications; and we ſhall ſhow at large hereafter, when we have propos'd and ſtated our own Theory, how incompetent ſuch cauſes are to bring the Earth into that form and condition we now

now find it in. But in the mean time, we may ſo far make uſe of theſe Opinions in general, as not to be ſtartled at this Doctrine, concerning the breaking or diſſolution of the exteriour Earth; for in all Ages the face of Nature hath provok'd men to think of and obſerve ſuch a thing. And who can do otherwiſe, to ſee the Elements diſplac'd and diſorder'd, as they ſeem to lie at preſent; the heavieſt and groſſeſt bodies in the higheſt places, and the liquid and volatile kept below; an huge maſs of Stone or Rock rear'd into the Air, and the water creeping at its feet; whereas this is the more light and active body, and by the law of Nature ſhould take place of Rocks and Stones? So we ſee, by the like diſorder, the Air thrown down into Dungeons of the Earth, and the Earth got up among the Clouds; for there are the tops of the Mountains, and under their roots in Holes and Caverns the Air is often detain'd. By what regular action of Nature can we ſuppoſe things firſt produc'd in this poſture and form? not to mention how broke and torn the inward ſubſtance of the Earth is, which of it ſelf is an uniform maſs, cloſe and compact: but in the condition we ſee it, it lies hollow in many places, with great vacuities intercepted betwixt the portions of it; a thing which we ſee happens in all ruines more or leſs, eſpecially when the parts of the ruines are great and inflexible. Then what can have more the figure and meen of a ruine, than Crags and Rocks and Cliffs, whether upon the Sea ſhore, or upon the ſides of Mountains; what can be more apparently broke, than they are; and thoſe leſſer Rocks, or great bulky Stones that lie often ſcatter'd near the feet of the other, whether in the Sea, or upon the Land, are they not manifeſt fragments, and pieces of thoſe greater maſſes? Beſides, the poſture of theſe Rocks, which is often leaning or recumbent, or proſtrate, ſhows to the eye, that they have had a fall, or ſome kind of diſlocation from their Natural ſite. And the ſame thing may be obſerved in the Tracts and Regions of the Earth, which very ſeldom for ten miles together have any regular ſurface or continuity one with another, but lie high and low, and are variouſly inclin'd ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, without any rule or order. Whereas I ſee no reaſon but the ſurface of the Land ſhould be as regular as that of the water, in the firſt production of it: And the Strata or beds within lie as even. This I am ſure of, that this diſpoſition of the Elements, and the parts of the Earth, outward and inward, hath ſomething irregular and unnatural in it, and manifeſtly ſhews us the marks or footſteps of ſome kind of ruine and diſſolution; which we ſhall ſhew you, in its due place, happen'd in ſuch a way, that at the ſame time a general Flood of waters would neceſſarily overrun the face of the whole Earth. And by the ſame fatal blow, the Earth fell out of that regular form, wherein it was produc'd at firſt, into all theſe irregularities which we ſee in its preſent form and compoſition; ſo that we ſhall give thereby a double ſatisfaction to the mind, both to ſhew it a fair and intelligible account of the general Deluge, how the waters came upon the Earth, and how they return'd into their Chanels again, and left the Earth habitable; and likewiſe to ſhew it how the Mountains were brought forth,

forth, and the Chanel of the Sea diſcover'd: How all thoſe inequalities came in the body or face of the Earth, and thoſe empty Vaults and Caverns in its bowels; which things are no leſs matter of admiration than the Flood it ſelf.

But I muſt beg leave to draw a Curtain before the Work for a while, and to keep your patience a little in ſuſpence, till materials are prepar'd, and all things ready to repreſent and explain what we have propos'd. Yet I hope in the mean time to entertain the mind with ſcenes no leſs pleaſing, though of quite another face and order: for we muſt now return to the beginning of the World, and look upon the firſt rudiments of Nature, and that dark but fruitful womb, out of which all things ſprang, I mean the *Chaos:* For this is the matter which we muſt next work upon, and it will be no unpleaſing thing to obſerve, how that rude maſs will ſhoot it ſelf into ſeveral forms, one after another, till it comes at length to make an habitable World. The ſteddy hand of Providence, which keeps all things in weight and meaſure, being the inviſible guide of all its motions. Theſe motions we muſt examine from firſt to laſt, to find out what was the form of the Earth, and what was the place or ſituation of the Ocean, or the great Abyſs, in that firſt ſtate of Nature: Which two things being determin'd, we ſhall be able to make a certain judgment, what kind of diſſolution that Earth was capable of, and whether from that diſſolution an Univerſal Deluge would follow, with all the conſequences of it.

In the mean time, for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the Reader, we will here mark the order and diſtribution of the firſt Book, which we divide into Three Sections; whereof the Firſt is theſe Three Chapters paſt: in the Second Section we will ſhew, that the Earth before the Deluge was of a different frame and form from the preſent Earth; and particularly of ſuch a form as made it ſubject to a diſſolution: And to ſuch a diſſolution, as did neceſſarily expoſe it to an Univerſal Deluge. And in this place we ſhall apply our diſcourſe particularly to the explication of *Noah*'s Flood, and that under all its conditions, of the height of the waters, of their univerſality, of the deſtruction of the World by them, and of their retiring afterwards from the Earth; and this Section will conſiſt of the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Chapters. In the Third Section we prove the ſame diſſolution from the effects and conſequences of it, or from the contemplation of the preſent face of the Earth: And here an account is given of the Origin of Mountains, of ſubterraneous Waters and Caverns, of the great Chanel of the Sea, and of the firſt production of Iſlands; and thoſe things are the Contents of the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Chapters. Then, in the laſt Chapter, we make a general review of the whole Work, and a general review of Nature; that, by comparing them together, their full agreement and correſpondency may appear. Here ſeveral collateral arguments are given for confirmation of the preceeding Theory, and ſome reflections are made upon the ſtate of the other Planets compar'd with the Earth. And laſtly, what accounts ſoever have been given by others

others of the preſent form and irregularities of the Earth, are examin'd and ſhew'd inſufficient. And this ſeemeth to be all that is requiſite upon this ſubject.

CHAP. IV.

That the Earth and Mankind had an Original, and were not from Eternity: Prov'd againſt Ariſtotle. *The firſt propoſition of our Theory laid down,* viz. *That the Antediluvian Earth was of a different form and conſtruction from the preſent. This is prov'd by Divine Authority, and from the nature and form of the Chaos, out of which the Earth was made.*

WE are now to enquire into the Original of the Earth, and in what form it was built at firſt, that we may lay our foundation for the following Theory, deep and ſure. It hath been the general opinion and conſent of the Learned of all Nations, that the Earth aroſe from a Chaos. This is atteſted by Hiſtory, both Sacred and Profane; only *Ariſtotle*, whom ſo great a part of the Chriſtian World have made their Oracle or Idol, hath maintain'd the Eternity of the Earth, and the Eternity of Mankind; that the Earth and the World were from Everlaſting, and in that very form they are in now, with Men and Women and all living Creatures, Trees and Fruit, Metals and Mineſals, and whatſoever is of Natural production. We ſay all theſe things aroſe and had their firſt exiſtence or production not ſix thouſand years ago; He ſaith, they have ſubſiſted thus for ever, through an infinite Series of paſt Generations, and ſhall continue as long, without firſt or laſt: And if ſo, there was neither Chaos, nor any other beginning to the Earth. This takes away the ſubject of our diſcourſe, and therefore we muſt firſt remove this ſtone out of the way, and prove that the Earth had an Original, and that from a Chaos, before we ſhew how it aroſe from a Chaos, and what was the firſt habitable form that it ſetled into.

We are aſſur'd by Divine Authority, that the Earth and Mankind had a beginning; *Moſes* ſaith, *In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth.* Speaking it as of a certain Period or Term from whence he counts the Age of the World. And the ſame *Moſes* tells us, that *Adam* was the firſt Man, and *Eve* the firſt Woman, from whom ſprung the race of Mankind; and this within the compaſs of ſix thouſand years. We are alſo aſſured from the Prophets, and our Chriſtian Records, that the world ſhall have an end, and that by a general Conflagration, when all Mankind ſhall be deſtroy'd, with the form and all the furniture of the Earth. And as this proves

proves the ſecond part of *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine to be falſe immediately, ſo doth it the firſt, by a true conſequence; for what hath an end had a beginning, what is not immortal, was not Eternal; That which exiſts by the ſtrength of its own Nature at firſt, the ſame Nature will enable to exiſt for ever; and indeed what exiſts of it ſelf, exiſts neceſſarily; and what exiſts neceſſarily, exiſts eternally.

Having this infallible aſſurance of the Origin of the Earth and of Mankind, from Scripture, we proceed to refute the ſame Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*'s by Natural Reaſon. And we will firſt conſider the form of the Earth, and then Mankind; and ſhew from plain evidence and obſervation, neither of them to have been Eternal. 'Tis natural to the mind of Man, to conſider that which is compound, as having been once more ſimple; whether that compoſition be a mixture of many ingredients, as moſt Terreſtrial Bodies are, or whether it be Organical; but eſpecially if it be Organical: For a thing that conſiſts of a multitude of pieces aptly joyn'd, we cannot but conceive to have had thoſe pieces, at one time or another, put together. 'Twere hard to conceive an eternal Watch, whoſe pieces were never ſeparate one from another, nor ever in any other form than that of a Watch. Or an eternal Houſe, whoſe materials were never aſunder, but always in the form of an Houſe. And 'tis as hard to conceive an *Eternal Earth*, or an *Eternal World*: Theſe are made up of more various ſubſtances, more ingredients, and into a far greater compoſition; and the living part of the World, Plants and Animals, have much more variety of parts and multifarious conſtruction, than any Houſe, or any other artificial thing: So that we are led as much by Nature and neceſſity to conceive this great Machine of the World, or of the Earth, to have been once in a ſtate of greater ſimplicity than now it is, as to conceive a Watch, an Houſe, or any other ſtructure, to have been once in its firſt and ſimple materials. This I ſpeak without reference to immediate Creation, for *Ariſtotle* did not own any ſuch thing, and therefore the argument ſtands good againſt him, upon thoſe grounds and notions that he goes, yet I gueſs what anſwer would be made by him or his followers to this argumentation; They would ſay there is not the ſame reaſon for Natural things, as for Artificial, though equally compounded. Artificial things could not be from Eternity, becauſe they ſuppoſe Man, by whoſe Art they were made, pre-exiſtent to them; the work-man muſt be before the work, and whatſoever hath any thing before it, is not Eternal. But may not the ſame thing be ſaid of Natural things? do not moſt of them require the action of the Sun, and the influence of the Heavens for their production, and longer preparations than any Artificial things do? Some Years or Ages would be neceſſary for the concoction and maturation of Metals and Minerals; Stones themſelves, at leaſt ſome ſorts of them, were once liquors or fluid maſſes; and all Vegetable productions require the heat of the Sun, to prediſpoſe and excite the Earth, and the Seeds. Nay, according to *Ariſtotle*, 'tis not Man by himſelf that begets a Man, but the Sun is his Coadjutor. You ſee then 'twas as neceſſary that the Sun, that great

great Workman of Nature, ſhould pre-exiſt to Natural things, produc'd in or upon the Earth, as that Man ſhould pre-exiſt to Artificial. So that the Earth under that form and conſtitution it now hath, could no more be Eternal, than a Statue or Temple, or any work of Art.

Beſides, that form, which the Earth is under at preſent, is in ſome ſort preter-natural, like a Statue made and broken again; and ſo hath ſtill the leſs appearance or pretence of being Eternal. If the Elements had lain in that order to one another, as *Ariſtotle* hath diſpos'd them, and as ſeems to be their firſt diſpoſition; the Earth altogether in a maſs in the middle, or towards the Centre; then the Water in a Spherical maſs about that; the Air above the Water, and then a Sphere of Fire, as he fanſied, in the higheſt Circle of the Air: If they had lain, I ſay, in this poſture, there might have been ſome pretence that they had been Eternally ſo; becauſe that might ſeem to be their Original poſture, in which Nature had firſt plac'd them. But the form and poſture we find them in at preſent is very different, and according to his Doctrine muſt be look'd upon as unnatural and violent; and no violent ſtate by his own Maxim, can be perpetual, or can have been ſo.

But there is ſtill a more preſſing conſideration againſt this Opinion. If this preſent ſtate and form of the Earth had been from Eternity, it would have long ere this deſtroy'd it ſelf, and chang'd it ſelf: the Mountains ſinking by degrees into the Vallies, and into the Sea, and the Waters riſing above the Earth; which form it would certainly have come into ſooner or later, and in it continu'd drown'd and uninhabitable, for all ſucceeding Generations. For 'tis certain, that the Mountains and higher parts of the Earth grow leſſer and leſſer from Age to Age; and that from many cauſes, ſometimes the roots of them are weaken'd and eaten by Subterraneous Fires, and ſometimes they are torn and tumbled down by Earthquakes, and fall into thoſe Caverns that are under them; and though thoſe violent cauſes are not conſtant, or univerſal, yet if the Earth had ſtood from Eternity, there is not a Mountain would have eſcap'd this fate in one Age or other. The courſe of theſe exhalations or Fires would have reach'd them all ſooner or later, if through infinite Ages they had ſtood expos'd to them. But there are alſo other cauſes that conſume them inſenſibly, and make them ſink by degrees; and thoſe are chiefly the Winds, Rains, and Storms, and heat of the Sun without; and within, the ſoaking of Water and Springs, with ſtreams and currents in their veins and crannies. Theſe two ſorts of cauſes would certainly reduce all the Mountains of the Earth, in tract of time, to equality; or rather lay them all under Water: For whatſoever moulders or is waſht away from them, is carried down into the lower grounds, and into the Sea, and nothing is ever brought back again by any circulation: Their loſſes are not repair'd, nor any proportionable recruits made from any other parts of Nature. So as the higher parts of the Earth being continually ſpending, and the lower continually gaining, they muſt of neceſſity at length come to an equality; and the Waters that lie in the lower parts and in the Chanels, thoſe Cha-

nels and Valleys being fill'd up with Earth, would be thruſt out and riſe every where upon the ſurface of the Earth; Which new poſt when they had once ſeiz'd on, they would never quit it, nor would any thing be able to diſpoſſeſs them; for 'tis their natural place and ſituation which they always tend to, and from which there is no progreſs nor regreſs in a courſe of Nature. So that the Earth would have been, both now, and from innumerable Generations before this, all under water and uninhabitable; if it had ſtood from everlaſting, and this form of it had been its firſt original form.

Nor can he doubt of this argumentation, that conſiders the coherence of it, and will allow time enough for the effect. I do not ſay the Earth would be reduc'd to this uninhabitable form in ten thouſand years time, though I believe it would: but take twenty, if you pleaſe, take an hundred thouſand, take a million, 'tis all one, for you may take the one as eaſily as the other out of Eternity; and they make both equally againſt their ſuppoſition. Nor is it any matter how little you ſuppoſe the Mountains to decreaſe, 'tis but taking more time, and the ſame effect ſtill follows. Let them but waſte as much as a grain of Muſtard-ſeed every day, or a foot in an Age, this would be more than enough in ten thouſand Ages to conſume the talleſt Mountain upon Earth. The Air alone, and the little drops of Rain have defac'd the ſtrongeſt and the proudeſt monuments of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and allow them but time enough, and they will of themſelves beat down the Rocks into the Sea, and the Hills into the Valleys. But if we add to theſe all thoſe other foremention'd cauſes that work with more violence, and the weight of the Mountains themſelves, which upon any occaſion offer'd, is ready to ſink them lower, we ſhall ſhorten the time, and make the effect more ſure.

We need add no more here in particular, Againſt this *Ariſtotelian* Doctrine, that makes the preſent form of the Earth to have been from Eternity; for the truth is, this whole Book is one continued argument againſt that Opinion; ſhewing that it hath *de facto* chang'd its form; both in that we have prov'd that it was not capable of an univerſal Deluge in this form, and conſequently was once under another; and alſo in that we ſhall prove at large hereafter throughout the Third and Fourth Sections, that it hath been broken and diſſolv'd. We might alſo add one conſideration more, that if it had ſtood always under this form, it would have been under Fire, if it had not been under Water; and the Conflagration, which it is to undergo, would have overtaken it long ere this. For S. *Peter* ſaith, the Heavens and the Earth that are now, as oppos'd to the Ante-diluvian, and conſidered in their preſent form and conſtitution, are ſitted to be conſum'd by Fire. And whoſoever underſtands the progreſs and revolutions of Nature, will ſee that neither the preſent form of the Earth, nor its firſt form, were permanent and immutable forms, but tranſient and temporary by their own frame and conſtitution; which the Author of Nature, after certain periods of time, had deſign'd for change and for deſtruction.

Thus

Thus much for the body of the Earth, that it could not have been from Eternity, as *Ariſtotle* pretended, in the form it hath. Now let's conſider the Origination of Mankind; and that we ſhall find could much leſs be Eternal than the other; for whatſoever deſtroy'd the form of the Earth, would alſo deſtroy Mankind; and beſides, there are many particular marks and arguments, that the Generations of Men have not been from Everlaſting. All Hiſtory, and all monuments of Antiquity of what kind ſoever, are but of a few thouſand of years date; we have ſtill the memory of the golden Age, of the firſt ſtate of Nature, and how mortals liv'd then in innocency and ſimplicity. The invention of Arts, even thoſe that are neceſſary or uſeful to humane life, hath been within the knowledge of Men: How imperfect was the Geography of the Ancients, how imperfect their knowledge of the Earth, how imperfect their Navigation? Can we imagine, if there had been Men from Everlaſting, a Sea as now, and all materials for Shipping as much as we have, that men could have been ſo ignorant, both of the Land and of the Sea, as 'tis manifeſt they have been till of late Ages? They had very different fancies concerning the figure of the Earth. They knew no Land beyond our Continent, and that very imperfectly too; and the Torrid Zone they thought utterly uninhabitable. We think it ſtrange, taking that ſhort date of the World, which we give it, that Men ſhould not have made more progreſs in the knowledge of theſe things; But how impoſſible is it then, if you ſuppoſe them to have been from Everlaſting? They had the ſame wit and paſſions that we have, the ſame motives that we have, can we then imagine, that neither the ambition of Princes, nor intereſt or gain in private Perſons, nor curioſity and the deſire of Knowledge, nor the glory of diſcoveries, nor any other paſſion or conſideration could ever move them in that endleſs time, to try their fortunes upon the Sea, and know ſomething more of the World they inhabited? Though you ſhould ſuppoſe them generally ſtupid, which there is no reaſon to do, yet in a courſe of infinite Generations, there would be ſome great Genio's, ſome extraordinary perſons that would attempt things above the reſt. We have done more within the compaſs of our little World, which we can but count (as to this) from the general Deluge, than thoſe Eternal Men had done in their innumerable Ages foregoing.

You will ſay it may be, they had not the advantages and opportunities for Navigation as we have, and for diſcoveries; becauſe the uſe of the Loadſtone, and the Mariners Needle was not then known. But that's the wonder, that either that invention, or any other ſhould not be brought to light till t'other day, if the World had ſtood from Eternity. I ſay this or any other practical invention; for ſuch things when they are once found out and known, are not eaſily loſt again, becauſe they are of daily uſe. And 'tis in moſt other practical Arts as in Navigation, we generally know their Original and Hiſtory: who the Inventors, and by what degrees improv'd, and how few of them brought to any perfection till of late Ages. All the Artificial and Mechanical World is, in a manner, new; and what you may call the *Civil World* too is in a great

measure so. What relates to Government, and Laws; to Wars and Discipline; we can trace these things to their Origin, or very near it. The use of Money and of Coins, nay the use of the very Elements; for they tell us of the first invention of Fire by *Prometheus*, and the imploying of Wind or Water to turn the Mills and grind their Corn was scarce known before the *Romans*; and that we may think nothing Eternal here, they tell us the Ages and Geneal*Plin. l. 7. c. 56.* logies of their very Gods. The measures of Time for the common uses of life, the dividing it into Hours, with the Instruments for those purposes, are not of an unknown date: Even the Arts for preparing Food and Clothing, Medicines and medicaments, Building, Civil and Military, Letters and Writing, which are the foundations of the World Civil: These, with all their retinue of lesser Arts and Trades that belong to them, History and Tradition tell us, when they had their beginning, or were very imperfect; and how many of their Inventors and Inventresses were deifi'd. The World hath not stood so long but we can still run it up to those Artless Ages, when mortals liv'd by plain Nature; when there was but one Trade in the World, one Calling, to look to their Flocks; and afterwards to Till the Ground, when Nature grew less liberal: And may we not reasonably think this the beginning of Mankind, or very near it? If Man be a creature both naturally sagacious to find out its own conveniencies, and naturally sociable and inclin'd to live in a Community, a little time would make them find out and furnish themselves with what was necessary in those two kinds, for the conveniencies of single life, and the conveniencies of Societies; they would not have liv'd infinite Ages unprovided of them. If you say *Necessity* is the mother of Arts and Inventions, and there was no necessity before, and therefore these things were so slowly invented. This is a good answer upon our supposition, that the World began but some Ages before these were found out, and was abundant with all things at first; and Men not very numerous, and therefore were not put so much to the use of their wits, to find out ways for living commodiously. But this is no answer upon their supposition; for if the World was Eternal and Men too, there were no first Ages, no new and fresh Earth; Men were never less numerous, nor the Earth more fruitful; and consequently there was never less necessity at any time than is now. This also brings to mind another argument against this opinion (*viz.*) from the gradual increase of Mankind. 'Tis certain the World was not so populous one or two thousand years since, as it is now, seeing 'tis observ'd, in particular Nations, that within the space of two or three hundred years, notwithstanding all casualties, the number of Men doubles. If then the Earth had stood from Everlasting, it had been over-stock'd long ere this, and would not have been capable to contain its Inhabitants many Ages and Millions of Ages ago. Whereas we find the Earth is not yet sufficiently Inhabited, and there is still room for some Millions. And we must not flie to universal Deluges and Conflagrations to destroy Mankind; for besides that the Earth was not capable of a Deluge in this present form, nor would have been in this form after a Conflagration.

tion, *Aristotle* doth not admit of these universal changes, nor any that hold the form of the Earth to be Eternal. But to return to our Arts and Inventions.

We have spoken of practical Arts and Inventions useful in humane life; then for Theoretical Learning and Sciences, there is nothing yet finish'd or compleat in these; and what is known hath been chiefly the production of latter Ages. How little hath been discover'd till of late, either of our own Bodies, or of the body of the Earth, and of the functions or motions of nature in either? What more obvious, one would think, than the Circulation of the Bloud? What can more excite our curiosity than the flowing and ebbing of the Sea? Than the nature of Metals and Minerals? These are either yet unknown, or were so at least till this last Age; which seems to me to have made a greater progress than all Ages before put together, since the beginning of the World. How unlikely is it then that these Ages were Eternal? That the Eternal Studies of our Forefathers could not effect so much as a few years have done of late? And the whole mass of knowledge in this Earth doth not seem to be so great, but that a few Ages more, with two or three happy Genius's in them, may bring to light all that we are capable to understand in this state of mortality.

To these arguments concerning the novelty of the Earth, and the Origin of Mankind, I know there are some shuffling excuses made, but they can have little effect upon those instances we have chosen. And I would ask those Eternalists one fair question, What mark is there that they could expect or desire of the novelty of a World, that is not found in this? Or what mark is there of Eternity that is found in this? If then their opinion be without any positive argument, and against all appearances in Nature, it may be justly rejected as unreasonable upon all accounts. 'Tis not the bold asserting of a thing that makes it true, or that makes it credible against evidence. If one should assert that such an one had liv'd from all Eternity, and I could bring witnesses that knew him a sucking Child, and others that remembred him a School-boy, I think it would be a fair proof, that the Man was not Eternal. So if there be evidence, either in Reason or History, that it is not very many Ages since Nature was in her minority, as appears by all those instances we have given above; some whereof trace her down to her very infancy: This, I think, may be taken for a good proof that she is not Eternal. And I do not doubt, but if the History of the World was writ Philosophically, giving an account of the several states of Mankind in several Ages, and by what steps or degrees they came from their first rudeness or simplicity to that order of things, both intellectual and Civil, which the World is advanc'd to at present, That alone would be a full conviction, that the Earth and Mankind had a beginning. As the story of *Rome*, how it rise from a mean Original, by what degrees it increas'd, and how it chang'd its form and government till it came to its greatness, doth satisfie us very well, that the *Roman* Empire was not Eternal.

Thus much concerning the Temporal Original of the Earth. We are now to consider the manner of it, and to shew how it rise from

a Chaos. I do not remember that any of the Ancients that acknowledge the Earth to have had an Original, did deny that Original to have been from a Chaos. We are assur'd of both from the authority of *Moses*, who saith, that in the beginning the Earth was *Tohu Bohu*, without form and void; a fluid, dark, confus'd mass, without distinction of Elements; made up of all variety of parts, but without Order, or any determinate Form; which is the true description of a Chaos: And so it is understood by the general consent of Interpreters, both Hebrew and Christian. We need not therefore spend any time here to prove, that the Origin of the Earth was from a Chaos, seeing that is agreed on by all that give it any Origin. But we will proceed immediately to examine into what form it first rise when it came out of that Chaos; or what was the primæval form of the Earth, that continued till the Deluge, and how the Deluge depended upon it, and upon its dissolution.

And that we may proceed in this enquiry by such easie steps as any one may readily follow, we will divide it into Three Propositions, whereof the first is this in general; *That the Form of the Antediluvian Earth, or of the Earth that rise first from the Chaos, was different from the Form of the present Earth.* I say *different in general*, without specifying yet what its particular form was, which shall be expres't in the following Proposition.

This First Proposition we have in effect prov'd in the Second Chapter: where we have shewn, that if the Earth had been always in this form, it would not have been capable of a Deluge; seeing that could not have been effected without such an infinite mass of water as could neither be brought upon the Earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it. But we will not content our selves with that proof only, but will prove it also from the nature of the Chaos, and the manifest consequences of it. And because this is a leading Proposition, we think it not improper to prove it also from Divine Authority, there being a pregnant passage to this purpose in the writings of S. *Peter*. Where treating of this very subject, the Deluge, He manifestly puts a difference between the Ante-diluvian Earth and the present Earth, as to their form and constitution. The Discourse is in the Second Epistle of S. *Peter*, the Third Chapter, where certain Deists, as they seem to have been, laught at the Prophecy of the day of Judgment, and of the Conflagration of the World, using this argument against it, *That since the Fathers fell asleep, all things have continued as they were from the beginning.* All external Nature hath continued the same without any remarkable change or alteration, and why should we believe (say they) there will be any? What appearance or what foundation is there of such a revolution, that all Nature will be dissolv'd, and the Heavens and the Earth consum'd with Fire, as your Prophecies pretend? So from the permanency and immutability of Nature hitherto, they argu'd its permanency and immutability for the future. To this the *Apostle* answers, that they are willing to forget that the Heavens and the Earth of old had a particular form and constitution as to Water, by reason whereof the World that then was,

was, perisht by a Deluge; And the Heavens and the Earth that are now, or since the Deluge, have a particular constitution in reference to Fire, by reason whereof they are expos'd to another sort of destruction or dissolution, namely by Fire, or by an universal Conflagration. The words of the Apostle are these; *For this they are willingly ignorant of, that by the Word of God the Heavens were of old, and the Earth, consisting of Water, and by Water;* or (as we render it) *standing out of the Water, and in the Water: wherein the World that then was, being overflow'd with Water, perisht. But the Heavens and the Earth that are now, by the same Word are kept in store, reserv'd unto Fire against the day of Judgment.* We shall have occasion, it may be, hereafter to give a full illustration of these words; but at present we shall only take notice of this in general, that the Apostle here doth plainly intimate some difference that was between the old World and the present World, in their form and constitution; or betwixt the Ante-diluvian and the present Earth, by reason of which difference, that was subject to perish by a Deluge, as this is subject to perish by Conflagration. And as this is the general Air and Importance of this discourse of he Apostle's, which every one at first sight would discover; so we may in several particular ways prove from it our first Proposition, which now we must return to; (*viz.*) *That the form and constitution of the Antediluvian Earth was different from that of the present Earth.* This may be infer'd from the Apostle's discourse, first, because he makes an opposition betwixt these two Earths, or these two natural Worlds; and that not only in respect of their fate, the one perishing by Water, as the other will perish by Fire, but also in respect of their different disposition and constitution leading to this different fate; for otherwise his *fifth verse* is superfluous, and his Inference in the *sixth* ungrounded; you see he premiseth in the *fifth verse* as the ground of his discourse, what the constitution of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth was, and then infers from it in the *sixth* verse, that they therefore perisht in a Deluge of Water. Now if they had been the same with ours, there had neither been any ground for making an opposition betwixt them, nor any ground of making a contrary inference as to their fate. Besides, in that he implies that the constitution of the Ante-diluvian Earth was such, as made it subject to a Deluge; he shews that it was different from the constitution of the present Earth; for the form of that is such, as makes it rather incapable of a Deluge, as we have shewn in the second Chapter. Then we are to observe further, that when he saith (*verse 6.*) that the first World perish'd in a Deluge, or was destroy'd by it; this is not to be understood of the Animate World only, Men and living Creatures, but of the Natural World, and the frame of it; for he had describ'd it before by the Heavens and the Earth, which make the Natural World. And the objection of the Atheists, or Deists rather, which he was to answer, proceeded upon the Natural World. And lastly, this perishing of the World in a Deluge, is set against, or compar'd with the perishing of the World in the Conflagration, when the frame of Nature will be dissolv'd. We must therefore, according to the tenor of the Apostle's arguing, suppose, that

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that the Natural World was deſtroy'd or periſh'd in the Deluge; and ſeeing it did not periſh as to matter and ſubſtance, it muſt be as to the form, frame, and compoſition of it, that it periſh'd; and conſequently, the preſent Earth is of another form and frame from what it had before the Deluge; which was the thing to be proved.

Laſtly, Let us conſider what it is the Apoſtle tells theſe Scoffers that they were ignorant of: Not that there was a Deluge, they could not be ignorant of that; nor doth he tell them that they were; But he tells them that they were ignorant that the Heavens and the Earth of old were ſo and ſo conſtituted, after a different manner than they are now, and that the ſtate of Nature was chang'd at the Deluge, if they had known or attended to this, they had made no ſuch objection, nor us'd any ſuch argument as they did againſt the future Conflagration of the World. They pretended that there had been no change in Nature ſince the beginning, and the Apoſtle in anſwer tells them, that they are willingly ignorant of the firſt conſtitution of the Heavens, and the Earth, and of that change and diſſolution that happen'd to them in the Deluge; and how the preſent Heavens and Earth have another conſtitution, whereby in like manner they are expos'd, in God's due time, to be conſum'd or diſſolv'd by Fire. This is the plain, eaſie and natural import of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe; thus all the parts of it are coherent, and the ſence genuine and appoſite, and this is a full confirmation of our firſt and general aſſertion, That *the Ante-diluvian Earth was of another form from the preſent Earth.* This hath been obſerv'd formerly by ſome of the Ancients from this Text, but that it hath not been generally obſerv'd, was partly becauſe they had no Theory to back ſuch an interpretation, and make it intelligible; and partly becauſe they did not obſerve, that the Apoſtle's diſcourſe here was an argumentation, and not a bare affirmation, or ſimple contradiction to thoſe that rais'd the ſcruple; 'tis an anſwer upon a ground taken, he premiſeth and then infers; in the *fifth* and *ſixth* Verſes, concerning the Deluge; and in the *ſeventh*, concerning the Conflagration. And when I had diſcover'd in my thoughts from the conſideration of the Deluge, and other natural reaſons, that the Earth was certainly once in another form, it was a great aſſurance and confirmation to me, when I reflected on this place of S. *Peter*'s; which ſeems to be ſo much directed and intended for the ſame purpoſe, or to teach us the ſame concluſion, that though I deſign'd chiefly a Philoſophical Theory of theſe things, yet I ſhould not have thought we had been juſt to Providence, if we had neglected to take notice of this paſſage and Sacred evidence; which ſeems to have been left us on purpoſe, to excite our enquiries, and ſtrengthen our reaſonings, concerning the firſt ſtate of things. Thus much from Divine Authority: We proceed now to prove the ſame Propoſition from Reaſon and Philoſophy, and the contemplation of the Chaos, from whence the firſt Earth aroſe.

We need not upon this occaſion make a particular deſcription of the Chaos, but only conſider it as a Fluid Maſs, or a Maſs of all ſorts of little parts and particles of matter mixt together, and floating

ting in confuſion, one with another. 'Tis impoſſible that the ſurface of this maſs ſhould be of ſuch a form and figure, as the ſurface of our preſent Earth is. Or that any concretion or conſiſtent ſtate which this maſs could flow into immediately, on firſt ſettle in, could be of ſuch a form and figure as our preſent Earth. The firſt of theſe Aſſertions is of eaſie proof; for a fluid body, we know, whether it be water or any other liquor, always caſts it ſelf into a ſmooth and ſpherical ſurface; and if any parts, by chance, or by ſome agitation, become higher than the reſt, they do not continue ſo, but glide down again every way into the lower places, till they all come to make a ſurface of the ſame height, and of the ſame diſtance every where from the Center of their gravity. A mountain of water is a thing impoſſible in Nature, and where there are no Mountains there are no Valleys. So alſo a Den or Cave within the water that hath no walls but the liquid Element, is a ſtructure unknown to Art or Nature; all things there muſt be full within, and even and level without, unleſs ſome External force keep them by violence in another poſture. But is this the form of our Earth, which is neither regularly made within nor without? The ſurface and exteriour parts are broken into all ſorts of inequalities, Hills and Dales, Mountains and Valleys; and the plainer tracts of it lie generally inclin'd or bending one way or other, ſometimes upon an eaſie deſcent, and other times with a more ſenſible and uneaſie ſteepineſs; and though the great Mountains of the Earth were taken all away, the remaining parts would be more unequal than the rougheſt Sea; whereas the face of the Earth ſhould reſemble the face of the calmeſt Sea, if it was ſtill in the form of its firſt maſs. But what ſhall we ſay then to the huge Mountains of the Earth, which lie ſometimes in lumps or cluſters heapt up by one another, ſometimes extended in long ridges or chains for many hundred miles in length? And 'tis remarkable, that in every Continent, and in every ancient and original Iſland, there is either ſuch a cluſter, or ſuch a chain of Mountains. And can there be any more palpable demonſtrations than theſe are, that the ſurface of the Earth is not in the ſame form that the ſurface of the Chaos was, or that any fluid maſs can ſtand or hold it ſelf in?

Then for the form of the Earth within or under its ſurface, 'tis no leſs impoſſible for the Chaos to imitate that; for 'tis full of cavities and empty places, of dens and broken holes, whereof ſome are open to the Air, and others cover'd and encloſed wholly within the ground. Theſe are both of them unimitable in any liquid ſubſtance, whoſe parts will neceſſarily flow together into one continued maſs, and cannot be divided into apartments and ſeparate rooms, nor have vaults or caverns made within it; the walls would ſink, and the roof fall in: For liquid bodies have nothing to ſuſtain their parts, nor any thing to cement them; they are all looſe and incoherent, and in a perpetual flux: Even an heap of Sand or fine Powder will ſuffer no hollowneſs within them, though they be dry ſubſtances, and though the parts of them being rough, will hang together a little, and ſtand a little upon an heap; but the parts of liquors being glib, and continually in motion, they fall

off from one another, which way ſoever gravity inclines them, and can neither have any hills or eminencies on their ſurface, nor any hollowneſs within their ſubſtance.

You will acknowledge, it may be, that this is true, and that a liquid maſs or Chaos, while it was liquid, was incapable of either the outward or inward form of the Earth; but when it came to a concretion, to a ſtate of conſiſtency and firmneſs, then it might go, you'll ſay, into any form. No, not in its firſt concretion, nor in its firſt ſtate of conſiſtence; for that would be of the ſame form that the ſurface of it was when it was liquid; as water, when it congeals, the ſurface of the Ice is ſmooth and level, as the ſurface of the water was before; ſo Metals, or any other ſubſtances melted, or Liquors that of themſelves grow ſtiff and harden, always ſettle into the ſame form which they had when they were laſt liquid, and are always ſolid within, and ſmooth without, unleſs they be caſt in a mould, that hinders the motion and flux of the parts. So that the firſt concrete ſtate or conſiſtent ſurface of the Chaos, muſt be of the ſame form or figure with the laſt liquid ſtate it was in; for that is the mould, as it were, upon which it is caſt; as the ſhell of an Egg is of a like form with the ſurface of the liquor it lies upon. And therefore by analogy with all other liquors and concretions, the form of the Chaos, whether liquid or concrete, could not be the ſame with that of the preſent Earth, or like it: And conſequently, that form of the firſt or primigenial Earth which roſe immediately out of the Chaos, was not the ſame, nor like to that of the preſent Earth. Which was the firſt and preparatory Propoſition we laid down to be prov'd. And this being prov'd by the authority both of our Reaſon and our Religion, we will now proceed to the Second which is more particular.

CHAP. V.

The Second Propoſition is laid down, viz. *That* the face of the Earth before the Deluge was ſmooth, regular and uniform; without Mountains, and without a Sea. *The Chaos out of which the World roſe is fully examin'd, and all its motions obſerv'd, and by what ſteps it wrought it ſelf into an habitable World. Some things in Antiquity relating to the firſt ſtate of the Earth are interpreted, and ſome things in the Sacred Writings. The Divine Art and Geometry in the conſtruction of the firſt Earth is obſerv'd and celebrated.*

WE have ſeen it prov'd, in the foregoing Chapter, That the form of the firſt or Ante-diluvian Earth, was not the ſame, nor like the form of the preſent Earth; this is our firſt diſcovery at a diſtance, but 'tis only general and negative, tells us what the form

form of that Earth was not, but tells us not expreſly what it was; that muſt be our next enquiry, and advancing one ſtep further in our Theory, we lay down this Second Propoſition: *That the face of the Earth before the Deluge, was ſmooth, regular and uniform; without Mountains, and without a Sea.* This is a bold ſtep, and carries us into another World, which we have never ſeen, nor ever yet heard any relation of; and a World, it ſeems, of very different ſcenes and proſpects from ours, or from any thing we have yet known. An Earth without a Sea, and plain as the *Elyſian* fields; if you travel it all over, you will not meet with a Mountain or a Rock, yet well provided of all requiſite things for an habitable World; and the ſame indeed with the Earth we ſtill inhabit, only under another form. And this is the great thing that now comes into debate, the great Paradox which we offer to be examin'd, and which we affirm, That the Earth in its firſt riſe and formation from a Chaos, was of the form here deſcrib'd, and ſo continu'd for many hundreds of years.

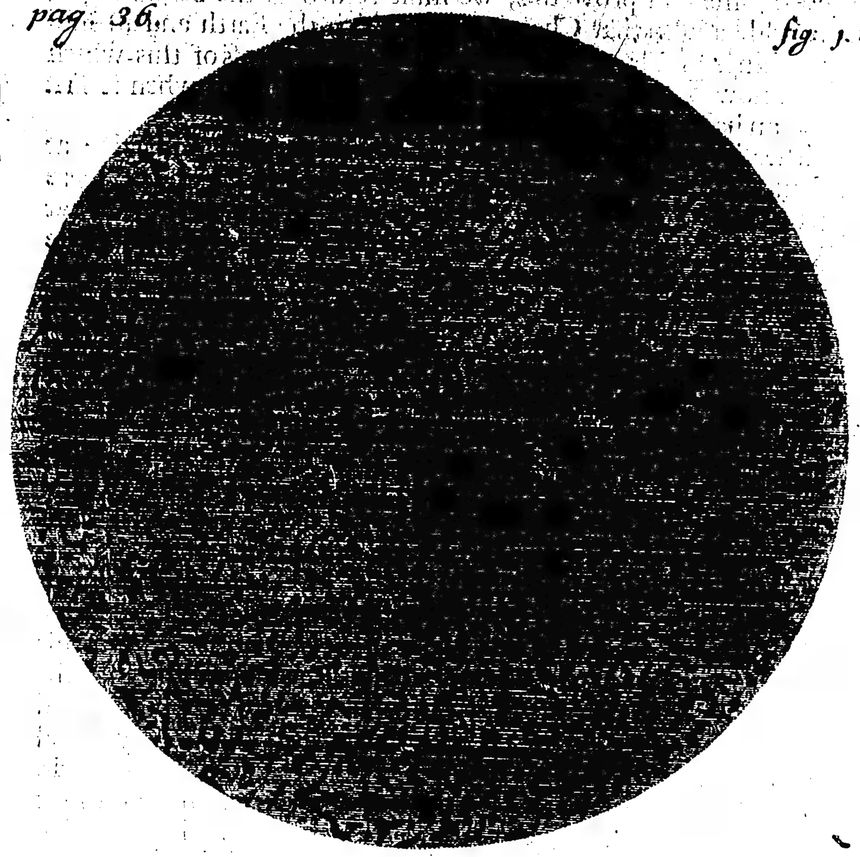
To examine and prove this, we muſt return to the beginning of the World, and to that Chaos out of which the Earth and all Sublunary things aroſe: 'Tis the motions and progreſs of this which we muſt now conſider, and what form it ſetled into when it firſt became an habitable World.

Neither is it perhaps ſuch an intricate thing as we imagine at firſt ſight, to trace a Chaos into an habitable World; at leaſt there is a particular pleaſure to ſee things in their Origin, and by what degrees and ſucceſſive changes they riſe into that order and ſtate we ſee them in afterwards, when compleated. I am ſure, if ever we would view the paths of Divine Wiſdom, in the works and in the conduct of Nature, we muſt not only conſider how things are, but how they came to be ſo. 'Tis pleaſant to look upon a Tree in the Summer, cover'd with its green Leaves, deckt with Bloſſoms, or laden with Fruit, and caſting a pleaſing ſhade under its ſpreading Boughs; but to conſider how this Tree with all its furniture, ſprang from a little Seed; how Nature ſhap'd it, and fed it, in its infancy and growth; added new parts, and ſtill advanc'd it by little and little, till it came to this greatneſs and perfection, this, methinks, is another ſort of pleaſure, more rational, leſs common, and which is properly the contemplation of Divine Wiſdom in the works of Nature. So to view this Earth, and this Sublunary World, as it is now compleat, diſtinguiſht into the ſeveral orders of Bodies of which it conſiſts, every one perfect and admirable in its kind; this is truly delightful, and a very good entertainment of the mind; But to ſee all theſe in their firſt Seeds, as I may ſo ſay; to take in pieces this frame of Nature, and melt it down into its firſt principles; and then to obſerve how the Divine Wiſdom wrought all theſe things out of confuſion into order, and out of ſimplicity into that beautiful compoſition we now ſee them in; this, methinks, is another kind of joy, which pierceth the mind more deep, and is more ſatisfactory. And to give our ſelves and others this ſatisfaction, we will firſt make a ſhort repreſentation of the Chaos, and then ſhew, how, according to Laws eſta-

blisht in Nature by the Divine Power and Wisdom, it was wrought by degrees from one form into another, till it setled at length into an habitable Earth; and that of such a frame and structure, as we have describ'd in this second Proposition.

By the Chaos I understand the matter of the Earth and Heavens, without form or order, reduc'd into a fluid mass, wherein are the materials and ingredients of all bodies, but mingled in confusion one with another. As if you should suppose all sorts of Metals, Gold, Silver, Lead, *&c.* melted down together in a common mass, and so mingled, that the parts of no one Metal could be discern'd as distinct from the rest, this would be a little Metallick Chaos: Suppose then the Elements thus mingled, Air, Water and Earth, which are the principles of all Terrestrial Bodies; mingled, I say, without any order of higher or lower, heavier or lighter, solid or volatile, in such a kind of confus'd mass as is here represented in this first Scheme.

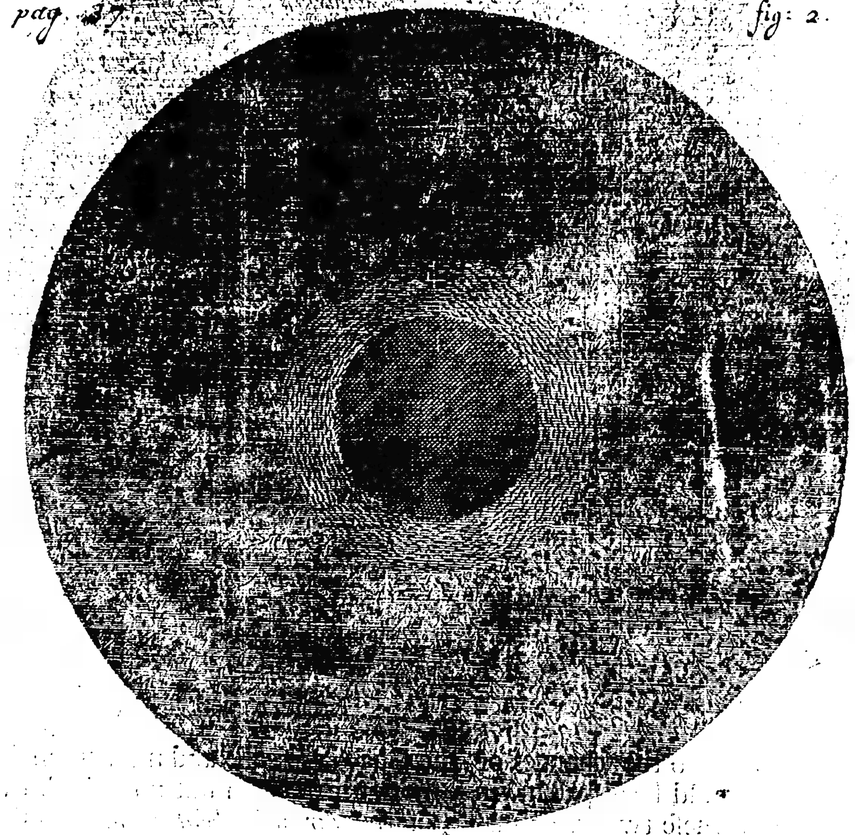
pag. 36. *fig.* 1.



Let this then represent to us the Chaos; in which the first change that we should imagine to happen would be this, that the heaviest and grossest parts would sink down towards the middle of it, (for there we suppose the center of its gravity) and the rest would float above.

above. These grosser parts thus sunk down and compress'd more and more, would harden by degrees, and constitute the interiour parts of the Earth. The rest of the mass, which swims above, would be also divided by the same principle of gravity into two orders of Bodies, the one liquid like Water, the other volatile like Air. For the more fine and active parts disentangling themselves by degrees from the rest, would mount above them; and having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in those open places where they constitute that body we call AIR. The other parts being grosser than these, and having a more languid motion could not fly up separate from one another, as these did, but setled in a mass together, under the Air, upon the body of the Earth, composing not only Water strictly so called, but the whole mass of liquors, or liquid bodies, belonging to the Earth. And these first separations being thus made, the body of the Chaos would stand in that form which it is here represented in by the second Scheme.

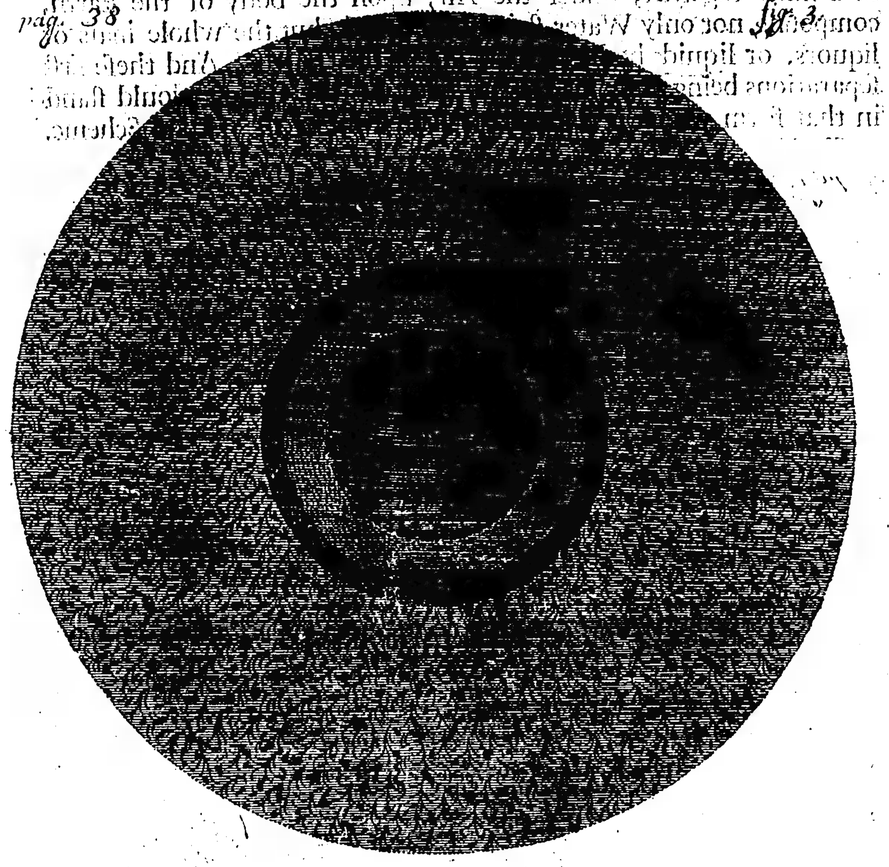
pag. 37. *fig.* 2.



The liquid mass which encircled the Earth, was not, as I noted before, the mere Element of Water, but a collection of all Liquors that belong to the Earth. I mean of all that do originally belong to it. Now seeing there are two chief kinds of Terrestrial Liquors, those that are fat, oily, and light; and those that are lean and more Earthy, like common Water; which two are generally found in compound

compound liquors, we cannot doubt but there were of both ſorts in this common maſs of liquids. And it being well known, that theſe two kinds mixt together, if left to themſelves and the general action of Nature, ſeparate one from another when they come to ſettle, as in Cream and thin Milk; Oil and Water, and ſuch like; we cannot but conclude, that the ſame Effect would follow here, and the more oily and light part of this maſs would get above the other, and ſwim upon it. The whole maſs being divided into two leſſer maſſes, and ſo the Globe would ſtand as we ſee it in this Third Figure.

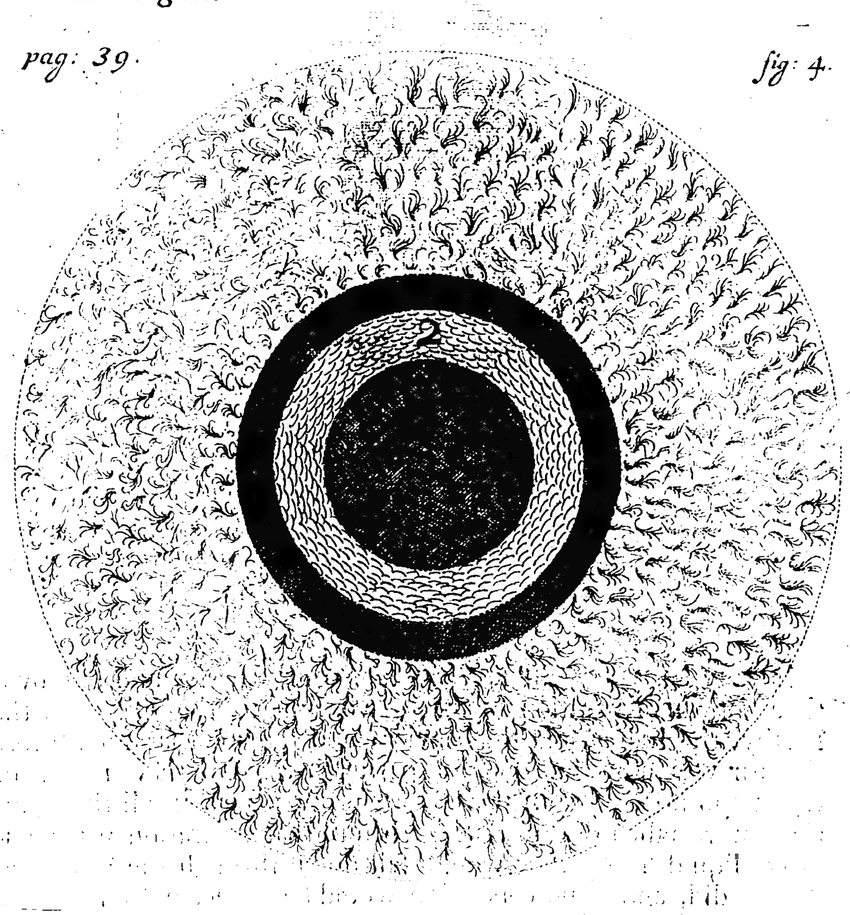
pag. 38 fig. 3



Hitherto the changes of the Chaos are eaſie and unqueſtionable, and would be diſpatcht in a ſhort time; we muſt now look over again theſe two great maſſes of the *Air* and *Water*, and conſider how their impurities or groſſer parts would be diſpos'd of; for we cannot imagine but they were both at firſt very muddy and impure: And as the Water would have its ſediment, which we are not here concern'd to look after, ſo the great Regions of the Air would certainly have their ſediment too; for the Air was as yet thick, groſs, and dark; there being an abundance of little Terreſtrial particles ſwimming in it ſtill, after the groſſeſt were ſunk down; which, by

by their heavineſs and lumpiſh figure, made their way more eaſily and ſpeedily. The leſſer and lighter which remain'd, would ſink too, but more ſlowly, and in a longer time: ſo as in their deſcent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the Deep, or upon the watery maſs, which would entangle and ſtop them from paſſing any further; whereupon mixing there with that unctious ſubſtance, they compos'd a certain ſlime, or fat, ſoft, and light Earth, ſpread upon the face of the Waters; as 'tis repreſented in this fourth Figure.

pag. 39. fig. 4.



This thin and tender Orb of Earth increas'd ſtill more and more, as the little Earthy parts that were detain'd in the Air could make their way to it. Some having a long journey from the upper Regions, and others being very light would float up and down a good while, before they could wholly diſengage themſelves and deſcend. But this was the general rendezvous, which ſooner or later they all got to, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they ſuckt it all up at length, and were wholly incorporate together, and ſo began to grow more ſtiff and firm, making both but one ſubſtance, which was the firſt concretion, or firm and conſiſtent ſubſtance that riſe upon the face of the Chaos. And the whole Globe ſtood in this poſture, as in Figure the fifth.

It

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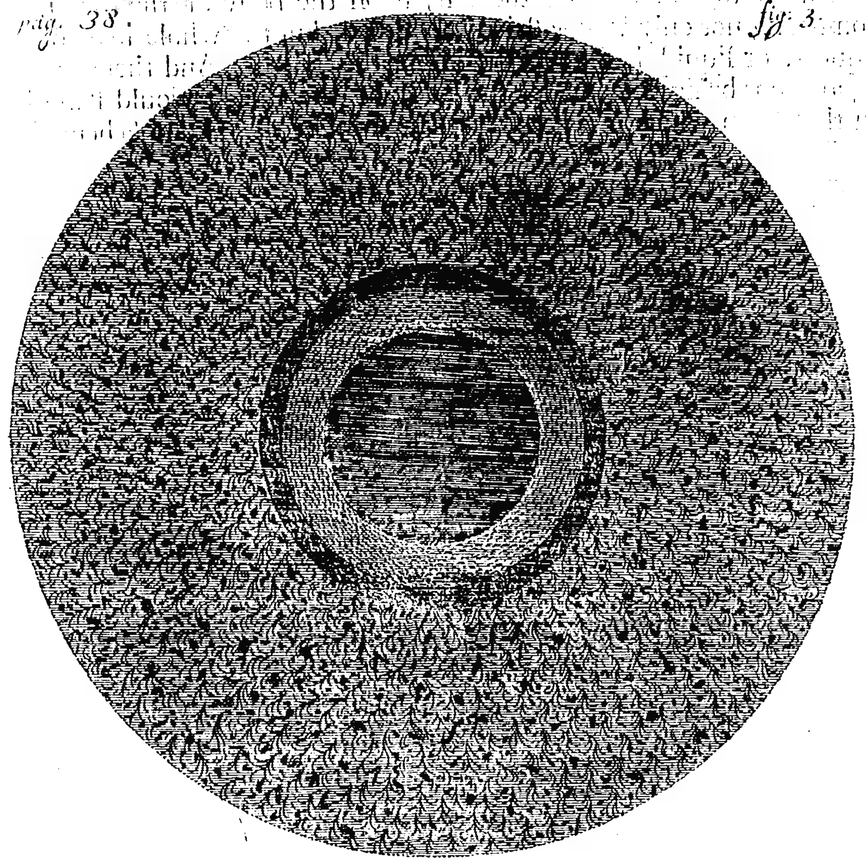
pag. 38. *fig. 3.*



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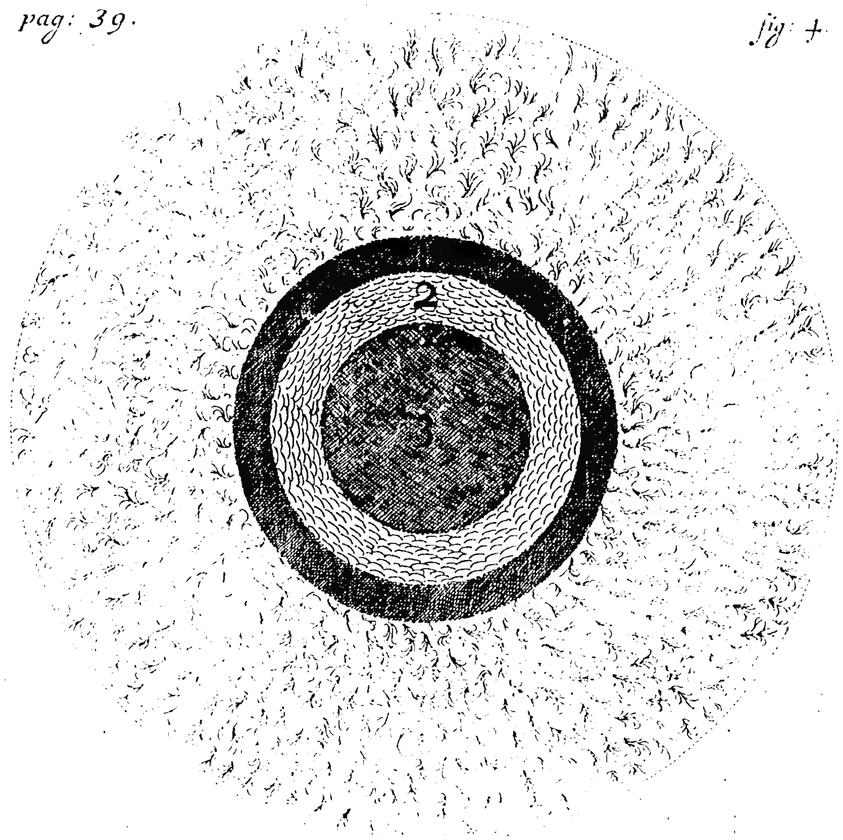

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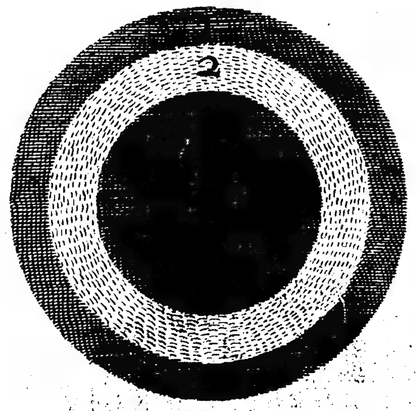


It may be, you will ſay, we take our liberty, and our own time for the ſeparation of theſe two liquors, the Oily and the Earthy, the lighter and the heavier; and ſuppoſe that done before the Air was clear'd of Earthy particles, that ſo they might be catcht and ſtopt there in their deſcent. Whereas if all theſe particles were fallen out of the Air before that ſeparation was made in the liquid maſs, they would fall down through the Water, as the firſt did, and ſo no concretion would be made, nor any Earthy cruſt form'd upon the face of the Waters, as we here ſuppoſe there was. 'Tis true, there could be no ſuch Orb of Earth form'd there, if the Air was wholly purg'd of all its Earthy parts before the Maſs of liquids began to purifie it ſelf, and to ſeparate the Oily parts from the more heavy: But this is an unreaſonable and incredible ſuppoſition, if we conſider, the maſs of the Air was many thouſand times greater than the Water, and would in proportion require a greater time to be purified; the particles that were in the Regions of the Air having a long way to come before they reacht the Watery maſs, and far longer than the Oily particles had to riſe from any part of that maſs to the ſurface of it. Beſides we may ſuppoſe a great many degrees of littleneſs and lightneſs in theſe Earthy particles, ſo as many of them might float in the Air a good

good while, like Exhalations, before they fell down. And laſtly, We do not ſuppoſe the ſeparation of theſe two liquors wholly made and finiſht before the purgation of the Air began, though we repreſent them ſo for diſtinction ſake; Let them begin to purifie at the ſame time, if you pleaſe, theſe parts riſing upwards, and thoſe falling downwards, they will meet in the middle, and unite and grow into one body, as we have deſcrib'd. And this body or new concretion would be increas'd daily, being fed and ſupply'd both from above and below; and having done growing, it would become more dry by degrees, and of a temper of greater conſiſtency and firmneſs, ſo as truly to reſemble and be fit to make an habitable Earth, ſuch as Nature intended it for.

But you will further object, it may be, that ſuch an effect as this would indeed be neceſſary in ſome degree and proportion, but not in ſuch a proportion, and in ſuch quantity as would be ſufficient to make this cruſt or concrete Orb an habitable Earth. This I confeſs appear'd to me at firſt a real difficulty, till I conſider'd better the great diſproportion there is betwixt the Regions of the Air and the Circumference of the Earth, or of that exteriour Orb of the Earth, we are now a making; which being many thouſand times leſs in depth and extent than the Regions of the Air, taken as high as the Moon, though theſe Earthy particles, we ſpeak of, were very thinly diſpers'd through thoſe vaſt tracts of the Air, when they came to be collected and amaſs'd together upon the ſurface of a far leſſer Sphere, they would conſtitute a body of a very conſiderable thickneſs and ſolidity. We ſee the Earth ſometimes covered with Snow two or three feet deep, made up only of little flakes or pieces of Ice, which falling from the middle Region of the Air, and meeting with the Earth in their deſcent, are there ſtopt and heapt up one upon another. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe little particles of Earth to ſhower down, not only from the middle Region, but from the whole capacity and extent of thoſe vaſt ſpaces that are betwixt us and the Moon, we could not imagine but theſe would conſtitute an Orb of Earth ſome thouſands of times deeper than the greateſt Snow; which being increas'd and ſwoln by that oily liquor it fell into, and incorporated with, it would be thick, ſtrong, and great enough in all reſpects to render it an habitable Earth.

We cannot doubt therefore but ſuch a body as this would be form'd, and would be ſufficient in quantity for an habitable Earth. Then for the quality of it, it will anſwer all the purpoſes of a *Riſing World*. What can be a more proper Seminary for Plants and Animals, than a ſoil of this temper and compoſition? A finer and lighter ſort of Earth, mixt with a benign Juice, eaſie and obedient to the action of the Sun, or of what other cauſes were employ'd by the Author of Nature, for the production of things in the new-made Earth. What ſort or diſpoſition of matter could be more fit and ready to catch life from Heaven, and to be drawn into all forms that the rudiments of life, or the bodies of living Creatures would require? What ſoil more proper for vegetation than this warm moiſture, which could have no fault, unleſs it was too

fertile and luxuriant? And that is no fault neither at the beginning of a World. This I am ſure of, that the learned amongſt the Ancients, both *Greeks*, *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and others, have deſcrib'd the primigenial ſoil, or the temper of the Earth, that was the firſt ſubject for the Generation and Origin of Plants and Animals, after ſuch a manner, as is truly expreſs'd, and I think with advantage, by this draught of the primigenial Earth.

Ἰλὺς πρωτογενής.

Thus much concerning the matter of the firſt Earth. Let us reflect a little upon the form of it alſo, whether External or Internal; both whereof do manifeſtly ſhew themſelves from the manner of its production or formation. As to the External form, you ſee it is according to the Propoſition we were to prove, *ſmooth, regular and uniform, without Mountains, and without a Sea.* And the proof we have given of it is very eaſie; The Globe of the Earth could not poſſibly riſe immediately from a Chaos into the irregular form in which it is at preſent. The Chaos being a fluid maſs, which we know doth neceſſarily fall into a Spherical ſurface, whoſe parts are equi-diſtant from the Center, and conſequently in an equal and even convexity one with another. And ſeeing upon the diſtinction of a Chaos and ſeparation into ſeveral Elementary maſſes, the Water would naturally have a ſuperiour place to the Earth, 'tis manifeſt, that there could be no habitable Earth form'd out of the Chaos, unleſs by ſome concretion upon the face of the Water. Then laſtly, ſeeing this concrete Orb of Earth upon the face of the Water would be of the ſame form with the ſurface of the Water it was ſpread upon, there being no cauſes, that we know of, to make any inequality in it, we muſt conclude it equal and uniform, and without Mountains, as alſo without a Sea; for the Sea and all the maſs of Waters was enclos'd within this exteriour Earth, which had no other baſis or foundation to reſt upon.

The contemplation of theſe things, and of this poſture of the Earth upon the Waters, doth ſo ſtrongly bring to mind certain paſſages of Scripture, (which will recur in another place) that we cannot, without injury to truth paſs them by here in ſilence. Paſſages that have ſuch a manifeſt reſemblance and agreement to this form and ſituation of the Earth, that they ſeem viſibly to point at it: ſuch are thoſe expreſſions of the Pſalmiſt, *God hath founded the Earth upon the Seas.* And in another Pſalm, ſpeaking of the wiſdom and power of God in the Creation, he ſaith, *To him who alone doth great wonders; to him that by wiſdom made the Heavens; to him that extended or ſtretched out the Earth above the Waters.* What can be more plain or proper to denote that form of the Earth that we have deſcrib'd, and to expreſs particularly the incloſure of the Waters within the Earth, as we have repreſented them? He ſaith in another place; *By the Word of the Lord were the Heavens made; he ſhut up the Waters of the Sea as in Bags,* (for ſo the word is to be render'd, and is render'd by all, except the *Engliſh*) *and laid up the Abyſſe as in ſtore-houſes.* This, you ſee, is very conformable to that Syſtem of the Earth and Sea, which we have propos'd here. Yet there is ſomething more expreſs than all this in that remarkable place in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, where *Wiſdom* declaring her Antiquity

quity and Exiſtence before the foundation of the Earth, amongſt other things, ſaith; *When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: When he drew an Orb over the ſurface of the Abyſſe*; or when he ſet an Orb upon the face of the Abyſſe. We render it in the *Engliſh* a *Compaſs*, or *Circle*, but 'tis more truly rendred an Orb or Sphere; and what Orb or Spherical Body was this, which at the formation of the Earth was built and plac'd round about the Abyſs; but that wonderful Arch, whoſe form and production we have deſcrib'd, encompaſſing the maſs of Waters, which in Scripture is often call'd the Abyſſe or Deep? Laſtly, This Scheme of the firſt Earth gives light to that place we mention'd before of S. *Peter*'s, where the firſt Earth is ſaid to *conſiſt of Water and by Water:* and by reaſon thereof was obnoxious to a Deluge. The firſt part of this character is plain from the deſcription now given: and the ſecond will appear in the following Chapter. In the mean time, concerning theſe paſſages of Scripture, which we have cited, we may truly and modeſtly ſay, that though they would not, it may be, without a Theory premis'd, have been taken or interpreted in this ſence, yet this Theory being premis'd, I dare appeal to any unprejudic'd perſon, if they have not a fairer and eaſier, a more full and more emphatical ſence, when apply'd to that form of the Earth and Sea, we are now ſpeaking of, than to their preſent form, or to any other we can imagine.

Prov. 8. 27.

Vid. Fig. 5. p. 40. This Orb is repreſented by the Circle 1, and the Abyſſe by the Region 2.

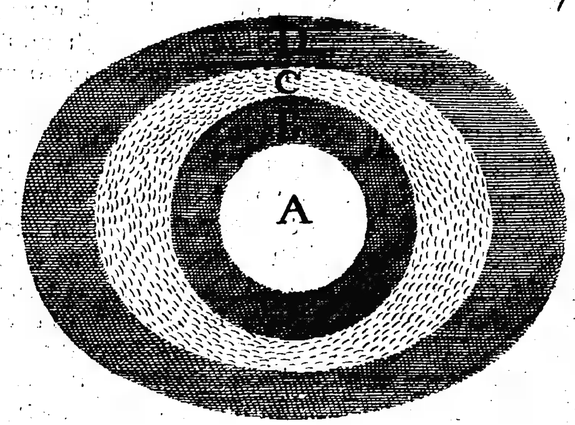
Thus much concerning the external form of the firſt Earth. Let us now reflect a little upon the Internal form of it, which conſiſts of ſeveral Regions, involving one another like Orbs about the ſame Center, or of the ſeveral Elements caſt circularly about each other; as it appears in the Fourth and Fifth Figure. And as we have noted the External form of this primæval Earth, to have been markt and celebrated in the Sacred Writings; ſo likewiſe in the Philoſophy and Learning of the Ancients, there are ſeveral remains and indications of this Internal form and compoſition of it. For 'tis obſervable, that the Ancients in treating of the Chaos, and in raiſing the World out of it, rang'd it into ſeveral Regions or Maſſes, as we have done; and in that order ſucceſſively, riſing one from another, as if it was a Pedigree or Genealogy. And thoſe Parts and Regions of Nature, into which the Chaos was by degrees divided, they ſignified commonly by dark and obſcure names, as the *Night*, *Tartarus*, *Oceanus*, and ſuch like, which we have expreſs'd in their plain and proper terms. And whereas the Chaos, when it was firſt ſet on work, ran all into diviſions, and ſeparations of one Element from another, which afterwards were all in ſome meaſure united and aſſociated in this primigenial Earth; the Ancients accordingly made *Contention* the principle that reign'd in the Chaos at firſt, and then *Love*: The one to expreſs the diviſions, and the other the union of all parties in this middle and common bond. Theſe, and ſuch like notions which we find in the Writings of the Ancients figuratively and darkly deliver'd, receive a clearer light, when compar'd with this Theory of the Chaos; which repreſenting every thing plainly, and in its natural colours, is a Key to their thoughts, and an illuſtration of their obſcurer Philoſophy,

Lib. 2. Chap. 7.

concerning the Original of the World; as we have ſhewn at large in the *Latin* Treatiſe.

There is another thing in Antiquity, relating to the form and conſtruction of the Earth, which is very remarkable, and hath obtain'd throughout all learned Nations and Ages. And that is the compariſon or reſemblance of the Earth to an *Egg*. And this is not ſo much for its External Figure, though that be true too: as for the inward compoſition of it; conſiſting of ſeveral Orbs, one including another, and in that order, as to anſwer the ſeveral Elementary Regions of which the new-made Earth was conſtituted. For if we admit for the *Yolk* a Central fire (which though very reaſonable, we had no occaſion to take notice of in our Theory of the Chaos) and ſuppoſe the Figure of the Earth *Oval*, and a little extended towards the Poles, (as probably it was, ſeeing the Vortex that contains it, is ſo) thoſe two bodies do very naturally repreſent one another; as in this Scheme, which repreſents the Interiour faces of both, a divided *Egg*, or Earth. Where, as the two in-

Fig. 7. *pag. 44.*



moſt Regions (A.B.) repreſent the Yolk and the Membrane that lies next above it; ſo the Exteriour Region of the Earth (D.) is as the Shell of the Egg, and the Abyſſe (C.) under it as the White that lies under the Shell. And conſidering that this notion of the *Mundane Egg*, or that the World was *Oviform*, hath been the ſence and Language of all Antiquity, *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Perſians*, *Egyptians*, and others, as we have ſhew'd elſewhere; I thought it worthy our notice in this place; ſeeing it receives ſuch a clear and eaſie explication from that Origin and Fabrick we have given to the firſt Earth, and alſo reflects light upon the Theory it ſelf, and confirms it to be no fiction: This notion, which is a kind of Epitome or Image of it, having been conſerv'd in the moſt Ancient Learning.

Tell. Theor. Sac. lib. 2. c. 10.

Thus much concerning the firſt Earth, its production and form; and concerning our Second Propoſition relating to it: Which being prov'd by Reaſon, the laws of Nature, and the motions of the Chaos; then atteſted by Antiquity, both as to the matter and form

form of it; and confirm'd by Sacred Writers, we may take it now for a well eſtabliſht truth, and proceed upon this ſuppoſition, *That the Ante-diluvian Earth was ſmooth and uniform, without Mountains or Sea,* to the explication of the univerſal Deluge.

Give me leave only before we proceed any further, to annex here a ſhort Advertiſement, concerning the Cauſes of this wonderful ſtructure of the firſt Earth. 'Tis true, we have propos'd the Natural Cauſes of it, and I do not know wherein our Explication is falſe or defective; but in things of this kind we may eaſily be too credulous. And this ſtructure is ſo marvellous, that it ought rather to be conſider'd as a particular effect of the Divine Art, than as the work of Nature. The whole Globe of the Water vaulted over, and the exteriour Earth hanging above the Deep, ſuſtain'd by nothing but its own meaſures and manner of conſtruction: A Building without foundation or corner-ſtone. This ſeems to be a piece of Divine Geometry or Architecture; and to this, I think, is to be refer'd that magnificent challenge which God Almighty made to *Job*; *Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth? declare if thou haſt underſtanding; Who hath laid the meaſures thereof, if thou knoweſt; or who hath ſtretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof faſtned, or who laid the corner-ſtone thereof? When the morning Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy.* *Moſes* alſo when he had deſcrib'd the Chaos, ſaith, *The Spirit of God mov'd upon*, or ſat brooding upon, *the face of the waters*; without all doubt to produce ſome effects there. And S. *Peter*, when he ſpeaks of the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, how it ſtood in reference to the Waters, adds, *By the Word of God*, or by the Wiſdom of God it was made ſo. And this ſame *Wiſdom* of God, in the *Proverbs*, as we obſerved before, takes notice of this very piece of work in the formation of the Earth. *When he ſet an Orb over the face of the Deep I was there.* And laſtly, the Ancient Philoſophers, or at leaſt the beſt of them, to give them their due, always brought in *Mens* or *Amor*, as a Supernatural principle to unite and conſociate the parts of the Chaos; which was firſt done in the compoſition of this wonderful Arch of the Earth. *Wherefore* to the great Architect, who made the boundleſs Univerſe out of nothing, and form'd the Earth out of a Chaos, let the praiſe of the Whole Work, and particularly of this Maſter-piece, for ever with all honour be given.

Job 38. 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

Τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Λόγος καὶ Ἔρως.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

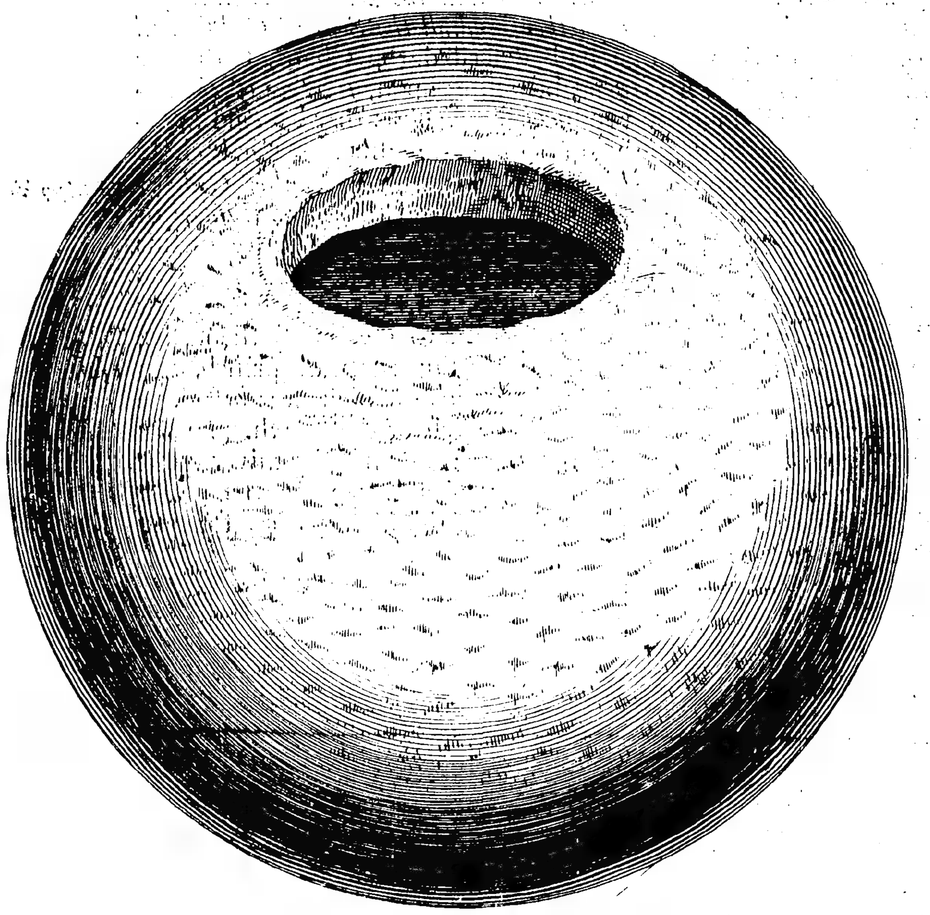
The diſſolution of the Firſt Earth: The Deluge enſuing thereupon. And the form of the preſent Earth riſing from the Ruines of the Firſt.

WE have now brought to light the Ante-diluvian Earth out of the dark maſs of the Chaos; and not only deſcribed the ſurface of it, but laid open the inward parts, to ſhew in what order its Regions lay. Let us now cloſe it up, and repreſent the Earth entire, and in larger proportions, more like an habitable World; as in this Figure, where you ſee the ſmooth convex of the Earth, and may imagine the great Abyſſe ſpread under it*; which two are to be the only ſubject of our further contemplation.

Vid. Fig. 5. & 6. pag. 40. & 44.

* *As at the aperture* a. a.

Booke 1st p. 46.



In

In this ſmooth Earth were the firſt Scenes of the World, and the firſt Generations of Mankind; it had the beauty of Youth and blooming Nature, freſh and fruitful, and not a wrinkle, ſcar or fracture in all its body; no Rocks nor Mountains, no hollow Caves, nor gaping Chanels, but even and uniform all over. And the ſmoothneſs of the Earth made the face of the Heavens ſo too; the Air was calm and ſerene; none of thoſe tumultuary motions and conflicts of vapours, which the Mountains and the Winds cauſe in ours: 'Twas ſuited to a golden Age, and to the firſt innocency of Nature.

All this you'll ſay is well, we are got into a pleaſant World indeed, but what's this to the purpoſe? what appearance of a Deluge here, where there is not ſo much as a Sea, nor half ſo much Water as we have in this Earth? or what appearance of Mountains, or Caverns, or other irregularities of the Earth, where all is level and united: So that inſtead of looſing the Knot, this ties it the harder. You pretend to ſhew us how the Deluge was made, and you lock up all the Waters within the womb of the Earth, and ſet Bars and Doors, and a Wall of impenetrable ſtrength and thickneſs to keep them there. And you pretend to ſhew us the original of Rocks and Mountains, and Caverns of the Earth, and bring us to a wide and endleſs plain, ſmooth as the calm Sea.

This is all true, and yet we are not ſo far from the ſight and diſcovery of thoſe things as you imagine; draw but the curtain and theſe Scenes will appear, or ſomething very like them. We muſt remember that S. *Peter* told us, that the Ante-diluvian Earth periſh'd, or was demoliſh'd; and *Moſes* ſaith, the *great Abyſſe* was broken open at the Deluge. Let us then ſuppoſe, that at a time appointed by Divine Providence, and from Cauſes made ready to do that great execution upon a ſinful World, that this *Abyſſe* was open'd, or that the frame of the Earth broke and fell down into the *Great Abyſſe*. At this one ſtroke all Nature would be chang'd, and this ſingle action would have two great and viſible Effects. The one Tranſient, and the other permanent. Firſt an univerſal Deluge would overflow all the parts and Regions of the broken Earth, during the great commotion and agitation of the Abyſſe, by the violent fall of the Earth into it. This would be the firſt and unqueſtionable effect of this diſſolution, and all that World would be deſtroyed. Then when the agitation of the Abyſſe was aſſwag'd, and the Waters by degrees were retir'd into their Chanels, and the dry land appear'd, you would ſee the true image of the preſent Earth in the ruines of the firſt. The ſurface of the Globe would be divided into Land and Sea; the Land would conſiſt of Plains and Valleys and Mountains, according as the pieces of this ruine were plac'd and diſpos'd: Upon the banks of the Sea would ſtand the Rocks, and near the ſhoar would be Iſlands, or leſſer fragments of Earth compaſs'd round by Water. Then as to Subterraneous Waters, and all Subterraneous Caverns and hollowneſſes, upon this ſuppoſition thoſe things could not be otherwiſe; for the parts would fall hollow in many places in this, as in all other ruines: And ſeeing the Earth fell into this Abyſſe, the Waters at a certain height

height would flow into all thoſe hollow places and cavities; and would alſo ſink and inſinuate into many parts of the ſolid Earth. And though theſe Subterraneous Vaults or holes, whether dry or full of Water, would be more or leſs in all places, where the parts fell hollow; yet they would be found eſpecially about the roots of the Mountains, and the higher parts of the Earth; for there the ſides bearing up one againſt the other, they could not lie ſo cloſe at the bottoms, but many vacuities would be intercepted. Nor are there any other inequalities or irregularities obſervable in the preſent form of the Earth; whether in the ſurface of it, or interiour conſtruction, whereof this *hypotheſis* doth not give a ready, fair, and intelligible account; and doth at one view repreſent them all to us, with their cauſes, as in a glaſs: And whether that Glaſs be true, and the Image anſwer to the Original, if you doubt of it, we will hereafter examine them piece by piece. But in the firſt place, we muſt conſider the General Deluge, how eaſily and truly this ſuppoſition repreſents and explains it, and anſwers all the properties and conditions of it.

I think it will be eaſily allow'd, that ſuch a diſſolution of the Earth as we have propos'd, and fall of it into the Abyſſe, would certainly make an Univerſal Deluge; and effectually deſtroy the old World, which periſh'd in it. But we have not yet particularly prov'd this diſſolution, and in what manner the Deluge follow'd upon it: And to aſſert things in groſs never makes that firm impreſſion upon our underſtandings, and upon our belief, as to ſee them deduc'd with their cauſes and circumſtances; And therefore we muſt endeavour to ſhew what preparations there were in Nature for this great diſſolution, and after what manner it came to paſs, and the Deluge in conſequence of it.

We have noted before, that *Moſes* imputed the Deluge to the diſruption of the Abyſs; and S. *Peter*, to the particular conſtitution of that Earth, which made it obnoxious to be abſorpt in Water, ſo, that our explication ſo far is juſtifi'd. But it was below the dignity of thoſe Sacred Pen-men, or the Spirit of God that directed them, to ſhew us the cauſes of this diſruption, or of this abſorption; this is left to the enquiries of men. For it was never the deſign of Providence, to give ſuch particular explications of Natural things, as ſhould make us idle, or the uſe of Reaſon unneceſſary; but on the contrary, by delivering great concluſions to us, to excite our curioſity and inquiſitiveneſs after the methods, by which ſuch things were brought to paſs: And it may be there is no greater trial or inſtance of Natural Wiſdom, than to find out the Chanel, in which theſe great revolutions of Nature, which we treat on, flow and ſucceed one another.

Let us therefore reſume that Syſtem of the Ante-diluvian Earth, which we have deduc'd from the Chaos, and which we find to anſwer S. *Peter*'s deſcription, and *Moſes* his account of the Deluge. This Earth could not be obnoxious to a Deluge, as the Apoſtle ſuppoſeth it to have been, but by a diſſolution; for the Abyſſe was enclos'd within its bowels. And *Moſes* doth in effect tell us, there was ſuch a diſſolution; when he ſaith, *The fountains of the great Abyſſe were*

were broken open. For Fountains are broken open no otherwiſe than by breaking up the ground that covers them? We muſt therefore here inquire in what order, and from what cauſes the frame of this exteriour Earth was diſſolv'd, and then we ſhall ſoon ſee how, upon that diſſolution, the Deluge immediately prevail'd and overflow'd all the parts of it.

I do not think it in the power of humane wit to determine how long this frame would ſtand, how many Years, or how many Ages; but one would ſoon imagine, that this kind of ſtructure would not be perpetual, nor laſt indeed many thouſands of Years, if one conſider the effect that the heat of the Sun would have upon it and the Waters under it; drying and parching the one, and rarefying the other into vapours. For we muſt conſider, that the courſe of the Sun at that time, or the poſture of the Earth to the Sun, was ſuch, that there was no diverſity or alternation of ſeaſons in the Year, as there is now; by reaſon of which alternation, our Earth is kept in an equality of temper, the contrary ſeaſons balancing one another; ſo as what moiſture the heat of the Summer ſucks out of the Earth, 'tis repaid in the Rains of the next Winter; and what chaps were made in it, are fill'd up again, and the Earth reduc'd to its former conſtitution. But if we ſhould imagine a continual Summer, the Earth would proceed in drineſs ſtill more and more, and the cracks would be wider and pierce deeper into the ſubſtance of it; And ſuch a continual Summer there was, at leaſt an equality of ſeaſons in the Ante-diluvian Earth, as ſhall be prov'd in the following Book, concerning *Paradiſe*. In the mean time this being ſuppos'd, let us conſider what effect it would have upon this Arch of the exteriour Earth, and the Waters under it.

We cannot believe, but that the heat of the Sun, within the ſpace of ſome hundreds of years, would have reduc'd this Earth to a conſiderable degree of drineſs in certain parts; and alſo have much rarefi'd and exhal'd the Waters beneath it: And conſidering the ſtructure of that Globe, the exteriour cruſt, and the Waters lying round under it, both expos'd to the Sun, we may fitly compare it to an *Æolipile*, or an hollow Sphere with Water in it, which the heat of the Fire rarefies and turns into Vapours and Wind. The Sun here is as the Fire, and the exteriour Earth is as the Shell of the *Æolipile*, and the Abyſſe as the Water within it; now when the heat of the Sun had pierced through the Shell and reach'd the Waters, it began to rareſie them, and raiſe them into Vapours; which rarefaction made them require more ſpace and room than they needed before, while they lay cloſe and quiet. And finding themſelves pen'd in by the exteriour Earth, they preſs'd with violence againſt that Arch, to make it yield and give way to their dilatation and eruption. So we ſee all Vapours and Exhalations enclos'd within the Earth, and agitated there, ſtrive to break out, and often ſhake the ground with their attempts to get looſe. And in the compariſon we us'd of an *Æolipile*, if the mouth of it be ſtopt that gives the vent, the Water rarefi'd will burſt the Veſſel with its force. And the reſemblance of the Earth to an Egg,

which we us'd before, holds alſo in this reſpect; for when it heats before the Fire, the moiſture and Air within being rarefi'd, makes it often burſt the Shell. And I do the more willingly mention this laſt compariſon, becauſe I obſerve that ſome of the Ancients, when they ſpeak of the doctrine of the *Mundane Egg*, ſay, that after a certain period of time it was broken.

But there is yet another thing to be conſider'd in this caſe; for as the heat of the Sun gave force to theſe Vapours more and more, and made them more ſtrong and violent; ſo on the other hand, it alſo weaken'd more and more the Arch of the Earth, that was to reſiſt them; ſucking out the moiſture that was the cement of its parts, drying it immoderately, and chapping it in ſundry places. And there being no Winter then to cloſe up and unite its parts, and reſtore the Earth to its former ſtrength and compactneſs, it grew more and more diſpos'd to a diſſolution. And at length, theſe preparations in Nature being made on either ſide, the force of the Vapours increas'd, and the walls weaken'd, which ſhould have kept them in, when the appointed time was come, that All-wiſe Providence had deſign'd for the puniſhment of a ſinful World, the whole fabrick brake, and the frame of the Earth was torn in pieces, as by an Earthquake; and thoſe great portions or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the Abyſſe, ſome in one poſture, and ſome in another.

This is a ſhort and general account how we may conceive the diſſolution of the firſt Earth, and an univerſal Deluge ariſing upon it. And this manner of diſſolution hath ſo many examples in Nature every Age, that we need not inſiſt farther upon the Explication of it. The generality of Earthquakes ariſe from like cauſes, and often end in a like effect, a partial Deluge, or Inundation of the place or Country where they happen; and of theſe we have ſeen ſome inſtances even in our own times: But whenſoever it ſo happens that the Vapours and Exhalations ſhut up in the caverns of the Earth, by rarefaction or compreſſion come to be ſtraitned, they ſtrive every way to ſet themſelves at liberty, and often break their priſon, or the cover of the Earth that kept them in; which Earth upon that diſruption falls into the Subterraneous Caverns that lie under it: And if it ſo happens that thoſe Caverns are full of Water, as generally they are, if they be great or deep, that City or tract of Land is drown'd. And alſo the fall of ſuch a maſs of Earth, with its weight and bulk, doth often force out the Water ſo impetuouſly, as to throw it upon all the Country round about. There are innumerable examples in Hiſtory (whereof we ſhall mention ſome hereafter) of Cities and Countries thus ſwallow'd up, or overflow'd, by an Earthquake, and an Inundation ariſing upon it. And according to the manner of their fall or ruine, they either remain'd wholly under water, and perpetually drown'd, as *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, *Plato*'s *Atlantis*, *Bura* and *Helice*, and other Cities and Regions in *Greece* and *Aſia*; or they partly emerg'd, and became dry Land again; when (their ſituation being pretty high) the Waters, after their violent agitation was abated, retir'd into the lower places, and into their Chanels.

Now

Now if we compare theſe partial diſſolutions of the Earth with an univerſal diſſolution, we may as eaſily conceive an Univerſal Deluge from an Univerſal Diſſolution, as a partial Deluge from a partial. If we can conceive a City, a Country, an Iſland, a Continent thus abſorpt and overflown; if we do but enlarge our thought and imagination a little, we may conceive it as well of the whole Earth. And it ſeems ſtrange to me, that none of the Ancients ſhould hit upon this way of explaining the Univerſal Deluge; there being ſuch frequent inſtances in all Ages and Countries of Inundations made in this manner, and never of any great Inundation made otherwiſe, unleſs in maritime Countries, by the irruption of the Sea into grounds that lie low. 'Tis true, they would not ſo eaſily imagine this Diſſolution, becauſe they did not underſtand the true form of the Ante-diluvian Earth; but, methinks, the examination of the Deluge ſhould have led them to the diſcovery of that: For obſerving the difficulty, or impoſſibility of an Univerſal Deluge, without the Diſſolution of the Earth; as alſo frequent inſtances of theſe Diſſolutions accompany'd with Deluges, where the ground was hollow, and had Subterraneous Waters; this, methinks, ſhould have prompted them to imagine, that thoſe Subterraneous Waters were univerſal at that time, or extended quite round the Earth; ſo as a diſſolution of the exteriour Earth could not be made any where but it would fall into Waters, and be more or leſs overflow'd. And when they had once reacht this thought, they might conclude both what the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth was, and that the Deluge came to paſs by the diſſolution of it. But we reaſon with eaſe about the finding out of things, when they are once found out; and there is but a thin paper-wall ſometimes between the great diſcoveries and a perfect ignorance of them. Let us proceed now to conſider, whether this ſuppoſition will anſwer all the conditions of an Univerſal Deluge, and ſupply all the defects which we found in other Explications.

The great difficulty propos'd, was to find Water ſufficient to make an Univerſal Deluge, reaching to the tops of the Mountains; and yet that this Water ſhould be tranſient, and after ſome time ſhould ſo return into its Chanels, that the dry Land would appear, and the Earth become again habitable. There was that double impoſſibility in the common opinion, that the quantity of Water neceſſary for ſuch a Deluge was no where to be found, or could no way be brought upon the Earth; and then if it was brought, could no way be remov'd again. Our explication quite takes off the edge of this Objection; for, performing the ſame effect with a far leſs quantity of Water, 'tis both eaſie to be found, and eaſily remov'd when the work is done. When the exteriour Earth was broke, and fell into the Abyſſe, a good part of it was cover'd with Water by the meer depth of the Abyſſe it fell into, and thoſe parts of it that were higher than the Abyſſe was deep, and conſequently would ſtand above it in a calm Water, were notwithſtanding reacht and overtop'd by the waves, during the agitation and violent commotion of the Abyſſe. For it is not imaginable what the commotion of the Abyſſe would be upon this

diſſolution of the Earth, nor to what height its waves would be thrown, when thoſe prodigious fragments were tumbled down into it. Suppoſe a ſtone of ten thouſand weight taken up into the Air a mile or two, and then let fall into the middle of the Ocean, I do not believe but that the daſhing of the water upon that impreſſion, would riſe as high as a Mountain. But ſuppoſe a mighty Rock or heap of Rocks to fall from that height, or a great Iſland, or a Continent; theſe would expel the waters out of their places, with ſuch a force and violence, as to fling them among the higheſt Clouds.

'Tis incredible to what height ſometimes great Stones and Cinders will be thrown, at the eruptions of fiery Mountains; and the preſſure of a great maſs of Earth falling into the Abyſſe, though it be a force of another kind, could not but impel the water with ſo much ſtrength, as would carry it up to a great height in the Air: and to the top of any thing that lay in its way, any eminency, high fragment, or new Mountain: And then rowling back again, it would ſweep down with it whatſoever it ruſht upon, Woods, Buildings, living Creatures, and carry them all headlong into the great gulph. Sometimes a maſs of water would be quite ſtruck off and ſeparate from the reſt, and toſt through the Air like a flying River; but the common motion of the waves was to climb up the hills, or inclin'd fragments; and then return into the valleys and deeps again, with a perpetual fluctuation going and coming, aſcending and deſcending, till the violence of them being ſpent by degrees, they ſetled at laſt in the places allotted for them; where *bounds are ſet that they cannot paſs over, that they return not again to cover the Earth.*

Pſal. 104. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Neither is it to be wonder'd, that the great Tumult of the waters, and the extremity of the Deluge laſted for ſome months; for beſides, that the firſt ſhock and commotion of the Abyſſe was extremely violent, from the general fall of the Earth, there were ever and anon ſome ſecondary ruines; or ſome parts of the great ruine, that were not well ſetled, broke again, and made new commotions: And 'twas a conſiderable time before the great fragments that fell, and their leſſer dependencies could be ſo adjuſted and fitted, as to reſt in a firm and immoveable poſture: For the props and ſtays whereby they lean'd one upon another, or upon the bottom of the Abyſſe, often fail'd, either by the incumbent weight, or the violent impulſes of the water againſt them; and ſo renew'd, or continu'd the diſorder and confuſion of the Abyſſe. Beſides, we are to obſerve, that theſe great fragments falling hollow, they incloſ'd and bore down with them under their concave ſurface a great deal of Air; and while the water compaſs'd theſe fragments, and overflow'd them, the Air could not readily get out of thoſe priſons, but by degrees, as the Earth and Water above would give way; ſo as this would alſo hinder the ſettlement of the Abyſſe, and the retiring of the Water into thoſe Subterraneous Chanels, for ſome time. But at length, when this Air had found a vent, and left its place to the Water, and the ruines, both primary and ſecondary, were ſetled and fix'd, then the Waters of the Abyſſe began to ſettle too,

too, and the dry Land to appear; firſt the tops of the Mountains, then the high Grounds, then the Plains and the reſt of the Earth. And this gradual ſubſidency of the Abyſſe (which *Moſes* alſo hath particularly noted) and diſcovery of the ſeveral parts of the Earth, would alſo take up a conſiderable time.

Thus a new World appear'd, or the Earth put on its new form, and became divided into Sea, and Land; and the Abyſſe, which from ſeveral Ages, even from the beginning of the World, had lain hid in the womb of the Earth, was brought to light and diſcover'd; the greateſt part of it conſtituting our preſent Ocean, and the reſt filling the lower cavities of the Earth: Upon the Land appear'd the Mountains and the Hills, and the Iſlands in the Sea, and the Rocks upon the ſhore. And ſo the Divine Providence, having prepar'd Nature for ſo great a change, at one ſtroke diſſolv'd the frame of the old World, and made us a new one out of its ruines, which we now inhabit ſince the Deluge. All which things being thus explain'd, deduc'd, and ſtated, we now add and pronounce our Third and laſt Propoſition; *That the diſruption of the Abyſſe, or diſſolution of the primæval Earth and its fall into the Abyſſe, was the cauſe of the Univerſal Deluge, and of the deſtruction of the old World.*

CHAP. VII.

That the Explication we have given of an Univerſal Deluge is not an Idea *only, but an account of what really came to paſs in this Earth, and the true Explication of* Noah's *Flood; as is prov'd by Argument and from Hiſtory. An Examination of* Tehom-Rabba, *or the great Abyſſe, and that by it the Sea cannot be underſtood, nor the Subterraneous Waters, as they are at preſent. What the true Notion and Form of it was, collected from* Moſes *and other Sacred Writers; The frequent alluſions in Scripture to the opening and ſhutting the Abyſſe, and the particular ſtile of Scripture in its reflections on the Origin, And the Formation of the Earth. Obſervations on* Deucalion's *Deluge.*

WE have now given an account of the firſt great revolution of Nature, and of the Univerſal Deluge, in a way that is intelligible, and from cauſes that anſwer the greatneſs of the effect; We have ſuppos'd nothing but what is alſo prov'd, both as to the firſt form of the Earth, and as to the manner of its Diſſolution: and how far from that would evidently and neceſſarily ariſe a general Deluge; which was that, which put a period to the old World, and the firſt ſtate of things. And though all this hath been deduc'd in due order, and with connexion and conſequence

of

of one thing upon another, ſo far as I know, which is the true evidence of a Theory; yet it may not be ſufficient to command the Aſſent and Belief of ſome perſons, who will allow, it may be, and acknowledge, that this is a fair *Idea* of a poſſible Deluge in general, and of the deſtruction of a World by it; but this may be only an *Idea*, they'll ſay; we deſire it may be prov'd from ſome collateral arguments, taken either from Sacred Hiſtory, or from obſervation, that this hath really been exemplified upon the Earth, and that *Noah*'s Flood came to paſs this way. And ſeeing we have deſign'd this firſt Book chiefly for the Explication of *Noah*'s Deluge, I am willing to add here a Chapter or two extraordinary upon this occaſion; to ſhew, that what we have deliver'd is more than an *Idea*, and that it was in this very way that *Noah*'s Deluge came to paſs. But they who have not this doubt, and have a mind to ſee the iſſue of the Theory, may skip theſe two Chapters, if they pleaſe, and proceed to the following, where the order is continued.

To ſatisfie then the doubtful in this particular, let us lay down in the firſt place that concluſion which they ſeem to admit, *viz.* That this is a poſſible and conſiſtent Explication of an Univerſal Deluge; and let's ſee how far this would go, if well conſider'd, towards the proof of what they deſire, or towards the demonſtration of *Noah*'s Deluge in particular. It is granted on both hands, that there hath been an Univerſal Deluge upon the Earth, which was *Noah*'s Deluge; and it is alſo granted, that we have given a poſſible and conſiſtent *Idea* of an Univerſal Deluge; Now we have prov'd *Chap. II.* and *III.* that all other ways hitherto aſſign'd for the Explication of *Noah*'s Flood are incongruous or impoſſible; therefore it came to paſs in that poſſible and competent way which we have propos'd. And if we have truly prov'd, in the foremention'd Chapters, the impoſſibility or unintelligibility of it in all other ways, this argumentation is undeniable. Beſides, we may argue thus, as it is granted that there hath been an Univerſal Deluge upon the Earth; ſo I ſuppoſe it will be granted that there hath been but one: Now the diſſolution of the Earth, whenſoever it happen'd, would make one Univerſal Deluge, and therefore the only one, and the ſame with *Noah*'s. That ſuch a Diſſolution as we have deſcrib'd, would make an Univerſal Deluge, I think, cannot be queſtion'd; and that there hath been ſuch a diſſolution, beſides what we have already alledg'd, ſhall be prov'd at large from natural Obſervations upon the Form and Figure of the preſent Earth, in the *Third* Section and laſt *Chap.* of this Book; In the mean time we will proceed to Hiſtory, both Sacred and Profane, and by comparing our Explication with thoſe, give further aſſurance of its truth and reality.

In the firſt place, it agrees, which is moſt conſiderable, with *Moſes*'s Narration of the Deluge; both as to the matter and manner of it. The matter of the Deluge *Moſes* makes to be the Waters from above, and the Waters from below; or he diſtinguiſhes the Cauſes of the Deluge, as we do, into Superiour and Inferiour; and the Inferiour cauſes he makes to be the diſruption of the Abyſs, which is the principal part, and the great hinge of our Explication. Then as to the manner of the Deluge, the beginning and the ending,

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ending, the increaſe and decreaſe, he ſaith it increas'd gradually, and decreas'd gradually, by *going* and *coming*; that is after many repeated fluctuations and reciprocations of the waves, the waters of the Abyſſe began to be more compos'd, and to retire into their Chanels, whence they ſhall never return to cover the Earth again. This agrees wholly with our Theory; we ſuppoſe the Abyſſe to have been under an extream commotion and agitation by the fall of the Earth into it, and this at firſt encreas'd more and more, till the whole Earth was ſaln; Then continuing for ſome time at the height of its rage, overwhelming the greateſt Mountains, it afterwards decreas'd by the like degrees, leaving firſt the tops of the Mountains, then the Hills and the Fields, till the Waters came to be wholly drawn off the Earth into their Chanels.

ver. 17, 18, 19, 20. *cap.* 8. 3, 5.

It was no doubt a great overſight in the Ancients, to fanſie the Deluge like a great ſtanding Pool of water, reaching from the bottom of the Valleys to the tops of the Mountains, every where alike, with a level and uniform ſurface; by reaſon of which miſtaken notion of the Deluge, they made more water neceſſary to it than was poſſible to be had, or being had, than it was poſſible to get quit of again; for there are no Chanels in the Earth that could hold ſo much water, either to give it, or to receive it. And the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaking of the Deluge, as it ſeems to me, notes this violent commotion of the Abyſſe. *The Waters went up by the Mountains, came down by the Valleys unto the place which thou haſt founded for them.* I know ſome interpret that paſſage of the ſtate of the waters in the beginning, when they cover'd the face of the whole Earth, *Gen.* 1. 2. but that cannot be, becauſe of what follows in the next Verſe; *Thou haſt ſet a bound that they may not paſs over; that they turn not again to cover the Earth.* Which is not true, if the preceding words be underſtood of the ſtate of the waters at the beginning of the World; for they did paſs thoſe bounds, and did return ſince that time to cover the Earth, namely at the Deluge: But if theſe words be refer'd to the time of the Deluge, and the ſtate of the waters then, 'tis both a juſt deſcription of the motion of the Abyſſe, and certainly true, that the waters ſince that time are ſo ſetled in their Chanels, that they ſhall never overflow the Earth again. As we are aſſured by the promiſe made to *Noah*, and that illuſtrious pledge and confirmation of it, the *Rainbow*, that the Heavens alſo ſhall never pour out ſo much waters again; their ſtate being chang'd as well as that of the Earth, or Sea, from what they were before the Deluge.

vid. St. *Auſtin* in loc. *Pſal.* 104. *verſ.* 8, 9.

But before we leave *Moſes*'s Narration of the Deluge, we muſt examine further, what is, or can be underſtood by his TEHOM-RABBA, or *great Abyſſe*, which he ſaith was broken up at the Deluge; for this will help us to diſcover, whether our Explication be the ſame with his, and of the ſame Flood. And firſt we muſt conſider, whether by the *Tehom-Rabba*, or Moſaical Abyſſe, can be underſtood the Sea or Ocean, under that form we ſee it in at preſent; and 'tis plain, methinks, that the Sea cannot be underſtood by this great Abyſſe, both becauſe the Sea is not capable upon any diſruption to make ſuch an univerſal Deluge; and becauſe the Narration

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ration of *Moſes*, and his expreſſions concerning this Abyſſe, do not agree to the Sea. Some of the Ancients indeed did imagine, that the waters of the Sea were much higher than the Land, and ſtood, as it were, on an heap; ſo as when theſe waters were let looſe, they overflow'd the Earth, and made a Deluge. But this is known to be a groſs miſtake; the Sea and the Land make one Globe, and the Waters couch themſelves, as cloſe as may be, to the Center of this Globe in a Spherical convexity; ſo that if all the Mountains and Hills were ſcal'd, and the Earth made even, the Waters would not overflow its ſmooth ſurface; much leſs could they overflow it in the form that it is now in, where the Shores are higher than the Sea, the Inland parts than the Shores, and the Mountains ſtill far above all: So as no diſruption of the Sea could make an univerſal Deluge, by reaſon of its ſituation. But beſides that, the quantity of Water contain'd in the Sea is no way ſufficient to make a Deluge in the preſent form of the Earth; for we have ſhewn before, *Chap.* 2. that Eight ſuch Oceans as ours would be little enough for that purpoſe. Then as to the expreſſions of *Moſes* concerning this Abyſſe, if he had meant the Sea by it, and that the Deluge was made by the diſruption of the Sea, why did he not ſay ſo? There is no mention of the Sea in all the Hiſtory of the Deluge: *Moſes* had mention'd the Sea before, *Gen.* 1. 10. and us'd a word that was common and known to ſignifie the Sea; And if he had a mind to expreſs the ſame thing here, why ſhould he not uſe the ſame word and the ſame term? In an Hiſtorical relation we uſe terms that are moſt proper and beſt known; but inſtead of that he uſeth the ſame term here that he did, *Gen.* 1. 2. when he ſaith, *Darkneſs was upon the face of the Abyſſe, or of the Deep*, as we render it; there the Abyſſe was open, or cover'd with darkneſs only, namely before the exterior Earth was form'd; Here the ſame Abyſſe is mention'd again, but cover'd, by the formation of the Earth upon it; and the covering of this Abyſſe was broken or *cloven aſunder*, and the Waters guſht out that made the Deluge. This I am ſure is the moſt natural interpretation or ſignification of this word, according as it is us'd in *Moſes*'s writings. Furthermore, we muſt obſerve what *Moſes* ſaith concerning this Abyſſe, and whether that will agree with the Sea or no; he ſaith the *Fountains of the great Abyſſe were broken open*; now if by the great Abyſſe you underſtand the Sea, how are its Fountains broken open? To break open a Fountain, is to break open the ground that covers it, and what ground covers the Sea? So that upon all conſiderations, either of the word that *Moſes* here uſeth, *Tehom-Rabba*, or of the thing affirmed concerning it, *breaking open its Fountains*; or of the effect following the breaking open its Fountains, *drowning of the Earth*; from all theſe heads it is manifeſt, that the Sea cannot be underſtood by the great Abyſſe, whoſe diſruption was the cauſe of the Deluge.

And as the *Moſaical* Abyſſe cannot be the Sea, ſo neither can it be thoſe Subterraneous waters that are diſperſt in the Cells and Caverns of the Earth; for as they are now lodg'd within the Earth, they are not one *Abyſſe*, but ſeveral Ciſterns and Receptacles of water, in ſeveral places, eſpecially under the roots of Mountains and Hills;

Hills; ſeparate one from another, ſometimes by whole Regions and Countries interpos'd. Beſides what Fountains, if they were broken up, could let out this water, or bring it upon the face of the Earth? When we ſink a Mine, or dig a Well, the waters, when uncover'd, do not leap out of their places, out of thoſe Cavities, or at leaſt, do not flow upon the Earth; 'Tis not as if you open'd a Vein, where the Bloud ſpirts out, and riſeth higher than its Source; but as when you take off the cover of a Veſſel, the water doth not fly out for that: So if we ſhould imagine all the Subterraneous Caverns of the Earth uncover'd, and the waters laid bare, there they would lie unmov'd in their beds, if the Earth did not fall into them to force them up. Furthermore, if theſe waters were any way extracted and laid upon the ſurface of the ground, nothing would be gain'd as to the Deluge by that, for as much water would run into theſe holes again when the Deluge begun to riſe; ſo that this would be but an uſeleſs labour, and turn to no account. And laſtly, Theſe waters are no way ſufficient for quantity to anſwer to the *Moſaical* Abyſs, or to be the principal cauſe of the Deluge, as that was.

Now ſeeing neither the Sea, as it is at preſent, nor the Subterraneous Waters, as they are at preſent, can anſwer to the *Moſaical Abyſſe*, we are ſure there is nothing in this preſent Earth that can anſwer to it. Let us then on the other hand compare it with that Subterraneous Abyſs, which we have found in the Ante-diluvian Earth, repreſented *Fig.* 2. and examine their characters and correſpondency: Firſt, *Moſes*'s Abyſs was cover'd, and Subterraneous, for the *Fountains* of it are ſaid to have been cloven or burſt open; then it was vaſt and capacious; and thirdly, it was ſo diſpos'd, as to be capable of a diſruption, that would cauſe an univerſal Deluge to the Earth. Our Ante-diluvian Abyſs anſwers truly to all theſe characters; 'twas in the womb of the Earth; the Earth was founded upon thoſe *Waters*, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith; or they were enclos'd within the Earth *as in a Bag*. Then for the capacity of it, it contained both all the Waters now in the Ocean, and all thoſe that are diſpers'd in the Caverns of the Earth: And laſtly, it is manifeſt its ſituation was ſuch, that upon a diſruption or diſſolution of the Earth which cover'd it, an univerſal Deluge would ariſe. Seeing then this anſwers the deſcription, and all the properties of the *Moſaical Abyſſe*, and nothing elſe will, how can we in reaſon judge it otherwiſe than the ſame, and the very thing intended and propos'd in the Hiſtory of *Noah*'s Deluge under the name of *Tehom-Rabba*, or the great Abyſs, at whoſe diſruption the World was over-flow'd. And as we do not think it an unhappy diſcovery to have found out (with a moral certainty) the ſeat of the *Moſaical* Abyſs, which hath been almoſt as much ſought for, and as much in vain, as the ſeat of *Paradiſe*; ſo this gives us a great aſſurance, that the Theory we have given of a general Deluge, is not a meer *Idea*, but is to be appropriated to the Deluge of *Noah*, as a true explication of it.

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And to proceed now from *Moſes* to other Divine Writers; That our Deſcription is a reality, both as to the Ante-diluvian

Earth, and as to the Deluge, we may further be convinc'd from
* *Epist. 3. 6.* S. *Peter*'s discourse concerning those two things. S. *Peter* saith, that the constitution of the Ante-diluvian Earth was such, in reference to the Waters, that by reason of that it was obnoxious to a Deluge; we say these Waters were the great *Abysse* it stood upon, by reason whereof that World was really expos'd to a Deluge, and overwhelm'd in it upon the disruption of this Abyss, as *Moses* witnesses. 'Tis true, S. *Peter* doth not specifie what those waters were, nor mention either the Sea, or the Abyss; but seeing *Moses* tells us, that it was by the waters of the Abyss that the Earth was overwhelm'd, S. *Peter*'s waters must be understood of the same Abyss, because he supposeth them the cause of the same Deluge. And, I think, the Apostle's discourse there cannot receive a better illustration, than from *Moses*'s History of the Deluge. *Moses* distinguishes the Causes of the Flood into those that belong to the Heavens, and those that belong to the Earth; the Rains and the Abyss: S. *Peter* also distinguisheth the causes of the Deluge into the constitution of the Heavens, in reference to its waters; and the constitution of the Earth, in reference to its waters; and no doubt they both aim at the same causes, as they refer to the same effect; only *Moses* mentions the immediate Causes, the Rains and the Waters of the Abyss; and S. *Peter* mentions the more remote and fundamental causes, that constitution of the Heavens, and that constitution of the Earth, in reference to their respective Waters, which made that world obnoxious to a Deluge: And these two speaking of *Noah*'s Deluge, and agreeing thus with one another, and both with us, or with the Theory which we have given of a General Deluge, we may safely conclude, that it is no imaginary *Idea*, but a true account of that Ancient Flood, whereof *Moses* hath left us the History.

And seeing the right understanding of the *Mosaical Abysse* is sufficient alone to prove all we have deliver'd concerning the Deluge, as also concerning the frame of the Ante-diluvian Earth, give me leave to take notice here of some other places of Scripture, which we mention'd before, that seem manifestly to describe this same form of the Abyss with the Earth above it, *Psal.* 24. 2. *He founded*
4 *Esdr.* 16. 58. *the Earth upon the Seas, and establish'd it upon the Floods*; and *Psal.* 136. 6. *He stretched out the Earth above the Waters.* Now this Foundation of the Earth upon the Waters, or *extension* of it above the Waters,
Chap. 6. doth most aptly agree to that structure and situation of the Abyss and the Ante-diluvian Earth, which we have assign'd them, and which we have before describ'd; but very improperly and forc'dly to the present form of the Earth and the Waters. In that second place of the *Psalmist*, the word may be render'd either, he *stretch'd*, as we read it, or he *fixt and consolidated* the Earth above the Waters, as the Vulgate and Septuagint translate it: For 'tis from the same word with that which is used for the *Firmament*, *Gen.* 1. So that as the Firmament was extended over and around the Earth, so was the Earth extended over and about the Waters, in that first constitution of things; and I remember some of the Ancients use this very comparison of the Firmament and Earth, to express the situation

situation of the *Paradisiacal* Earth in reference to the Sea or Abysse.

There is another remarkable place in the *Psalms*, to shew the disposition of the Waters in the first Earth; *Psal.* 33. 7. *He gathereth the Waters of the Sea as in a Bag, he layeth up the Abysses in Store-houses.* This answers very fitly and naturally to the place and disposition of the Abysse which it had before the Deluge, inclos'd within the vault of the Earth, as in a *Bag* or in a *Store house*. I know very well what I render here in a *Bag*, is render'd in the *English, as an heap*; but that translation of the word seems to be grounded on the old Error, that the Sea is higher than the Land, and so doth not make a true fence. Neither are the two parts of the Verse so well suited and consequent one to another, if the first express an high situation of the Waters, and the second a low one. And accordingly, the Vulgate, Septuagint, and Oriental Versions and Paraphrase, as also *Symmachus*, St. *Jerome*, and *Basil*, render it as we do here, *in a Bag*, or by terms equivalent.

To these passages of the *Psalmist*, concerning the form of the Abysse and the first Earth, give me leave to add this general remark, that they are commonly ushered in, or followed, with something of Admiration in the Prophet. We observ'd before, that the formation of the first Earth, after such a wonderful manner, being a piece of Divine Architecture, when it was spoken of in Scripture, it was usually ascrib'd to a particular Providence, and accordingly we see in these places now mention'd, that it is still made the object of praise and admiration: In that 136 *Psalm* 'tis reckon'd among the wonders of God, *Vers.* 4, 5, 6. *Give praise to him who alone doth great wonders; To him that by wisdom made the Heavens: To him that stretched out the Earth above the Waters.* And in like manner, in that 33 *Psalm*, 'tis joyn'd with the forming of the Heavens, and made the subject of the Divine Power and Wisdom: *Vers.* 6, 7, 8, 9. *By the word of the Lord were the Heavens made, and all the Host of them by the breath of his mouth; He gathereth the Waters of the Sea together, as in a Bag, he layeth up the Abysse in Store-houses. Let all the Earth fear the Lord; Let all the Inhabitants of the World stand in awe of him; For he spake, and it was; he commanded, and it stood fast.* Namely, all things stood in that wonderful posture in which the *Word* of his Power and Wisdom had establisht them. *David* often made the works of Nature, and the External World, the matter of his Meditations, and of his praises and Philosophical Devotions; reflecting sometimes upon the present form of the World, and sometimes upon the primitive form of it: And though Poetical expressions, as the *Psalms* are, seldom are so determinate and distinct, but that they may be interpreted more than one way, yet, I think, it cannot but be acknowledg'd, that those expressions and passages that we have instanc'd in, are more fairly and aptly understood of the Ancient form of the Sea, or the Abysse, as it was enclos'd within the Earth, than of the present form of it in an open Chanel.

There are also in the Book of *Job* many noble reflections upon the works of Nature, and upon the formation of the Earth and the Abysse; whereof that in *Chap.* 26. 7. *He stretcheth out the North over the Empty places, and hangeth the Earth upon nothing*, seems to parallel

the expreſſion of *David*; *He ſtretched out the Earth upon the Waters*; for the word we render the *empty place* is TOHU, which is appli'd to the Chaos and the firſt Abyſſe, *Gen.* 1. 2. and the *hanging the Earth upon nothing* is much more wonderful, if it be underſtood of the firſt habitable Earth, that hung over the Waters, ſuſtain'd by nothing but its own peculiar form, and the libration of its parts, than if it be underſtood of the preſent Earth, and the whole body of it; for if it be in its Center or proper place, whither ſhould it ſink further, or whither ſhould it go? But this paſſage, together with the foregoing and following Verſes, requires a more critical examination than this Diſcourſe will eaſily bear.

There is another remarkable Diſcourſe in *Job*, that contains many things to our preſent purpoſe, 'tis *Chap.* 38. where God reproaches *Job* with his ignorance of what paſs'd at the beginning of the World, and the formation of the Earth, *Verſ.* 4, 5, 6. *Where waſt thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth? Declare if thou haſt underſtanding: Who hath laid the meaſures thereof, if thou knoweſt; or who hath ſtretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof faſtned, or who laid the corner-ſtone?* All theſe queſtions have far more force and Emphaſis, more propriety and elegancy, if they be underſtood of the firſt and Ante-diluvian form of the Earth, than if they be underſtood of the preſent; for in the preſent form of the Earth there is no Architecture, no ſtructure, no more than in a ruine; or at leaſt none comparatively to what was in the firſt form of it. And that the exterior and ſuperficial part of the Earth is here ſpoken of, appears by the *rule* and *line* appli'd to it; but what rule or regularity is there in the ſurface of the preſent Earth? what line was us'd to level its parts? But in its original conſtruction when it lay ſmooth and regular in its ſurface, as if it had been drawn by rule and line in every part; and when it hung pois'd upon the Deep, without pillar or foundation ſtone, then juſt proportions were taken, and every thing plac'd by weight and meaſure: And this, I doubt not, was that artificial ſtructure here alluded to, and when this work was finiſht; then *the morning Stars ſang together, and all the ſons of God ſhouted for joy.*

ver. 7.

Thus far the queſtions proceed upon the form and conſtruction of the firſt Earth; in the following *verſes* (8, 9, 10, 11.) they proceed upon the demolition of that Earth, the opening the Abyſſe, and the preſent ſtate of both. *Or who ſhut up the Sea with doors when it brake forth, as if it had iſſu'd out of a womb?* Who can doubt but this was at the breaking open of the *Fountains of the Abyſſe*, *Gen.* 7. 11. when the waters guſht out, as out of the great womb of Nature; and by reaſon of that confuſion and perturbation of Air and Water that riſe upon it, a thick miſt and darkneſs was round the Earth, and all things as in a ſecond Chaos, *When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkneſs a ſwadling band for it, and brake up for it my decreed place, and made bars and doors.* Namely, (taking the words as thus uſually render'd) the preſent Chanel of the Sea was made when the Abyſſe was broke up, and at the ſame time were made the ſhory Rocks and Mountains which are the bars and boundaries of the Sea. *And ſaid hitherto ſhalt thou come, and no further, and*

and here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtay'd. Which laſt ſentence ſhows, that this cannot be underſtood of the firſt diſpoſition of the waters as they were before the Flood, for their proud waves broke thoſe bounds, whatſoever they were, when they overflow'd the Earth in the Deluge. And that the *womb* which they broke out of was the great Abyſs, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe in this place doth expreſly mention; and what can be underſtood by *the womb of the Earth*, but that Subterraneous capacity in which the Abyſs lay? Then that which followeth, is a deſcription or repreſentation of the great Deluge that enſu'd, and of that diſorder in Nature, that was then, and how the Waters were ſetled and Bounded afterwards. Not unlike the deſcription in the 104 *Pſalm, verſ.* 6, 7, 8, 9. and thus much for theſe places in the book of *Job*.

מן תהומה

There remains a remarkable diſcourſe in the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, relating to the *Moſaical* Abyſſe, and not only to that, but to the Origin of the Earth in general; where *Wiſdom* declares her antiquity and pre-exiſtence to all the works of this Earth, *Chap.* 8. *ver.* 23. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. *I was ſet up from everlaſting, from the beginning, ere the Earth was. When there were no Deeps or Abyſſes, I was brought forth; when no fountains abounding with water.* Then in the 27. verſe, *When he prepared the Heavens, I was there; when he ſet a Compaſs upon the face of the Deep or Abyſſe. When he eſtabliſhed the Clouds above, when he ſtrengthned the fountains of the Abyſſe.* Here is mention made of the *Abyſſe*, and of *the Fountains of the Abyſſe*, and who can queſtion, but that the Fountains of the Abyſs here, are the ſame with the Fountains of the Abyſs which *Moſes* mentions, and were broken open, as he tells us, at the Deluge? Let us obſerve therefore what form *Wiſdom* gives to this Abyſs, and conſequently to the *Moſaical*: And here ſeem to be two expreſſions that determine the form of it, *verſ.* 28. *He ſtrengthned the fountains of the Abyſſe*, that is, the cover of thoſe Fountains, for the Fountains could be ſtrengthned no other way than by making a ſtrong cover or Arch over them. And that Arch is expreſt more fully and diſtinctly in the foregoing *verſe*, *When he prepar'd the Heavens, I was there; when he ſet a* Compaſs *on the face of the Abyſſe*; we render it *Compaſs*, the word ſignifies a Circle or Circumference, or an Orb or Sphere. So there was in the beginning of the World a Sphere Orb or Arch ſet round the Abyſs, according to the teſtimony of *Wiſdom*, who was then preſent. And this ſhews us both the form of the *Moſaical* Abyſs, which was included within this Vault: and the form of the habitable Earth, which was the outward ſurface of this Vault, or the cover of the Abyſs that was broke up at the Deluge.

And thus much, I think, is ſufficient to have noted out of Scripture, concerning the *Moſaical* Abyſs, to diſcover the form, place and ſituation of it; which I have done the more largely, becauſe that being determin'd, it will draw in eaſily all the reſt of our Theory concerning the Deluge. I will now only add one or two general Obſervations, and ſo conclude this diſcourſe. The firſt Obſervation is concerning the Abyſs; namely, That the *opening and ſhutting of the Abyſſe*, is the great hinge upon which Nature turns in this

this Earth: This brings another face of things, other Scenes and a New World upon the ſtage: And accordingly it is a thing often mention'd and alluded to in Scripture, ſometimes in a Natural, ſometimes in a Moral or Theological ſence; and in both ſences, our Saviour ſhuts and opens it as he pleaſeth. Our Saviour, who is both Lord of Nature and of Grace, whoſe Dominion is both in Heaven and in Earth, hath a double Key; that of the Abyſs, whereby Death and Hell are in his power, and all the revolutions of Nature are under his Conduct and Providence; And the Key of *David*, whereby he admits or excludes from the City of God, and the Kingdom of Heaven whom he pleaſeth. Of thoſe places that refer to the ſhutting and opening the Abyſs in a natural ſence, I cannot but particularly take notice of that in *Job*, *Chap.* 12. *ver.* 14, 15. *& Chap.* 11. 10. *God breaketh down, and it cannot be built again: he ſhutteth up man, and there can be no opening: Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up; alſo he ſendeth them out, and they overturn the Earth.* Though theſe things be true of God in leſſer and common inſtances, yet to me it is plain, that they principally refer to the Deluge, the opening and ſhutting the Abyſs, with the diſſolution or ſubverſion of the Earth thereupon; and accordingly they are made the great effects of the Divine Power and Wiſdom in the foregoing Verſe, *Verſe* 13. *With God is wiſdom and ſtrength, he hath counſel and underſtanding; Behold, he breaketh down*, &c. And alſo in the concluſion 'tis repeated again, *Verſe* 6. *With him is ſtrength and wiſdom*; which ſolemnity would ſcarce have been us'd for common inſtances of his power. When God is ſaid to build or pull down, and no body can build again, 'tis not to be underſtood of an Houſe or a Town, God builds and unbuilds Worlds; and who ſhall build up that Arch that was broke down at the Deluge? Where ſhall they lay the Foundation, or how ſhall the Mountains be rear'd up again to make part of the Roof? This is the fabrick, which when God breaketh down, none can build up again. *He withholdeth the waters and they dry up:* As we ſhew'd the Earth to have been immoderately chapt and parcht before its diſſolution. *He ſendeth them forth and they overturn the Earth.* What can more properly expreſs the breaking out of the waters at the diſruption of the Abyſs? and the ſubverſion or diſſolution of the Earth in conſequence of it? 'Tis true this laſt paſſage may be applied to the breaking out of waters in an ordinary Earthquake, and the ſubverſion of ſome part of the Earth, which often follows upon it; but it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the ſence is more weighty, if it be refer'd to the great Deluge, and the great Earthquake which laid the World in ruines and in water. And Philoſophical deſcriptions in Sacred Writings, like Prophecies, have often a leſſer and a greater accompliſhment and interpretation.

Job 11. 10, 12, 14. *Apoc.* 1. 18. 20. 1, 2, 3. 21. 1. *Apoc.* 3. 7. *Iſa.* 22. 22.

I could not paſs by this place without giving this ſhort Explication of it. We proceed now to the ſecond Obſervation, which is concerning the ſtile of Scripture, in moſt of thoſe places we have cited, and others upon the ſame ſubject. The reflections that are made in ſeveral parts of the Divine Writings, upon the Origin of the World, and the formation of the Earth, ſeem to me to be writ in a ſtile ſomething approaching to the nature of a Prophetical ſtile, and

and to have more of a Divine Enthuſiaſm and Elocution in them, than the ordinary text of Scripture; the expreſſions are lofty, and ſometimes abrupt, and often figurative and diſguis'd, as may be obſerv'd in moſt of thoſe places we have made uſe of, and particularly in that ſpeech of *Wiſdom*, *Prov.* 8. where the 26. *verſe* is ſo obſcure, that no two Verſions that I have yet met with, whether Ancient or Modern, agree in the Tranſlation of that Verſe. And therefore though I fully believe that the conſtruction of the firſt Earth is really intended in thoſe words, yet ſeeing it could not be made out clear without a long and critical diſcuſſion of them, I did not think that proper to be inſiſted upon here. We may alſo obſerve, that whereas there is a double form or compoſition of the Earth, that which it had at firſt, or till the Deluge, and that which it hath ſince; ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other may be glanc'd upon in theſe Scripture phraſes and deſcriptions; and ſo there may be in the ſame diſcourſe an intermixture of both. And it commonly happens ſo in an Enthuſiaſtick or Prophetick ſtile, that by reaſon of the eagerneſs and trembling of the Fancy, it doth not always regularly follow the ſame even thread of diſcourſe, but ſtrikes many times upon ſome other thing that hath relation to it, or lies under or near the ſame view. Of this we have frequent examples in the *Apocalypſe*; and in that Prophecy of our Saviour's, *Matth.* 24. concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of the World. But notwithſtanding any ſuch unevenneſs or indiſtinctneſs in the ſtile of thoſe places which we have cited concerning the Origin and form of the Earth, we may at leaſt make this remark, that if there never was any other form of the Earth but the preſent, nor any other ſtate of the Abyſſe, than what it is in now, 'tis not imaginable, what ſhould give occaſion to all thoſe expreſſions and paſſages that we have cited; which being ſo ſtrange in themſelves and paradoxical, ſhould yet ſo much favour, and ſo fairly comply with our ſuppoſitions. What I have obſerv'd in another place, in treating of *Paradiſe*, that the expreſſions of the Ancient Fathers were very extravagant, if *Paradiſe* was nothing but a little plot of ground in *Meſopotamia*, as many of late have fanſied, may in like manner be obſerv'd concerning the ancient Earth and Abyſſe, if they were in no other form, nor other ſtate than what they are under now, the expreſſions of the Sacred Writers concerning them are very ſtrange and inaccountable, without any ſufficient ground, that we know, or any juſt occaſion for ſuch uncouth repreſentations. If there was nothing intended or refer'd to in thoſe deſcriptions, but the preſent form and ſtate of the Earth, that is ſo well known, that in deſcribing of it there would be nothing dark or myſterious, nor any occaſion for obſcurity in the ſtile or expreſſion, whereof we find ſo much in thoſe. So as, all things conſider'd, what might otherwiſe be made an exception to ſome of theſe Texts alledg'd by us, *viz.* that they are too obſcure, becomes an argument for us: as implying that there is ſomething more intended by them, than the preſent and known form of the Earth. And we having propos'd another form and ſtructure of the Earth, to which thoſe characters ſuit and anſwer more eaſily, as this

Tell. Theor. lib. 2. *c.* 6.

opens

opens and gives light to those difficult places, so it may be reasonably concluded to be the very sence and notion intended by the holy Writers.

And thus much, I think, is sufficient to have observ'd out of Scripture, to verifie our Explication of the Deluge, and our Application of it to *Noah*'s Flood, both according to the *Mosaical* History of the Flood, and according to many occasional reflections and discourses dispers'd in other places of Scripture, concerning the same Flood, or concerning the Abysse and the first form of the Earth. And though there may be some other passages of a different aspect, they will be of no force to disprove our conclusions, because they respect the present form of the Earth and Sea; and also because expressions that deviate more from the common opinion, are more remarkable and more proving; in that there is nothing could give occasion to such, but an intention to express the very truth. So, for instance, if there was one place of Scripture that said *the Earth was mov'd*, and several that seem'd to imply, that the *Sun* was mov'd, we should have more regard to that one place for the motion of the Earth, than to all the other that made against it; because those others might be spoken and understood according to common opinion and common belief, but that which affirm'd the motion of the Earth, could not be spoke upon any other ground, but only for truth and instruction sake. I leave this to be appli'd to the present subject.

Thus much for the Sacred Writings. As to the History of the ancient Heathens, we cannot expect an account or Narration of *Noah*'s Flood, under that name and notion; but it may be of use to observe two things out of that History. First, that the Inundations recorded there came generally to pass in the manner we have describ'd the Universal Deluge; namely, by Earthquakes and an eruption of Subterraneous waters, the Earth being broken and falling in: and of this we shall else-where give a full account out of their Authors. Secondly, that *Deucalion*'s Deluge in particular, which is suppos'd by most of the Ancient Fathers to represent *Noah*'s Flood, is said to have been accompanied with a gaping or disruption of the Earth; *Apollodorus* saith, that the Mountains of *Thessaly* were divided asunder, or separate one from another at that time: And *Lucian (de deâ Syriâ)* tells a very remarkable story to this purpose, concerning *Deucalion*'s Deluge, and a ceremony observ'd in the Temple of *Hieropolis*, in commemoration of it; which ceremony seems to have been of that nature, as impli'd that there was an opening of the Earth at the time of the Deluge, and that the waters subsided into that again when the Deluge ceas'd. He saith, that this Temple at *Hieropolis* was built upon a kind of Abysse, or had a bottomless pit, or gaping of the Earth in one part of it, and the people of *Arabia* and *Syria*, and the Countries thereabouts twice a year repair'd to this Temple, and brought with them every one a vessel of water, which they pour'd out upon the floor of the Temple, and made a kind of an Inundation there in memory of *Deucalion*'s Deluge; and this water sunk by degrees into a Chasm or opening of a Rock, which the Temple stood upon, and so left the floor dry

Bibl. lib. 1.

dry again. And this was a rite solemnly and religiously perform'd both by the Priests and by the People. If *Moses* had left such a Religious rite among the *Jews*, I should not have doubted to have interpreted it concerning his Abysse, and the retiring of the waters into it; but the actual disruption of the Abysse could not well be represented by any ceremony. And thus much concerning the present question, and the true application of our Theory to *Noah*'s Flood.

CHAP. VIII.

The particular History of Noah's *Flood is explain'd in all the material parts and circumstances of it, according to the preceding Theory. Any seeming difficulties removed, and the whole Section concluded, with a Discourse how far the Deluge may be lookt upon as the effect of an ordinary Providence, and how far of an extraordinary.*

WE have now proved our Explication of the Deluge to be more than an *Idea*, or to be a true piece of Natural History; and it may be the greatest and most remarkable that hath yet been since the beginning of the World. We have shown it to be the real account of *Noah*'s Flood, according to Authority both Divine and Humane; and I would willingly proceed one step further, and declare my thoughts concerning the manner and order wherein *Noah*'s Flood came to pass; in what method all those things happen'd and succeeded one another, that make up the History of it, as causes or effects, or other parts or circumstances: As how the Ark was born upon the waters, what effect the Rains had, at what time the Earth broke, and the Abysse was open'd; and what the condition of the Earth was upon the ending of the Flood, and such like. But I desire to propose my thoughts concerning these things only as conjectures, which I will ground as near as I can upon Scripture and Reason, and am very willing they should be rectifi'd where they happen to be amiss. I know how subject we are to mistakes in these great and remote things, when we descend to particulars; but I am willing to expose the Theory to a full trial, and to shew the way for any to examine it, provided they do it with equity and sincerity. I have no other design than to contribute my endeavours to find out the truth in a subject of so great importance, and wherein the World hath hitherto had so little satisfaction: And he that in an obscure argument proposeth an *Hypothesis* that reacheth from end to end, though it be not exact in every particular, 'tis not without a good effect; for it gives aim to others to take their measures better, and opens their invention in a matter which otherwise, it may be, would have been impenetrable to them: As he that makes the first way through a thick Forest, though it be not the streightest and shortest, deserves better, and hath done more, than he that makes it streighter and smoother afterwards.

Providence that ruleth all things and all Ages, after the Earth had stood above sixteen hundred Years, thought fit to put a period to that World; and accordingly, it was reveal'd to *Noah*, that for

the wickedneſs and degeneracy of men, God would deſtroy mankind with the *Earth (Gen.* 6. 13.) in a Deluge of water; whereupon he was commanded, in order to the preſerving of Himſelf and Family, as a ſtock for the new World, to build a great Veſſel or Ark, to float upon the waters, and had inſtructions given him for the building of it both as to the matter and as to the form. *Noah* believed the word of God, though againſt his ſenſes, and all external appearances, and ſet himſelf to work to build an Ark, according to the directions given, which after many years labour was finiſh'd; whilſt the incredulous World, ſecure enough, as they thought, againſt a Deluge, contin'd ſtill in their exceſſes and inſolencies, and laught at the admonition of *Noah*, and at the folly of his deſign of building an extravagant Machine, a floating houſe, to ſave himſelf from an imaginary Inundation; for they thought it no leſs, ſeeing it was to be in an Earth where there was no Sea, nor any Rain neither in thoſe parts, according to the ordinary courſe of Nature, as ſhall be ſhown in the ſecond Book of this Treatiſe.

But when the appointed time was come, the Heavens began to melt, and the Rains to fall, and theſe were the firſt ſurprizing cauſes and preparatives to the Deluge; They fell, we ſuppoſe, (tho we do not know how that could proceed from natural cauſes) throughout the face of the whole Earth; which could not but have a conſiderable effect on that Earth, being even and ſmooth, without Hills and eminencies, and might lay it all under water to ſome depth; ſo as the Ark, if it could not float upon thoſe Rain-waters, at leaſt taking the advantage of a River, or of a Dock or Ciſtern made to receive them, it might be a-float before the Abyſſe was broken open. For I do not ſuppoſe the Abyſſe broken open before any Rain fell; And when the opening of the Abyſſe and of the Flood-gates of Heaven are mention'd together, I am apt to think thoſe Flood-gates were diſtinct from the common Rain, and were ſomething more violent and impetuous. So that there might be preparatory Rains before the diſruption of the Abyſſe: and I do not know but thoſe Rains, ſo covering up and encloſing the Earth on every ſide, might providentially contribute to the diſruption of it; not only by ſoftning and weakning the Arch of the Earth in the bottom of thoſe cracks and Chaſms which were made by the Sun, and which the Rain would firſt run into, but eſpecially by ſtopping on a ſudden all the pores of the Earth, and all evaporation, which would make the vapors within ſtruggle more violently, as we get a Fever by a Cold; and it may be in that ſtruggle, the Doors and the Bars were broke, and the great Abyſſe guſht out, as out of a womb.

However, when the Rains were faln, we may ſuppoſe the face of the Earth cover'd over with water; and whether it was theſe waters that S. *Peter* refers to, or that of the Abyſſe afterwards, I cannot tell; when he ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle, *Chap.* 3. 20. *Noah* and his Family *were ſav'd by water*; ſo as the water which deſtroy'd the reſt of the World, was an inſtrument of their conſervation, in as much as it bore up the Ark, and kept it from that impetuous ſhock, which it would have had, if either it had ſtood upon dry land when the Earth fell, or if the Earth had been diſſolv'd without any

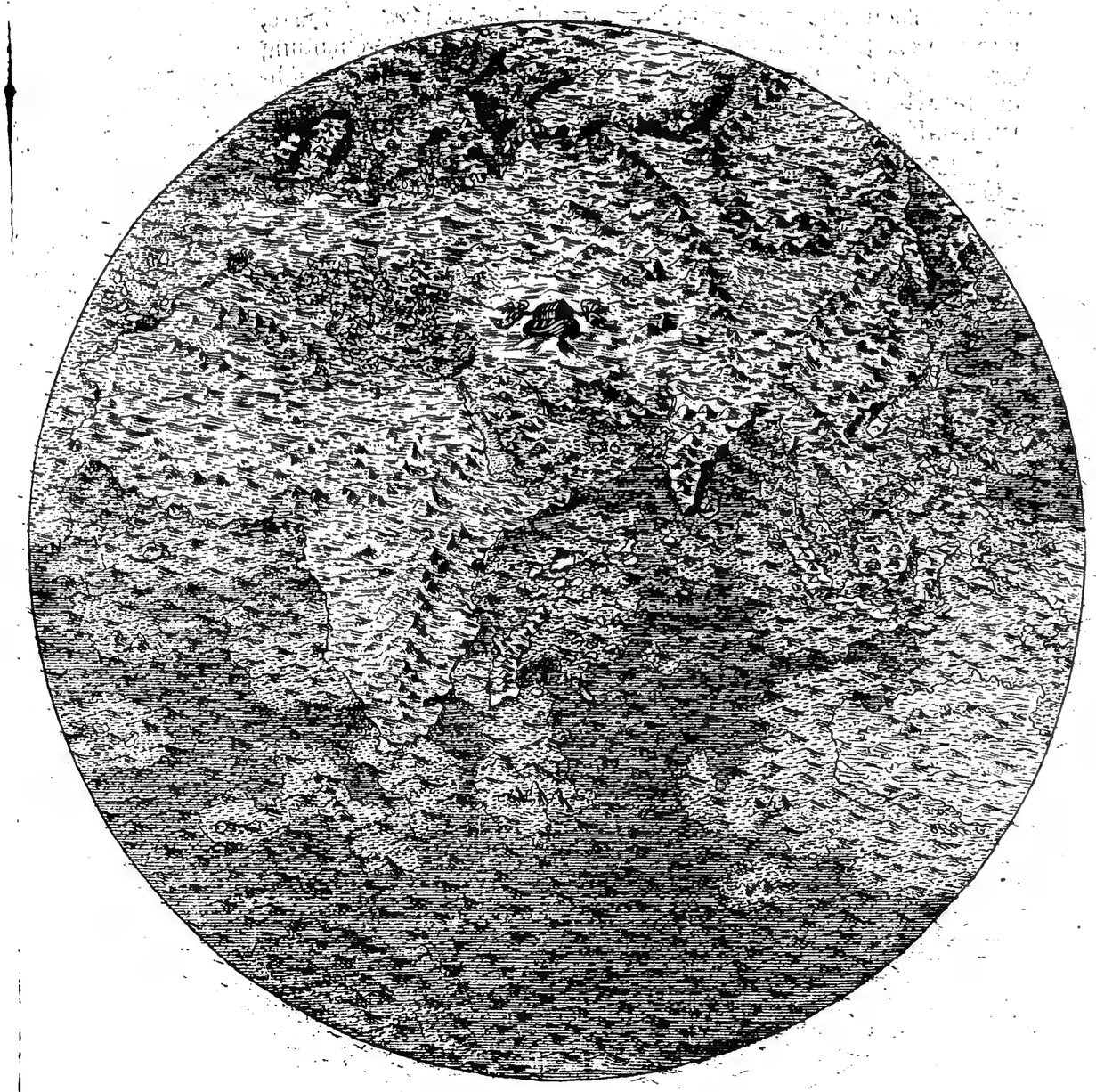
any water on it or under it. However, things being thus prepar'd, let us ſuppoſe the great frame of the exteriour Earth to have broke at this time, or the Fountains of the great Abyſs, as *Moſes* ſaith, to have been then open'd, from thence would iſſue, upon the fall of the Earth, with an unſpeakable violence, ſuch a Flood of waters as would over-run and overwhelm for a time all thoſe fragments which the Earth broke into, and bury in one common Grave all Mankind, and all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Beſides, if the *Flood-gates* of Heaven were any thing diſtinct from the Forty days Rain, their effuſion, 'tis likely, was at this ſame time when the Abyſs was broken open; for the ſinking of the Earth would make an extraordinary convulſion of the Regions of the Air, and that crack and noiſe that muſt be in the falling World, and in the colliſion of the Earth and the Abyſs, would make a great and univerſal Concuſſion above, which things together, muſt needs ſo ſhake, or ſo ſqueeze the Atmoſphere, as to bring down all the remaining Vapours; But the force of theſe motions not being equal throughout the whole Air, but drawing or preſſing more in ſome places than in other, where the Center of the Convulſion was, there would be the chiefeſt collection, and there would fall, not ſhowers of Rain, or ſingle drops, but great ſpouts or caskades of water; and this is that which *Moſes* ſeems to call, not improperly, the *Cataracts* of Heaven, or the *Windows of Heaven being ſet open.*

Thus the Flood came to its height; and 'tis not eaſie to repreſent to our ſelves this ſtrange Scene of things, when the Deluge was in its fury and extremity; when the Earth was broken and ſwallow'd up in the Abyſs, whoſe raging waters riſe higher than the Mountains, and fill'd the Air with broken waves, with an univerſal miſt, and with thick darkneſs, ſo as Nature ſeem'd to be in a ſecond Chaos; and upon this Chaos rid the diſtreſt Ark, that bore the ſmall remains of Mankind. No Sea was ever ſo tumultuous, as this, nor is there any thing in preſent Nature to be compar'd with the diſorder of theſe waters; All the Poetry, and all the Hyperboles that are us'd in the deſcription of Storms and raging Seas, were literally true in this, if not beneath it. The Ark was really carry'd to the tops of the higheſt Mountains, and into the places of the Clouds, and thrown down again into the deepeſt Gulfs; and to this very ſtate of the Deluge and of the Ark, which was a Type of the Church in this World, *David* ſeems to have alluded in the name of the Church, *Pſal.* 42. 7. *Abyſſe calls upon Abyſſe at the noiſe of thy Cataracts or water-ſpouts; all thy waves and billows have gone over me.* It was no doubt an extraordinary and miraculous Providence, that could make a Veſſel, ſo ill man'd, live upon ſuch a Sea; that kept it from being daſht againſt the Hills, or overwhelm'd in the Deeps. That Abyſs which had devour'd and ſwallow'd up whole Foreſts of Woods, Cities, and Provinces, nay the whole Earth, when it had conquer'd all, and triumph'd over all, could not deſtroy this ſingle Ship. I remember in the ſtory of the *Argonauticks*, when *Jaſon* ſet out to fetch the Golden Fleece, the Poet ſaith, all the Gods that day look'd down from Heaven to view the Ship; and the *Nymphs* ſtood upon the Mountain-tops to ſee the noble Youth

Dion. Argonaut. l. 1. *v.* 47.

of *Theſſaly* pulling at the Oars; We may with more reaſon ſuppoſe the good Angels to have look'd down upon this Ship of *Noah*'s; and that not out of curioſity, as idle ſpectators, but with a paſſionate concern for its ſafety and deliverance. A Ship whoſe *Cargo* was no leſs than a whole World; that carry'd the fortune and hopes of all poſterity, and if this had periſh'd, the Earth for any thing we know, had been nothing but a Deſart, a great ruine, a dead heap of Rubbiſh, from the Deluge to the Conflagration. But Death and Hell, the Grave, and Deſtruction have their bounds. We may entertain our ſelves with the conſideration of the face of the Deluge, and of the broken and drown'd Earth, in this Scheme with the floating Ark, and the guardian Angels.

pag. 68.



Thus much for the beginning and progreſs of the Deluge. It now remains only that we conſider it in its decreaſe, and the ſtate of the Earth after the waters were retir'd into their Chanels, which makes the preſent ſtate of it. *Moſes* ſaith, God brought a wind upon the waters, and the tops of the Hills became bare, and then the lower grounds and Plains by degrees; the waters being ſunk into the Chanels of the Sea, and the hollowneſs of the Earth, and the whole Globe appearing in the form it is now under. There needs nothing be added for explication of this, 'tis the genuine conſequence of the Theory we have given of the Deluge; and whether this wind was a deſcending wind to depreſs and keep down the ſwellings and inequalities of the Abyſs, or whether it was only to dry the Land as faſt as it appear'd, or might have both effects, I do not know; But as nothing can be perpetual that is violent, ſo this commotion of the Abyſs abated after a certain time, and the great force that impell'd the waters, decreaſing, their natural gravity began to take effect, and to reduce them into the loweſt places, at an equal height, and in an even ſurface, and level one part with another: That is, in ſhort, the Abyſs became our Sea, fixt within its Chanel, and bounded by Rocks and Mountains: *Then was the decreed place eſtabliſht for it, and Bars and Doors were ſet; then was it ſaid, hitherto ſhalt thou come, and no further, and here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtopt.* And the Deluge being thus ended, and the waters ſetled in their Chanels, the Earth took ſuch a broken Figure as is repreſented in thoſe larger Schemes, *p.* 100. And this will be the form and ſtate of it till its great change comes in the Conflagration, when we expect *a New Heaven and a New Earth.* Job 38. 10, 11.

But to purſue this proſpect of things a little further; we may eaſily imagine, that for many years after the Deluge ceaſt, the face of the Earth was very different from what it is now, and the Sea had other bounds than it hath at preſent. I do not doubt but the Sea reacht much further in-land, and climb'd higher upon the ſides of the Mountains; And I have obſerv'd in many places, a ridge of Mountains ſome diſtance from the Sea, and a Plain from their roots to the ſhore; which Plain no doubt was formerly cover'd by the Sea, bounded againſt thoſe Hills as its firſt and natural Ramparts, or as the ledges or lips of its Veſſel. And it ſeems probable, that the Sea doth ſtill grow narrower from Age to Age, and ſinks more within its Chanel and the bowels of the Earth, according as it can make its way into all thoſe Subterraneous Cavities, and crowd the Air out of them. We ſee whole Countries of Land gain'd from it, and by ſeveral indications, as ancient Sea-ports left dry and uſeleſs, old Sea-marks far within the Land, pieces of Ships, Anchors, *&c.* left at a great diſtance from the preſent ſhores; from theſe ſigns, and ſuch like, we may conclude that the Sea reach'd many places formerly that now are dry Land, and at firſt I believe was generally bound in on either ſide with a chain of Mountains. So I ſhould eaſily imagine the Mediterranean Sea, for inſtance, to have been bounded by the continuation of the *Alps* through *Dauphiné* and *Languedock* to the *Pyreneans*, and at the other end by the *Darmatick* Mountains almoſt to the Black Sea. Then

Atlas

Atlas major which runs along with the Mediterranean from *Ægypt* to the *Atlantick* Ocean, and now parts *Barbary* and *Numidia* may poſſibly have been the Ancient Barriere on the *Africk* ſide. And in our own Iſland I could eaſily figure to my ſelf, in many parts of it, other Sea-bounds than what it hath at preſent; and the like may be obſerv'd in other Countries.

And as the Sea had much larger bounds for ſome time after the Deluge, ſo the Land had a different face in many reſpects to what it hath now; for we ſuppoſe the Valleys and lower grounds, where the deſcent and derivation of the water was not ſo eaſie, to have been full of Lakes and Pools for a long time; and theſe were often converted into Fens and Bogs, where the ground being ſpongy, ſuckt up the water, and the looſen'd Earth ſwell'd into a ſoft and pappy ſubſtance; which would ſtill continue ſo, if there was any courſe of water ſenſible or inſenſible, above or within the ground, that fed this moiſt place: But if the water ſtood in a more firm Baſin, or on a ſoil which for its heavineſs or any other reaſon would not mix with it, it made a Lake or clear Pool. And we may eaſily imagine there were innumerable ſuch Lakes, and Bogs and faſtneſſes for many years after the Deluge, till the World began to be pretty well ſtockt with people, and humane induſtry cleans'd and drain'd thoſe unfruitful and unhabitable places. And thoſe Countries that have been later cultivated, or by a lazier people, retain ſtill, in proportion to their ſituation and ſoil, a greater number of them.

Neither is it at all incongruous or inconvenient to ſuppoſe, that the face of the Earth ſtood in this manner for many years after the Deluge; for while Mankind was ſmall and few, they needed but a little ground for their ſeats or ſuſtenance; and as they grew more numerous, the Earth proportionably grew more dry, and more parts of it fit for habitation. I eaſily believe that *Plato*'s obſervation or tradition is true, that Men at firſt, after the Flood, liv'd in the Up-lands and ſides of the mountains, and by degrees ſunk into the Plains and lower Countries, when Nature had prepar'd them for their uſe, and their numbers requir'd more room. The Hiſtory of *Moſes* tells us, that ſometime after the Deluge, *Noah* and his poſterity, his Sons and his Grand-children, chang'd their quarters, and fell down into the Plains of *Shinar*, from the ſides of the Hills where the Ark had reſted; and in this Plain was the laſt general rendezvous of Mankind; ſo long they ſeem to have kept in a body, and from thence they were divided and broken into companies, and diſperſt, firſt, into the neighbouring Countries, and then by degrees throughout the whole Earth; the ſeveral ſucceſſive Generations, like the waves of the Sea when it flows, over-reaching one another, and ſtriking out further and further, upon the face of the Land. Not that the whole Earth was peopled by an uniform propagation of Mankind every way, from one place, as a common center: like the ſwelling of a Lake upon a Plain: for ſometimes they ſhot out in length, like Rivers: and ſometimes they flew into remote Countreys in Colonies, like ſwarms from the Hive, and ſetled there, leaving many places uninhabited betwixt them

De Leg. li. 3.

Gen. 11.

them and their firſt home. Sea-ſhores and Iſlands were generally the laſt places inhabited: for while the memory or ſtory of the Deluge was freſh amongſt them, they did not care for coming ſo near their late Enemy: or, at leaſt, to be enclos'd and ſurrounded by his forces.

And this may be ſufficient to have diſcours'd concerning all the parts of the Deluge, and the reſtitution of the Earth to an habitable form, for the further union of our Theory with the Hiſtory of *Moſes*; There reſts only one thing in that Hiſtory to be taken notice of, which may be thought poſſibly not to agree ſo well with our account of the Deluge; namely, that *Moſes* ſeems to ſhut up the Abyſſe again at the end of the Deluge, which our Explication ſuppoſeth to continue open. But beſides that half the Abyſſe is ſtill really cover'd, *Moſes* ſaith the ſame thing of the *windows of Heaven*, that they were ſhut up too; and he ſeemeth in both to expreſs only the ceſſation of the Effect which proceeded from their opening: For as *Moſes* had aſcrib'd the Deluge to the opening of theſe two, ſo when it was to ceaſe, he ſaith, theſe two were ſhut up; as they were really put into ſuch a condition, both of them, that they could not continue the Deluge any longer, nor ever be the occaſion of a ſecond; and therefore in that ſence, and as to that effect were for ever ſhut up. Some may poſſibly make that alſo an Objection againſt us, that *Moſes* mentions and ſuppoſes the *Mountains* at the Deluge, for he ſaith, the waters reached fifteen Cubits above the tops of them; whereas we ſuppoſe the Ante-diluvian Earth to have had a plain and uniform ſurface, without any inequality of Hills and Valleys. But this is eaſily anſwer'd, 'twas in the height of the Deluge that *Moſes* mention'd the Mountains, and we ſuppoſe them to have riſen then or more towards the beginning of it, when the Earth was broke; and theſe Mountains continuing ſtill upon the face of the Earth, *Moſes* might very well take them for a ſtandard to meaſure and expreſs to Poſterity the height of the waters, though they were not upon the Earth when the Deluge began. Neither is there any mention made, as is obſerv'd by ſome, of Mountains in Scripture, or of Rain, till the time of the Deluge.

We have now finiſht our account of *Noah*'s Flood, both generally and particularly; and I have not wittingly omitted or conceal'd any difficulty that occur'd to me, either from the Hiſtory, or from abſtract reaſon: Our Theory, ſo far as I know, hath the conſent and authority of both: And how far it agrees and is demonſtrable from natural obſervation, or from the form and *Phænomena* of this Earth, as it lies at preſent, ſhall be the ſubject of the remaining part of this Firſt Book. In the mean time I do not know any thing more to be added in this part, unleſs it be to conclude with an Advertiſement to prevent any miſtake or miſconſtruction, as if this Theory, by explaining the Deluge in a natural way, in a great meaſure, or, by natural cauſes, did detract from the power of God, by which that great judgment was brought upon the World in a Providential and miraculous manner.

To ſatisfie all reaſonable and intelligent perſons in this particular, I anſwer and declare, firſt, That we are far from excluding Divine

Divine Providence, either ordinary or extraordinary, from the cauſes and conduct of the Deluge. I know a Sparrow doth not fall to the ground without the will of our Heavenly Father, much leſs doth the great World fall in pieces without his good pleaſure and ſuperintendency. In him all things live, move, and have their being; Things that have Life and Thought have it from him, he is the Fountain of both: Things that have motion only, without Thought, have it alſo from him: And what hath only naked Being, without Thought or Motion, owe ſtill that Being to him. And theſe are not only deriv'd from God at firſt, but every moment continued and conſerv'd by him. So intimate and univerſal is the dependance of all things upon the Divine Will and Power.

In the ſecond place, they are guilty, in my Judgment, of a great Error or indiſcretion, that oppoſe the courſe of Nature to Providence. St. *Paul* ſays (*Act.* 14. 17.) God hath not left us without witneſs, in that he *gives us Rain from Heaven*; yet Rains proceed from natural cauſes, and fall upon the Sea as well as upon the Land. In
Mat. 6. 11. like manner, our Saviour makes thoſe things inſtances of Divine Providence, which yet come to paſs in an ordinary courſe of Na-
Luk. 12. 24. ture; In that part of his excellent Sermon upon the Mount, that concerns Providence, He bids them *Conſider the Lilies how they grow, they toil not, neither do they ſpin, and yet* Solomon *in all his glory was not arrayed like one of theſe*; He bids them alſo *conſider the Ravens, they neither ſow nor reap, neither have they Store-houſe nor Barn, and God feedeth them.* The Lilies grow, and the Ravens are fed according to the ordinary courſe of Nature, and yet they are juſtly made arguments of Providence by our Saviour; nor are theſe things leſs Providential, becauſe conſtant and regular; on the contrary, ſuch a diſpoſition or eſtabliſhment of ſecond cauſes, as will in the beſt order, and for a long ſucceſſion, produce the moſt regular effects, aſſiſted only with the ordinary concourſe of the firſt cauſe, is a greater argument of wiſdom and contrivance, than ſuch a diſpoſition of cauſes as will not in ſo good an order, or for ſo long a time produce regular effects, without an extraordinary concourſe and interpoſition of the Firſt cauſe. This, I think, is clear to every man's judgment. We think him a better Artiſt that makes a Clock that ſtrikes regularly at every hour from the Springs and Wheels which he puts in the work, than he that hath ſo made his Clock that he muſt put his finger to it every hour to make it ſtrike: And if one ſhould contrive a piece of Clock-work ſo that it ſhould beat all the hours, and make all its motions regularly for ſuch a time, and that time being come, upon a ſignal given, or a Spring toucht, it ſhould of its own accord fall all to pieces; would not this be look'd upon as a piece of greater Art, than if the Workman came at that time prefixt, and with a great Hammer beat it into pieces? I uſe theſe compariſons to convince us, that it is no detraction from Divine Providence, that the courſe of Nature is exact and regular, and that even in its greateſt changes and revolutions it ſhould ſtill conſpire and be prepar'd to anſwer the ends and purpoſes of the Divine Will in reference to the *Moral* World. This ſeems to me to be the

the great Art of Divine Providence, ſo to adjuſt the two Worlds, Humane and Natural, Material and Intellectual, as ſeeing thorough the poſſibilities and futuritions of each, according to the firſt ſtate and circumſtances he puts them under, they ſhould all along correſpond and fit one another, and eſpecially in their great Criſes and Periods.

Thirdly, Beſides the ordinary Providence of God in the ordinary courſe of Nature, there is doubtleſs an extraordinary Providence that doth attend the greater Scenes and the greater revolutions of Nature. This methinks, beſides all other proof from the Effects, is very rational and neceſſary in it ſelf; for it would be a limitation of the Divine Power and Will ſo to be bound up to ſecond cauſes, as never to uſe, upon occaſion, an extraordinary influence or direction: And 'tis manifeſt, taking any Syſteme of Natural cauſes, if the beſt poſſible, that there may be more and greater things done, if to this, upon certain occaſions you joyn an extraordinary conduct. And as we have taken notice before, that there was an extraordinary Providence in the formation or compoſition of the firſt Earth, ſo I believe there was alſo in the diſſolution of it; And I think it had been impoſſible for the Ark to have liv'd upon the raging Abyſs, or for *Noah* and his Family to have been preſerv'd, if there had not been a miraculous hand of Providence to take care of them. But 'tis hard to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh an ordinary and extraordinary Providence in all caſes, and to mark juſt how far one goes, and where the other begins. And writing a Theory of the Deluge here, as we do, we were to exhibit a Series of cauſes whereby it might be made intelligible, or to ſhew the proximate Natural Cauſes of it; wherein we follow the example both of *Moſes* and S. *Peter*; and with the ſame veneration of the Divine Power and Wiſdom in the government of Nature, by a conſtant ordinary Providence, and an occaſional extraordinary.

So much for the Theory of the Deluge, and the ſecond Section of this Diſcourſe.

CHAP. IX.

The Second Part of this Diſcourſe, proving the ſame Theory from the Effects and preſent form of the Earth. Firſt, by a general Scheme of what is moſt remarkable in this Globe, and then by a more particular Induction; beginning with an Account of Subterraneous Cavities and Subterraneous Waters.

WE have now finiſht our explication of the Univerſal Deluge, and given an account, not only of the poſſibility of it, but (ſo far as our knowledge can reach) of its Cauſes; and of that form and ſtructure of the Earth, whereby the *Old World* was ſubject to that ſort of Fate. We have not beg'd any Principles

or Suppoſitions for the proof of this, but taking that common ground, which both *Moſes* and all Antiquity preſents to us, *viz. That this Earth roſe from a Chaos*; We have from that deduc'd, by an eaſie train of conſequences, what the firſt Form of it would be; and from that Form, as from a nearer ground, we have by a ſecond train of conſequences made it appear, that at ſome time or other that firſt Earth would be ſubject to a diſſolution, and by that diſſolution to a Deluge. And thus far we have proceeded only by the intuition of Cauſes, as is moſt proper to a Theory; but for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that require more ſenſible arguments, and to compleat our proofs on either hand, we will now argue from the Effects; and from the preſent ſtate of Nature, and the preſent form of the Earth, prove that it hath been broken, and undergone ſuch a diſſolution as we have already deſcrib'd, and made the immediate occaſion of the Deluge. And that we may do this more perſpicuouſly and diſtinctly, we will lay down this Propoſition to be prov'd, *viz. That the preſent form and ſtructure of the Earth, both as to the ſurface and as to the Interiour parts of it, ſo far as they are known and acceſſible to us, doth exactly anſwer to our Theory concerning the form and diſſolution of the firſt Earth, and cannot be explain'd upon any other Hypotheſis yet known.*

Oratours and Philoſophers treat Nature after a very different manner; Thoſe repreſent her with all her graces and ornaments, and if there be any thing that is not capable of that, they diſſemble it, or paſs it over ſlightly. But Philoſophers view Nature with a more impartial eye, and without favour or prejudice give a juſt and free account, how they find all the parts of the Univerſe, ſome more, ſome leſs perfect. And as to this Earth in particular, if I was to deſcribe it as an Oratour, I would ſuppoſe it a beautiful and regular Globe, and not only ſo, but that the whole Univerſe was made for its ſake; that it was the darling and favourite of Heaven, that the Sun ſhin'd only to give it light, to ripen its Fruit, and make freſh its Flowers; and that the great Concave of the Firmament, and all the Stars in their ſeveral Orbs, were deſign'd only for a ſpangled Cabinet to keep this Jewel in. This *Idea* I would give of it as an Oratour; But a Philoſopher that overheard me, would either think me in jeſt, or very injudicious, if I took the Earth for a body ſo regular in it ſelf, or ſo conſiderable, if compar'd with the reſt of the Univerſe. This, he would ſay, is to make the great World like one of the Heathen Temples, a beautiful and magnificent ſtructure, and of the richeſt materials, yet built only for a little brute Idol, a Dog, or a Crocodile, or ſome deformed Creature, plac'd in a corner of it.

We muſt therefore be impartial where the Truth requires it, and deſcribe the Earth as it is really in it ſelf; and though it be handſome and regular enough to the eye in certain parts of it, ſingle tracts and ſingle Regions; yet if we conſider the whole ſurface of it, or the whole Exteriour Region, 'tis as a broken and confus'd heap of bodies, plac'd in no order to one another, nor with any correſpondency or regularity of parts: And ſuch a body as the Moon appears to us, when 'tis look'd upon with a good Glaſs, rude and ragged;

ragged; as it is alſo repreſented in the modern Maps of the Moon; ſuch a thing would the Earth appear if it was ſeen from the Moon. They are both in my judgment the image or picture of a great Ruine, and have the true aſpect of a World lying in its rubbiſh. *Vid. Fig. p. 100.*

Our Earth is firſt divided into Sea and Land, without any regularity in the portions, either of the one or the other; In the Sea lie the Iſlands, ſcatter'd like limbs torn from the reſt of the body; great Rocks ſtand rear'd up in the waters; The Promontories and Capes ſhoot into the Sea, and the Sinus's and Creeks on the other hand run as much into the Land; and theſe without any order or uniformity. Upon the other part of our Globe ſtand great heaps of Earth or ſtone, which we call Mountains; and if theſe were all plac'd together, they would take up a very conſiderable part of the dry Land; In the reſt of it are leſſer Hills, Valleys, Plains, Lakes, and Mariſhes, Sands and Deſarts, *&c.* and theſe alſo without any regular diſpoſition. Then the inſide of the Earth, or inward parts of it, are generally broken or hollow, eſpecially about the Mountains and high Lands, as alſo towards the ſhores of the Sea, and among the Rocks. How many Holes and Caverns, and ſtrange Subterraneous paſſages do we ſee in many Countries; and how many more may we eaſily imagine, that are unknown and unacceſſible to us?

This is the pourtraicture of our Earth, drawn without flattery; and as oddly as it looks, it will not be at all ſurpriſing to one that hath conſider'd the foregoing Theory; For 'tis manifeſt enough, that upon the diſſolution of the firſt Earth, and its fall into the Abyſs, this very face and poſture of things, which we have now deſcrib'd, or ſomething extremely like it, would immediately reſult. The Sea would be open'd, and the face of the Globe would be divided into Land and Water: And according as the fragments fell, ſome would make Iſlands or Rocks in the Sea, others would make Mountains or Plains upon the Land; and the Earth would generally be full of Caverns and hollowneſſes, eſpecially in the Mountainous parts of it. And we ſee the reſemblance and imitation of this in leſſer ruines, when a Mountain ſinks and falls into Subterraneous water; or which is more obvious, when the Arch of a Bridge is broken, and falls into the water, if the water under it be not ſo deep as to overflow and cover all its parts, you may ſee there the image of all theſe things in little Continents, and Iſlands, and Rocks under water: And in the parts that ſtand above the water, you ſee Mountains, and Precipices, and Plains and moſt of the varieties that we ſee and admire in the parts of the Earth. What need we then ſeek any further for the Explication of theſe things? Let us ſuppoſe this Arch of the Bridge, as the great Arch of the Earth, which once it had, and the water under it as the Abyſs, and the parts of this ruine to repreſent the parts of the Earth; There will be ſcarce any difference but of leſſer and greater, the ſame things appearing in both. But we have naturally that weakneſs or prejudice, that we think great things are not to be explain'd from eaſie and familiar inſtances; We think there muſt be ſomething difficult and operoſe in the explication of them, or elſe

we are not ſatisfied; whether it is that we are aſham'd to ſee our ignorance and admiration to have been ſo groundleſs, or whether we fancy there muſt be a proportion between the difficulty of the explication, and the greatneſs of the thing explain'd; but that is a very falſe Judgment, for let things be never ſo great, if they be ſimple, their explication muſt be ſimple and eaſie; And on the contrary, ſome things that are mean, common, and ordinary, may depend upon cauſes very difficult to find out; for the difficulty of explaining an effect doth not depend upon its greatneſs or littleneſs, but upon the ſimplicity or compoſition of its cauſes. And the effects and *Phænomena* we are here to explain, though great, yet depending upon cauſes very ſimple, you muſt not wonder if the Explication, when found out, be familiar and very intelligible.

And this is ſo intelligible, and ſo eaſily deducible from the forementioned cauſes, that a Man born blind or brought up all his life in a Cave, that had never ſeen the face of the Earth, nor ever heard any deſcription of it, more than that it was a great Globe, having this Theory propos'd to him, or being inſtructed what the form of the firſt Earth was, how it ſtood over the waters, and then how it was broke and fell into them, he would eaſily of his own accord foretel what changes would ariſe upon this diſſolution; and what the new form of the Earth would be. As in the firſt place he would tell you, that this ſecond Earth would be diſtinguiſh'd and checker'd into Land and Water; for the Orb which fell being greater than the circumference it fell upon, all the fragments could not fall flat and lie drown'd under water; and thoſe that ſtood above, would make the dry Land or habitable part of the Earth. Then in the ſecond place, he would plainly diſcern that theſe fragments that made the dry Land, could not lie all plain and ſmooth and equal, but ſome would be higher and ſome lower, ſome in one poſture and ſome in another, and conſequently would make Mountains, Hills, Valleys, and Plains, and all other varieties we have in the ſituation of the parts of the Earth. And laſtly, a blind man would eaſily divine that ſuch a great ruine could not happen but there would be a great many holes and cavities amongſt the parts of it, a great many intervals and empty places in the rubbiſh, as I may ſo ſay; for this we ſee happens in all ruines more or leſs; and where the fragments are great and hard, 'tis not poſſible they ſhould be ſo adjuſted in their fall, but that they would lie hollow in many places, and many unfill'd ſpaces would be intercepted amongſt them; ſome gaping in the ſurface of the Earth, and others hid within; ſo as this would give occaſion to all ſorts of fractures and cavities either in the ſkin of the Earth, or within its body. And theſe Cavities, that I may add that in the laſt place, would be often fill'd with Subterraneous waters, at leaſt at ſuch a depth; for the foundations of the Earth ſtanding now within the waters, ſo high as thoſe waters reach'd they would more or leſs propagate themſelves every way.

Thus far our Blind man could tell us what the New World would be, or the form of the Earth upon the great diſſolution; and we find his reaſonings and inferences very true, theſe are the chief

chief lineaments and features of our Earth; which appear indeed very irregular and very inaccountable when they are lookt upon naked in themſelves, but if we look upon them through this Theory, we ſee as in a glaſs all the reaſons and cauſes of them. There are different Genius's of Men, and different conceptions, and every one is to be allow'd their liberty as to things of this nature; I confeſs, for my own part, when I obſerve how eaſily and naturally this *Hypotheſis* doth apply it ſelf to the general face of this Earth, hits and falls in ſo luckily and ſurprizingly with all the odd poſtures of its parts, I cannot, without violence, bear off my mind from fully aſſenting to it: And the more odd and extravagant, as I may ſo ſay, and the more diverſify'd the effects and appearances are, to which an *Hypotheſis* is to be apply'd, if it anſwers them all and with exactneſs, it comes the nearer to a moral certitude and infallibility. As a Lock that conſiſts of a great deal of workmanſhip, many Wards, and many odd pieces and contrivances, if you find a Key that anſwers to them all, and opens it readily, 'tis a thouſand to one that 'tis the true Key, and was made for that purpoſe.

An eminent Philoſopher of this Age, *Monſieur des Cartes*, hath made uſe of the like *Hypotheſis* to explain the irregular form of the preſent Earth; though he never dream'd of the Deluge, nor thought that firſt Orb built over the Abyſs, to have been any more than a tranſient cruſt, and not a real habitable World that laſted for more than ſixteen hundred years, as we ſuppoſe it to have been. And though he hath, in my opinion, in the formation of that firſt Orb, and upon the diſſolution of it, committed ſome great overſights, whereof we have given an account in the Latin Treatiſe; however he ſaw a neceſſity of ſuch a thing, and of the diſruption of it, to bring the Earth into that form and poſture wherein we now find it. *c. 7. & lib. 2. c. 4.*

Thus far we have ſpoken in general concerning the agreement and congruity of our ſuppoſition with the preſent face of the Earth, and the eaſie account it gives of the cauſes of it. And though I believe to ingenuous perſons that are not prejudic'd by the forms and opinions of the Schools againſt every thing that looks like a novelty or invention, thus much might be ſufficient; yet for the ſatisfaction of all, we will, as a farther proof of our Theory, of that part of it which concerns the diſſolution of the Earth, deſcend to particular explication of three or four of the moſt conſiderable and remarkable things that occur in the fabrick of this preſent Earth; namely, *The great Chanel of the Ocean*; *Subterraneous Cavities and Subterraneous Waters*; and laſtly, *Mountains and Rocks*. Theſe are the wonders of the Earth as to the viſible frame of it; and who would not be pleas'd to ſee a rational account of theſe? of their Origin, and of their properties; Or who would not approve of an *Hypotheſis*, when they ſee that Nature in her greateſt and ſtrangeſt works may eaſily be underſtood by it, and is in no other way, that we know of, intelligible.

We will ſpeak firſt of Subterraneous Cavities and Waters, becauſe they will be of eaſier diſpatch, and an introduction to the reſt.

That

That the inside of the Earth is hollow and broken in many places, and is not one firm and united mass, we have both the Testimony of Sence and of easie Observations to prove: How many Caves and Dens and hollow passages into the ground do we see in many Countries, especially amongst Mountains and Rocks; and some of them endless and bottomless so far as can be discover'd. We have many of these in our own Island, in *Derbishire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wales*, and other Counties, and in every Continent or Island they abound more or less. These hollownesses of the Earth the Ancients made prisons, or storehouses for the Winds, and set a God over them to confine them, or let them loose at his pleasure. For some Ages after the Flood, as all Antiquity tells us, These were the first houses men had, at least in some parts of the Earth; here rude mortals shelter'd themselves, as well as they could, from the injuries of the Air, till they were beaten out by wild beasts that took possession of them. The Ancient Oracles also us'd to be given out of these Vaults and recesses under ground, the *Sibyls* had their Caves, and the *Delphick* Oracle, and their Temples sometimes were built upon an hollow Rock. Places that are strange and solemn strike an awe into us, and incline us to a kind of superstitious timidity and veneration, and therefore they thought them fit for the seats and residences of their Deities. They fansied also that steams rise sometimes, or a sort of Vapour in those hollow places, that gave a kind of Divine fury or inspiration. But all these uses and employments are now in a great measure worn out, we know no use of them but to make the places talkt on where they are, to be the wonders of the Countrey, to please our curiosity to gaze upon and admire; but we know not how they came, nor to what purpose they were made at first.

It would be very pleasant to read good descriptions of these Subterraneous places, and of all the strange works of Nature there; how she furnisheth these dark neglected Grottoes; they have often a little Brook runs murmuring through them, and the roof is commonly a kind of petrefied Earth or Icy fret-work; proper enough for such rooms. But I should be pleas'd especially to view the Sea-caves, or those hollow Rocks that lie upon the Sea, where the waves Roll in a great way under ground, and wear the hard Rock into as many odd shapes and figures as we see in the Clouds. 'Tis pleasant also to see a River in the middle of its course throw itself into the mouth of a Cave, or an opening of the Earth, and run under ground sometimes many miles; still pursuing its way through the dark pipes of the Earth, till at last it find an out-let. There are many of these Rivers taken notice of in History in the several parts of the Earth, as the *Rhone* in *France*, *Guadiana* in *Spain*, and several in *Greece*, *Alpheus*, *Lycus*, and *Erasinus*; then *Niger* in *Africa*, *Tigris* in *Asia*, *&c.* And I believe if we could turn *Derwent*, or any other River into one of the holes of the Peak, it would groap its way till it found an issue, it may be in some other County. These Subterraneous Rivers that emerge again, shew us that the holes of the Earth are longer and reach farther than we imagine, and if we could see into the ground, as we ride or walk, we should be affrighted to see so often Waters or Caverns under us.

But

But to return to our dry Caves; these commonly stand high, and are sometimes of a prodigious greatness: *Strabo* mentions some in the Mountains towards *Arabia*, that are capable to receive four thousand men at once. The Cave of *Engedi* hid *David* and six hundred men, so as *Saul*, when he was in the mouth of it, did not perceive them. In the Mountains of the *Traconites* there are many of these vast dens and recesses, and the people of that Country defended themselves a long time in those strong Holds against *Herod* and his Army. They are plac'd among such craggy Rocks and Precipices, that, as *Josephus* tells us, *Herod* was forc'd to make a sort of open chests, and in those by chains of Iron he let down his Souldiers from the top of the Mountains to go fight them in their dens. I need add no more instances of this kind; In the Natural History of all Countries, or the Geographical descriptions of them, you find such places taken notice of, more or less; yet if there was a good collection made of the chief of them in several parts, it might be of use, and would make us more sensible how broken and torn the body of the Earth is.

Geo. l. 16. *1 Sam. 24. 3, 4.* *Ant. Jud. l. 14. ch. 27.*

There are Subterraneous Cavities of another nature, and more remarkable, which they call *Volcano's*, or fiery Mountains; that belch out flames and smoke and ashes, and sometimes great stones and broken Rocks, and lumps of Earth, or some metallick mixture; and throw them to an incredible distance by the force of the eruption. These argue great vacuities in the bowels of the Earth, and magazines of combustible matter treasur'd up in them. And as the Exhalations within these places must be copious, so they must lie in long Mines or Trains to do so great execution, and to last so long. 'Tis scarce credible what is reported concerning some eruptions of *Vesuvius* and *Ætna*. The Eruptions of *Vesuvius* seem to be more frequent and less violent of late; The flame and smoke break out at the top of the Mountain, where they have eaten away the ground and made a great hollow, so as it looks at the top, when you stand upon the brimes of it, like an *Amphitheater*, or like a great Caldron, about a mile in circumference, and the burning Furnace lies under it. The outsides of the Mountain is all spread with Ashes, but the inside much more; for you wade up to the mid-leg in Ashes to go down to the bottom of the Cavity, and 'tis extremely heavy and troublesome to get up again. The inside lies sloping, and one may safely go down if it be not in a raging fit; but the middle part of it or center, which is a little rais'd like the bottom of a Platter, is not to be ventur'd upon, the ground there lies false and hollow, there it always smoaks, and there the Funnel is suppos'd to be; yet there is no visible hole or gaping any where when it doth not rage. *Naples* stands below in fear of this fiery Mountain, which hath often cover'd its Streets and Palaces with its Ashes; and in sight of the Sea (which lies by the side of them both) and as it were in defiance to it, threatens at one time or another, to burn that fair City. History tells us, that some eruptions of *Vesuvius* have carry'd Cinders and Ashes as far as *Constantinople*; this is attested both by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; particularly, that they were so affrighted with these Ashes and darkness, that the

Emperor

Emperor left the City, and there was a day obſerv'd yearly for a memorial of this calamity or prodigy.

Ætna is of greater fame than *Veſuvius*, and of greater fury, all Antiquity ſpeaks of it; not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but as far as Hiſtory reacheth, either real or fabulous, there is ſomething recorded of the Fires of *Ætna*. The Figure of the Mountain is inconſtant, by reaſon of the great conſumptions and ruines it is ſubject to; The Fires and Æſtuations of it are excellently deſcrib'd by *Virgil*, upon occaſion of *Æneas* his paſſing by thoſe Coaſts.

——*Horrificis juxta tonat* Ætna *ruinis*;
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,
Turbine fumantem piceo & candente favillâ;
Attollítque globos flammarum & ſydera lambit;
Interdum ſcopulos, avolſáque viſcera Montis
Erigit eructans, liquefactáque ſaxa ſub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundóque exæſtuat imo.

Fama eſt Enceladi *ſemuſtum fulmine corpus*
Urgeri mole hâc, ingentémque inſuper Ætnam
Impoſitam, ruptis flammam expirare caminis.
Et ſeſſum quoties mutet latus, intremere omnem
Murmure Trinacriam *& cœlum ſubtexere fumo.*

——Ætna, *whoſe ruines make a thunder*;
Sometimes black clouds of ſmoak, that rowl about
Mingled with flakes of fire, it belches out.
And ſometimes Balls of flame it darts on high,
Or its torn bowels flings into the Sky.
Within deep Cells under the Earth, a ſtore
Of fire-materials, molten Stones, and Ore,
It gathers, then ſpews out, and gathers more.

Enceladus *when thunder-ſtruck by* Jove,
Was buri'd here, and Ætna *thrown above*;
And when, to change his wearied ſide, he turns,
The Iſland trembles and the Mountain burns.

Not far from *Ætna* lies *Strombolo*, and other adjacent Iſlands, where there are alſo ſuch magazines of Fire; and throughout all Regions and Countries in the *Weſt-Indies* and in the *Eaſt*, in the Northern and Southern parts of the Earth, there are ſome of theſe *Volcano's*, which are ſenſible evidences that the Earth is incompact and full of Caverns; beſides the roarings, and bellowings that uſe to be heard before an eruption of theſe *Volcano's*, argue ſome dreadful hollowneſs in the belly or under the roots of the Mountain, where the Exhalations ſtruggle before they can break their Priſon.

The Subterraneous Cavities that we have ſpoke of hitherto, are ſuch as are viſible in the ſurface of the Earth, and break the skin by ſome gaping Orifice; but the Miners and thoſe that work under ground meet with many more in the bowels of the Earth, that never

never reach to the top of it; Burrows, and Chanels, and Cleſts, and Caverns; that never had the comfort of one beam of light ſince the great fall of the Earth. And where we think the ground is firm and ſolid, as upon Heaths and Downs, it often betrays its hollowneſs, by ſounding under the Horſes feet and the Chariot-wheels that paſs over it. We do not know when and where we ſtand upon good ground, if it was examin'd deep enough; and to make us further ſenſible of this, we will inſtance in two things that argue the unſoundneſs and hollowneſs of the Earth in the inward receſſes of it, though the ſurface be intire and unbroken; Theſe are *Earthquakes* and the communication of *Subterraneous waters and Seas:* Of which two we will ſpeak a little more particularly.

Earthquakes are too evident demonſtrations of the hollowneſs of the Earth, being the dreadful effects or conſequences of it; for if the body of the Earth was ſound and compact, there would be no ſuch thing in Nature as an Earthquake. They are commonly accompanied with an heavy dead ſound, like a dull thunder which ariſeth from the Vapours that are ſtriving in the womb of Nature when her throes are coming upon her. And that theſe Caverns where the Vapours lie are very large and capacious, we are taught ſometimes by ſad experience; for whole Cities and Countries have been ſwallow'd up into them, as *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, and the Region of *Pentapolis*, and ſeveral Cities in *Greece*, and in *Aſia*, and other parts. Whole Iſlands alſo have been thus abſort in an Earthquake; the pillars and props they ſtood upon being broken, they have ſunk and faln in as an houſe blown up. I am alſo of opinion that thoſe Iſlands that are made by divulſion from a Continent, as *Sicily* was broken off from *Italy*, and Great *Britain*, as ſome think, from *France*, have been made the ſame way; that is, the Iſthmus or necks of Land that joyn'd theſe Iſlands with their Continents before, have been hollow, and being either worn by the water, or ſhak'd by an Earthquake, have ſunk down, and ſo made way for the Sea to overflow them, and of a Promontory to make an Iſland. For it is not at all likely that the neck of Land continu'd ſtanding, and the Sea overflow'd it, and ſo made an Iſland; for then all thoſe paſſages between ſuch Iſlands, and their reſpective Continents would be extremely ſhallow and unnavigable, which we do not find them to be. Nor is it any more wonder if ſuch a neck of Land ſhould fall, than that a Mountain ſhould ſink, or any other Tract of Land, and a Lake riſe in its place, which hath often happen'd. *Plato* ſuppoſeth his *Atlantis* to have been greater than *Aſia* and *Africa* together, and yet to have ſunk all into the Sea; whether that be true or no, I do not think it impoſſible that ſome arms of the Sea or Sinus's might have had ſuch an original as that; and I am very apt to think, that for ſome years after the Deluge, till the fragments were well ſetled and adjuſted, great alterations would happen as to the face of the Sea and the Land; many of the fragments would change their poſture, and many would ſink into the water that ſtood out before, the props failing that bore them up, or the joynts and corners whereby they lean'd upon one another: and thereupon a new face of things would ariſe, and a new

Deluge for that part of the Earth. Such removes and interchanges, I believe, would often happen in the firſt Ages after the Flood; as we ſee in all other ruines there happen leſſer and ſecondary ruines after the firſt, till the parts be ſo well pois'd and ſetled, that without ſome violence they ſcarce change their poſture any more.

But to return to our Earthquakes, and to give an inſtance or two of their extent and violence: *Pliny* mentions one in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæſar* that ſtruck down Twelve Cities of *Aſia* in one night. And *Fournier* gives us an account of one in *Peru*, that reacht three hundred leagues along the Sea-ſhore, and ſeventy leagues inland; and level'd the Mountains all along as it went, threw down the Cities, turn'd the Rivers out of their Chanels, and made an univerſal havock and confuſion; And all this, he ſaith, was done within the ſpace of ſeven or eight minutes. There muſt be dreadful Vaults and Mines under that Continent, that gave paſſage to the Vapours, and liberty to play for nine hundred miles in length, and above two hundred in breadth. *Aſia* alſo hath been very ſubject to theſe deſolations by Earthquakes; and many parts in *Europe*, as *Greece*, *Italy*, and others. The truth is, our Cities are built upon ruines, and our Fields and Countries ſtand upon broken Arches and Vaults, and ſo does the greateſt part of the outward frame of the Earth, and therefore it is no wonder if it be often ſhaken; there being quantities of Exhalations within theſe Mines, or Cavernous paſſages, that are capable of rarefaction and inflammation; and, upon ſuch occaſions, requiring more room, they ſhake or break the ground that covers them. And thus much concerning Earthquakes.

A ſecond obſervation that argues the hollowneſs of the Earth, is the communication of the Seas and Lakes under ground. The *Caſpian* and *Mediterranean* Seas, and ſeveral Lakes, receive into them great Rivers, and yet have no viſible out-let: Theſe muſt have Subterraneous out-lets, by which they empty themſelves, otherwiſe they would redound and overflow the brims of their Veſſel. The *Mediterranean* is moſt remarkable in this kind, becauſe 'tis obſerv'd that at one end the great Ocean flows into it through the ſtraits of *Gibralter*, with a ſenſible current, and towards the other end about *Conſtantinople* the *Pontus* flows down into it with a ſtream ſo ſtrong, that Veſſels have much ado to ſtem it; and yet it neither hath any viſible evacuation or out-let, nor over-flows its banks. And beſides that it is thus fed at either end, it is fed by the navel too, as I may ſo ſay; it ſucks in, by their Chanels, ſeveral Rivers into its belly, whereof the *Nile* is one very great and conſiderable. Theſe things have made it a great Problem, *What becomes of the water of the Mediterranean Sea?* And for my part, I think, the ſolution is very eaſie, namely, that it is diſcharg'd by Subterraneous paſſages, or convey'd by Chanels under the ground into the Ocean. And this manner of diſcharge or conveyance is not peculiar to the *Mediterranean*, but is common to it with the *Caſpian* Sea, and other Seas and Lakes, that receive great Rivers into them, and have no viſible iſſue.

I know

I know there have been propos'd ſeveral other ways to anſwer this difficulty concerning the efflux or conſumption of the waters of the *Mediterranean*; ſome have ſuppos'd a double current in the ſtrait of *Gibralter*, one that carry'd the water in, and another that brought it out; like the Arteries and Veins in our Body, the one exporting our bloud from the heart, and the other re-importing it: So they ſuppos'd one current upon the ſurface, which carry'd the water into the *Mediterranean*, and under it at a certain depth a counter-current, which brought the water back into the Ocean. But this hath neither proof nor foundation; for unleſs it was included in pipes, as our bloud is, or conſiſted of liquors very different, theſe croſs currents would mingle and deſtroy one another. Others are of opinion, that all the water that flows into the *Mediterranean*, or a quantity equal to it, is conſum'd in Exhalations every day: This ſeems to be a bolder ſuppoſition than the other, for if ſo much be conſum'd in Vapours and Exhalations every day as flows into this Sea, what if this Sea had an out-let, and diſcharg'd by that, every day, as much as it receiv'd; in a few days the Vapours would have conſum'd all the reſt; and yet we ſee many Lakes that have as free an out-let as an in-let, and are not conſum'd, or ſenſibly diminiſht by the Vapours. Beſides, This Reaſon is a Summer-reaſon, and would paſs very ill in Winter, when the heat of the Sun is much leſs powerful: At leaſt there would be a very ſenſible difference betwixt the height of the waters in Summer and Winter, if ſo much was conſum'd every day as this Explication ſuppoſeth. And the truth is, this want of a viſible out-let is not a property belonging only to the *Mediterranean* Sea, as we noted before, but is alſo in other Seas and great Lakes, ſome lying in one Climate and ſome in another, where there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe ſuch exceſſive Exhalations; and though 'tis true ſome Rivers in *Africk*, and in others parts of the Earth, are thus exhal'd and dry'd up, without ever flowing into the Sea (as were all the Rivers in the firſt Earth) yet this is where the ſands and parch'd ground ſuck up a great part of them; the heat of the Climate being exceſſively ſtrong, and the Chanel of the River growing ſhallower by degrees, and, it may be, divided into leſſer branches and rivulets; which are cauſes that take no place here. And therefore we muſt return to our firſt reaſon, which is univerſal, for all ſeaſons of the Year and all Climates; and ſeeing we are aſſur'd that there are Subterraneous Chanels and paſſages, for Rivers often fall into the ground, and ſometimes riſe again, and ſometimes never return; why ſhould we doubt to aſcribe this effect to ſo obvious a cauſe? Nay, I believe the very Ocean doth evacuate it ſelf by Subterraneous out-lets; for conſidering what a prodigious maſs of water falls into it every day from the wide mouths of all the Rivers of the Earth, it muſt have out-lets proportionable; and thoſe *Syrtes* or great Whirlpools that are conſtant in certain parts or Sinus's of the Sea, as upon the Coaſt of *Norway* and of *Italy*, ariſe probably from Subterraneous out-lets in thoſe places, whereby the water ſinks, and turns, and draws into it whatſoever comes within ſuch a compaſs; and if there was no iſſue at the bottom, though it might by contrary currents turn things round with-

in its Sphere, yet there is no reaſon from that why it ſhould ſuck them down to the bottom. Neither does it ſeem improbable, that the currents of the Sea are from theſe in-draughts, and that there is always a ſubmarine in-let in ſome part of them, to make a circulation of the Waters. But thus much for the Subterraneous communication of Seas and Lakes.

And thus much in general concerning Subterraneous Cavities, and concerning the hollow and broken frame of the Earth. If I had now Magick enough to ſhow you at one view all the inſide of the Earth, which we have imperfectly deſcrib'd; if we could go under the roots of the Mountains, and into the ſides of the broken rocks; or could dive into the Earth with one of thoſe Rivers that ſink under ground, and follow its courſe and all its windings till it riſe again, or led us to the Sea, we ſhould have a much ſtronger and more effectual *Idea* of the broken form of the Earth, than any we can excite by theſe faint deſcriptions collected from Reaſon. The Ancients I remember us'd to repreſent theſe hollow Caves and Subterraneous Regions in the nature of a *World* under-ground, and ſuppos'd it inhabited by the *Nymphs* eſpecially the *Nymphs* of the waters and the Sea-Goddeſſes; ſo *Orpheus* ſung of old; and in imitation of him *Virgil* hath made a deſcription of thoſe Regions; feigning the Nymph *Cyrene* to ſend for her ſon to come down to her, and make her a viſit in thoſe ſhades where mortals were not admitted.

Virgil. *Duc age, duc ad nos, fas illi limina Divûm*
Tangere, ait: Simul alta jubet diſcedere latè
Flumina, quà juvenis greſſus inferret, at illum
Curvata in montis faciem circumſtitit unda,
Accepitque ſinu vaſto, miſitque ſub amnem.
Jámque domum mirans Genetricis & humida regna,
Speluncíſque lacos clauſos, lucóſque ſonantes,
Ibat, & ingenti motu ſtupefactus aquarum
Omnia ſub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ
Spectabat diverſa locis; Phaſímque Licúmque, &c.
Et Thalami matris pendentia pumice tecta, &c.

Come lead the Youth below, bring him to me,
The Gods are pleas'd our Manſions he ſhould ſee;
Streight ſhe commands the floods to make him way,
They open their wide boſom and obey;
Soft is the path, and eaſie is his tread,
A watry Arch bends o'er his dewy head;
And as he goes he wonders, and looks round,
To ſee this new-found Kingdom under ground.
The ſilent Lakes in hollow Caves he ſees,
And on their banks an echoing grove of Trees;
The fall of waters 'mongſt the Rocks below
He hears, and ſees the Rivers how they flow:
All the great Rivers of the Earth are there,
Prepar'd, as in a womb, by Nature's care.
Laſt, to his mother's bed-chamber he's brought,
Where the high roof with Pumice-ſtone is wrought, &c.

If we now could open the Earth as this *Nymph* did the Water, and go down into the boſom of it: ſee all the dark Chambers and Apartments there, how ill contriv'd, and how ill kept: ſo many holes and corners, ſome fill'd with ſmoak and fire, ſome with water, and ſome with vapours and mouldy Air; how like a ruine it lies gaping and torn in the parts of it? we ſhould not eaſily believe that God created it into this form immediately out of nothing; It would have coſt no more to have made things in better order; nay, it had been more eaſie and more ſimple; and accordingly we are aſſured that all things were made at firſt in Beauty and proportion. And if we conſider Nature and the manner of the firſt formation of the Earth, 'tis evident that there could be no ſuch holes and Caverns, nor broken pieces, made then in the body of it; for the groſſer parts of the Chaos falling down towards the Center, they would there compoſe a maſs of Earth uniform and compact, the water ſwimming above it; and this firſt maſs under the water could have no Caverns or vacuities in it; for if it had had any, the Earthy parts, while the maſs was liquid or ſemi-liquid, would have ſunk into them and fill'd them up, expelling the Air or Water that was there; And when afterwards there came to be a cruſt or new Earth form'd upon the face of the Waters, there could be no Cavities, no dens, no fragments in it, no more than in the other; And for the ſame general reaſon, *that is*, paſſing from a liquid form into a concrete or ſolid, leaſurely and by degrees, it would flow and ſettle together in an entire maſs; There being nothing broken, nor any thing hard, to bear the parts off from one another, or to intercept any empty ſpaces between them.

'Tis manifeſt then that the Earth could not be in this Cavernous form originally, by any work of Nature; nor by any immediate action of God, ſeeing there is neither uſe nor beauty in this kind of conſtruction; Do we not then, as reaſonably, as aptly, aſcribe it to that deſolation that was brought upon the Earth in the general Deluge? When its outward frame was diſſolv'd and fell into the great Abyſs: How eaſily doth this anſwer all that we have obſerv'd concerning the Subterraneous Regions? That hollow and broken poſture of things under ground, all thoſe Caves and holes, and blind receſſes, that are otherwiſe ſo inaccountable, ſay but that they are a *Ruine*, and you have in one word explain'd them all. For there is no ſort of Cavities, interior or exterior, great or little, open or ſhut, wet or dry, of what form or faſhion ſoever, but we might reaſonably expect them in a ruine of that nature. And as for the Subterraneous waters, ſeeing the Earth fell into the Abyſs. the pillars and foundations of the preſent (exteriour) Earth muſt ſtand immers'd in water, and therefore at ſuch a depth from the ſurface every where, there muſt be water found, if the ſoil be of a nature to admit it. 'Tis true, all Subterraneous waters do not proceed from this original, for many of them are the effects of Rains and melted Snows ſunk into the Earth; but that in digging any where you conſtantly come to water at length, even in the moſt ſolid ground, this cannot proceed from theſe Rains or Snows, but muſt come from below, and from a cauſe as general as the effect is;

which

which can be no other in my judgment than this, that the roots of the exteriour Earth ſtand within the old Abyſs, whereof, as a great part lies open in the Sea, ſo the reſt lies hid and cover'd among the fragments of the Earth; ſometimes diſpers'd and only moiſtning the parts, as our bloud lies in the fleſh, and in the habit of the body; ſometimes in greater or leſſer maſſes, as the bloud in our Veſſels. And this I take to be the true account of Subterraneous waters as diſtinguiſh'd from Fountains and Rivers, and from the matter and cauſes of them.

Thus much we have ſpoke to give a general *Idea* of the inward parts of the Earth, and an eaſie Explication of them by our *Hypotheſis*; which whether it be true or no, if you compare it impartially with Nature, you will confeſs at leaſt, that all theſe things are juſt in ſuch a form and poſture as if it was true.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Chanel of the Sea, and the Original of it; The Cauſes of its irregular form and unequal depths: As alſo of the Original of Iſlands, their ſituation, and other properties.

WE have hitherto given an account of the Subterraneous Regions, and of their general form; We now come above ground to view the ſurface of the Globe, which we find *Terraqueous*, or divided into Sea and Land: Theſe we muſt ſurvey, and what is remarkable in them as to their frame and ſtructure, we muſt give an account of from our *Hypothcſis*, and ſhew to be inaccountable from any other yet known.

As for the Ocean, there are two things conſiderable in it, the Water and the Chanel that contains it. The Water no doubt is as ancient as the Earth and cotemporary with it, and we ſuppoſe it to be part of the great Abyſs wherein the World was drown'd; the reſt lying cover'd under the hollow fragments of Continents and Iſlands. But that is not ſo much the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe as the Chanel of the Ocean, that vaſt and prodigious Cavity that runs quite round the Globe, and reacheth, for ought we know, from Pole to Pole, and in many places is unſearchably deep: When I preſent this great Gulf to my imagination, emptied of all its waters, naked and gaping at the Sun, ſtretching its jaws from one end of the Earth to another, it appears to me the moſt ghaſtly thing in Nature. What hands or inſtruments could work a Trench in the body of the Earth of this vaſtneſs, and lay Mountains and Rocks on the ſide of it, as Ramparts to encloſe it?

But as we juſtly admire its greatneſs, ſo we cannot at all admire its beauty or elegancy, for 'tis as deform'd and irregular as it is great. And there appearing nothing of order or any regular deſign

deſign in its parts, it ſeems reaſonable to believe that it was not the work of Nature, according to her firſt intention, or according to the firſt model that was drawn in meaſure and proportion, by the Line and by the Plummet, but a ſecondary work, and the beſt that could be made of broken materials. And upon this ſuppoſition 'tis eaſie to imagine, how upon the diſſolution of the primæval Earth the Chanel of the Sea was made, or that huge Cavity that lies between the ſeveral Continents of the Earth; which ſhall be more particularly explain'd after we have view'd a little better the form of it, and the Iſlands that lie ſcatter'd by its ſhores.

There is no Cavity in the Earth, whether open or Subterraneous, that is comparably ſo great as that of the Ocean, nor would any appear of that deformity if we could ſee it empty. The inſide of a Cave is rough and unſightly; The beds of great Rivers and great Lakes when they are laid dry, look very raw and rude; The Valleys of the Earth, if they were naked, without Trees and without Graſs, nothing but bare ground and bare ſtones, from the tops of their Mountains would have a ghaſtly aſpect; but the Sea-chanel is the complex of all theſe; here Caves, empty Lakes, naked Valleys are repreſented as in their original, or rather far exceeded and outdone as to all their irregularities; for the Cavity of the Ocean is univerſally irregular, both as to the ſhores and borders of it; as to the uncertain breadth and the uncertain depth of its ſeveral parts, and as to its ground and bottom and the whole mould: If the Sea had been drawn round the Earth in regular figures and borders, it might have been a great beauty to our Globe, and we ſhould reaſonably have concluded it a work of the firſt Creation, or of Nature's firſt production; but finding on the contrary all the marks of diſorder and diſproportion in it, we may as reaſonably conclude, that it did not belong to the firſt order of things, but was ſomething ſuccedaneous, when the degeneracy of Mankind, and the judgments of God had deſtroy'd the firſt World, and ſubjected the Creation to ſome kind of Vanity.

Nor can it eaſily be imagin'd, if the Sea had been always, and the Earth, in this *Terraqueous* form, broke into Continents and Iſlands, how Mankind could have been propagated at firſt through the face of the Earth, all from one head and from one place. For Navigation was not then known, at leaſt as to the grand Ocean, or to paſs from Continent to Continent; And, I believe, *Noah*'s Ark was the firſt Ship, or Veſſel of bulk, that ever was built in the World; how could then the Poſterity of *Adam* overflow the Earth, and ſtock the ſeveral parts of the World, if they had been diſtant or ſeparate then, as they are now, by the interpoſal of the great Ocean? But this conſideration we will inſiſt upon more largely in another place; let us reflect upon the irregularities of the Sea-chanel again, and the poſſible cauſes of it.

If we could imagine the Chanel of the Sea to have been made as we may imagine the Chanel of Rivers to have been, by long and inſenſible attrition: The Water wearing by degrees the ground under it, by the force it hath from its deſcent and courſe, we ſhould not wonder at its irregular form; but 'tis not poſſible this Chanel

ſhould

ſhould have had any ſuch original; whence ſhould its water have deſcended, from what Mountains, or from what Clouds? Where is the ſpring-head of the Sea? What force could eat away half the ſurface of the Earth, and wear it hollow to an immeaſurable depth? This muſt not be from feeble and lingring cauſes, ſuch as the attrition of waters, but from ſome great violence offer'd to Nature, ſuch as we ſuppoſe to have been in the general Deluge, when the frame of the Earth was broken. And after we have a little ſurvey'd the Sea-coaſt, and ſo far as we can, the form of the Sea-chanel, we ſhall the more eaſily believe that they could have no other original than what we aſſign.

The ſhores and coaſts of the Sea are no way equal or uniform, but go in a line uncertainly crooked and broke; indented and jag'd as a thing torn, as you may ſee in the Maps of the Coaſts and the Sea-charts; and yet there are innumerable more inequalities than are taken notice of in thoſe draughts; for they only mark the greater Promontories and Bays; but there are beſides thoſe a multitude of Creeks and out-lets, necks of Land and Angles, which break the evenneſs of the ſhore in all manner of ways. Then the height and level of the ſhore is as uncertain as the line of it; 'Tis ſometimes high and ſometimes low, ſometimes ſpread in ſandy Plains, as ſmooth as the Sea it ſelf, and of ſuch an equal height with it, that the waves ſeem to have no bounds but the meer figure and convexity of the Globe; In other places 'tis rais'd into banks and ramparts of Earth, and in others 'tis wall'd in with Rocks; And all this without any order that we can obſerve, or any other reaſon than that this is what might be expected in a ruine.

As to the depths and ſoundings of the Sea, they are under no rule nor equality any more than the figures of the Shores; Shallows in ſome places, and Gulphs in others; beds of Sands ſometimes, and ſometimes Rocks under water; as Navigators have learn'd by a long and dangerous experience: And though we that are upon dry Land, are not much concern'd how the Rocks and the Shelves lie in the Sea, yet a poor ſhipwreckt Mariner, when he hath run his Veſſel upon a Rock in the middle of the Chanel, expoſtulates bitterly with Nature, who it was that plac'd that Rock there, and to what purpoſe? Was there not room enough, ſaith he, upon the Land, or the Shore, to lay your great ſtones, but they muſt be thrown into the middle of the Sea, as it were in ſpite to Navigation? The beſt Apology that can be made for Nature in this caſe, ſo far as I know, is to confeſs that the whole buſineſs of the Sea-chanel is but a ruine, and in a ruine things tumble uncertainly, and commonly lie in confuſion: Though to ſpeak the truth, it ſeldom happens, unleſs in narrow Seas, that Rocks or Banks or Iſlands lie in the middle of them, or very far from the Shores.

Having view'd the more viſible parts of the Chanel of the Sea, we muſt now deſcend to the bottom of it, and ſee the form and contrivance of that; but who ſhall guide us in our journey, while we walk, as *Job* ſaith, in the ſearch of the deep? Or who can make a deſcription of that which none hath ſeen? It is reaſonable to believe, that the bottom of the Sea is much more rugged, broken and

Job 38. 16.

and irregular than the face of the Land; There are Mountains, and Valleys, and Rocks, and ridges of Rocks, and all the common inequalities we ſee upon Land; beſides theſe, 'tis very likely there are Caves under water, and hollow paſſages into the bowels of the Earth, by which the Seas circulate and communicate one with another, and with Subterraneous waters; Thoſe great *Eddees* and infamous *Syrtes* and Whirlpools that are in ſome Seas, as the *Baltick* and the *Mediterranean*, that ſuck into them and overwhelm whatever comes within their reach, ſhow that there is ſomething below that ſucks from them in proportion, and that drinks up the Sea as the Sea drinks up the Rivers. We ought alſo to imagine the Shores within the water to go inclin'd and ſloping, but with great inequality; there are many Shelves in the way, and Chambers, and ſharp Angles; and many broken Rocks and great ſtones lie rolled down to the bottom.

'Tis true theſe things affect us little, becauſe they are not expos'd to our ſenſes; and we ſeldom give our ſelves the trouble to collect from reaſon what the form of the inviſible and inacceſſible parts of the Earth is; or if we do ſometimes, thoſe *Idea*'s are faint and weak, and make no laſting impreſſion upon our imagination and paſſions; but if we ſhould ſuppoſe the Ocean dry, and that we lookt down from the top of ſome high Cloud upon the empty Shell, how horridly and barbarouſly would it look? And with what amazement ſhould we ſee it under us like an open Hell, or a wide bottomleſs pit? So deep, and hollow, and vaſt; ſo broken and confus'd, ſo every way deform'd and monſtrous. This would effectually waken our imagination, and make us enquire and wonder how ſuch a thing came in Nature; from what cauſes, by what force or engines could the Earth be torn in this prodigious manner? did they dig the Sea with Spades, and carry out the molds in hand-baskets? Where are the entrails laid? and how did they cleave the Rocks aſunder? If as many Pioneers as the Army of *Xerxes*, had been at work ever ſince the beginning of the World, they could not have made a ditch of this greatneſs. Nor is it the greatneſs only, but that wild and multifarious confuſion which we ſee in the parts and faſhion of it, that makes it ſtrange and inaccountable; 'tis another Chaos in its kind, who can paint the Scenes of it? Gulfs, and Precipices, and Cataracts; Pits within Pits, and Rocks under Rocks, broken Mountains and ragged Iſlands, that look as if they had been Countries pull'd up by the roots, and planted in the Sea.

If we could make true and full repreſentations of theſe things to our ſelves, I think we ſhould not be ſo bold as to make them the immediate product of Divine Omnipotence; being deſtitute of all appearance of Art or Counſel. The firſt orders of things are more perfect and regular: and this *Decorum* ſeems to be obſerv'd, that Nature doth not fall into diſorder till Mankind be firſt degenerate and leads the way. Monſters have been often made an argument againſt Providence; if a Calf have two heads, or five legs, ſtreight there muſt not be a God in Heaven, or at leaſt not upon Earth; and yet this is but a chance that happens once in many years, and

is of no conſequence at all to the reſt of the World: But if we make the ſtanding frame of Nature monſtrous, or deform'd and diſproportion'd, and to have been ſo not by corruption and degeneracy, but immediately by Divine Creation or Formation, it would not be ſo eaſie to anſwer that objection againſt Providence. Let us therefore prevent this imputation, and ſuppoſing, according to our Theory, that theſe things were not originally thus, let us now explain more diſtinctly how they came to paſs at the Deluge, or upon the diſſolution of the firſt Earth.

And we will not content our ſelves with a general anſwer to theſe obſervations concerning the Sea-chanel, as if it was a ſufficient account of them to ſay they were the effects of a ruine; there are other things to be conſider'd and explain'd beſides this irregularity, as the vaſt hollowneſs of this Cavity, bigger incomparably than any other belonging to the Earth; and alſo the declivity of the ſides of it, which lie ſhelving from top to bottom; For notwithſtanding all the inequalities we have taken notice of in the Chanel of the Sea, it hath one general form, which may, though under many differences, be obſerv'd throughout, and that is, that the ſhores and ſides within the water lie inclin'd, and you deſcend by degrees to the deepeſt part, which is towards the middle. This, I know, admits of many exceptions, for ſometimes upon a rocky ſhore, or among rocky Iſlands the Sea is very deep cloſe to the Rocks, and the deeper commonly the higher and ſteeper the Rocks are. Alſo where the deſcent is more leiſurely, 'tis often after a different manner, in ſome coaſts more equal and uniform, in others more broken and interrupted, but ſtill there is a deſcent to the Chanel or deepeſt part, and this in the deep Ocean is fathomleſs; And ſuch a deep Ocean, and ſuch a deep Chanel there is always between Continents. This, I think, is a property as determinate as any we can pitch upon in the Chanel of the Sea, and with thoſe other two mention'd, its vaſt Cavity and univerſal irregularity, is all one can deſire an account of as to the form of it; we will therefore from this ground take our riſe and firſt meaſures for the Explication of the Sea-chanel.

Let us ſuppoſe then in the diſſolution of the Earth when it began to fall, that it was divided only into three or four fragments, according to the number of our Continents; but thoſe fragments being vaſtly great could not deſcend at their full breadth and expanſion, or at leaſt could not deſcend ſo faſt in the middle as towards the extremities; becauſe the Air about the edges would yield and give place eaſily, not having far to go to get out of the way; but the Air that was under the middle of the fragment could not without a very ſwift motion get from under the concave of it, and conſequently its deſcent there would be more reſiſted and ſuſpended; but the ſides in the mean time would continually deſcend, bending the fragment with their weight, and ſo making it of a leſſer compaſs and expanſion than it was before: And by this means there would be an interval and diſtance made between the two falling fragments, and a good part of the Abyſs, after their deſcent, would lie uncover'd in the middle betwixt them; as may be

be ſeen in this Figure, where the fragments A. B. bending downwards in their extremities, ſeparate as they go, and after they are faln leave a good ſpace in the Abyſs betwixt them, altogether uncover'd; This ſpace is the main Chanel of the great Ocean, lying betwixt two Continents; and the inclining ſides ſhew the declivity of the Shores.

This we have repreſented here only in a Ring or Circle of the Earth, in the firſt Figure; but it may be better repreſented in a broader ſurface, as in the ſecond Figure, where the two fragments A. B. that are to make the two oppoſite Continents, fall in like double Doors opening downwards, the Hinges being towards the Land on either ſide, ſo as at the bottom they leave in the middle betwixt them a deep Chanel of water, *a. a. a.* ſuch as is betwixt all Continents; and the water reaching a good height upon the Land on either ſide, makes Sea there too, but ſhallower, and by degrees you deſcend into the deepeſt Chanel.

This gives an account of two things that we mention'd to be conſider'd and explain'd as to the Sea, how the great Cavity of its Chanel was made, and how it was made in that general form of declivity in its ſides from the Land: The third thing was the irregularities of it, both as to its various depths, and as to the form of the ſhores and of the bottom. And this is as eaſily and naturally explain'd from the ſame ſuppoſition as the former two; for though we have hitherto repreſented the fragments A. B. as even and regular after their fall, becauſe that was moſt ſimple, and there was no occaſion then to repreſent them otherwiſe, yet we muſt ſuppoſe that as ſoon as in their fall they hit upon the top or bottom of the Abyſs, that great force and weight with which they deſcended broke off all the edges and extremities, and ſo made innumerable ruptures and inequalities in the ſhores, and as many within the Sea, and at the bottom; where the broken Rocks and lumps of Earth would lie in all imaginable diſorder; as you may conceive from the *third Figure*. For when the motion came on a ſudden to be obſtructed, the load of the fragment ſtill preſſing it forwards, ſuch a concuſſion ariſe as made thouſands of leſſer fragments, of all ſhapes and magnitudes, and in all poſtures and forms, and moſt of them irregular. And by theſe fractions and ſecondary ruines the line of the ſhores was broken, and the level of them too; In ſome places they would ſtand high, in others low, ſometimes rough and ſometimes even, and generally crooked, with Angles and in-lets, and uncertain windings. The bottom alſo, by the ſame ſtroke was diverſifi'd into all manner of forms, ſometimes Rocky with Pits and Gulfs, and ſometimes ſpread in plain beds, ſometimes ſhallow and ſometimes deep; for thoſe differences would depend only upon the ſituation of the ſecondary fragments; and ſo it might come to paſs, that ſome places near the ſhore might be exceſſive deep when a Rock or Rocks ſtood in a ſteep poſture, as (*Figure* 3.) *b. b. b.* and, on the contrary, ſometimes places much more advanc'd into the Ocean, might be leſs deep, where a fragment of Earth lay under water, or one bore up another, as *c. c. c.* but theſe caſes would not be very frequent. To conclude, There

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fig. 1

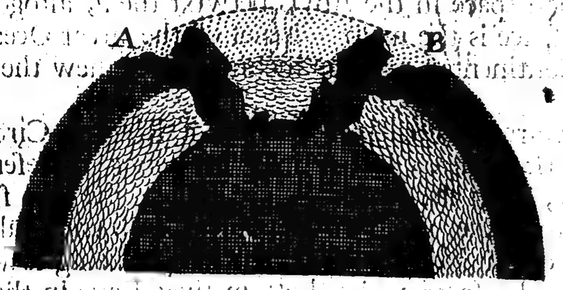


fig. 2

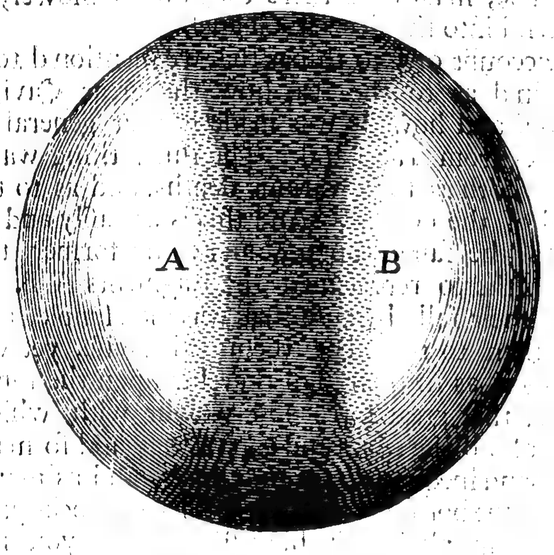
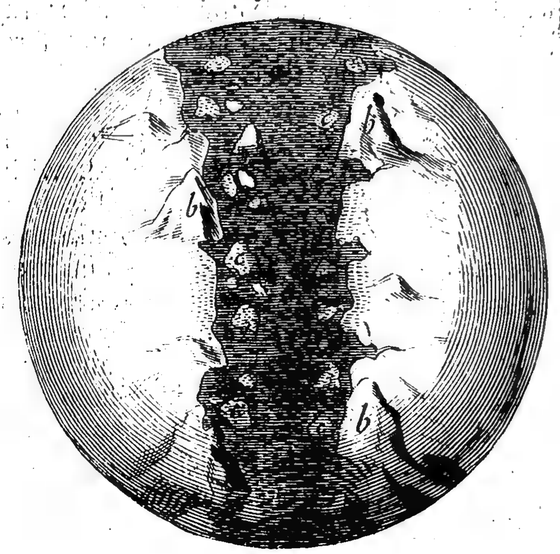


fig. 3



are no properties of the Sea-chanel, that I know of, nor differences or irregularities in the form of it, which this *Hypotheſis* doth not give a fair account of. And having thus far open'd the way, and laid down the general grounds for their Explication, other things that are more minute, we leave to the curioſity of particular Genius's; being unwilling to clog the Theory at firſt with things that may ſeem unneceſſary. We proceed now to the conſideration of Iſlands.

We muſt in the firſt place diſtinguiſh between *Original* Iſlands and *Factitious* Iſlands; Thoſe I call factitious, that are not of the ſame date and Antiquity with the Sea, but have been made ſome at one time, ſome at another, by accidental cauſes, as the aggeſtion of Sands and Sand-beds, or the Sea leaving the tops of ſome ſhallow places that lie high, and yet flowing about the lower skirts of them; Theſe make ſandy and plain Iſlands, that have no high Land in them, and are but mock-Iſlands in effect. Others are made by diviſſion from ſome Continent, when an Iſthmus or the neck of a Promontory running into the Sea, ſinks or falls in, by an Earthquake or otherwiſe, and the Sea entring in at the gap paſſeth through, and makes that Promontory or Country become an Iſland. Thus the Iſland *Sicily* is ſuppos'd to have been made, and all *Africa* might be an Iſland, if the Iſthmus between the *Mediterranean* and the red Sea ſhould ſink down. And theſe Iſlands may have Rocks and Mountains in them, if the Land had ſo before. Laſtly, There are Iſlands that have been ſaid to riſe from the bottom of the Sea; Hiſtory mentions ſuch in both the *Archipelago's*, *Ægæan* and *Indian*; and this ſeems to argue that there are great fragments or tracts of Earth that lie looſe at the bottom of the Sea, or that are not incorporated with the ground; which agrees very well with our Explication of the Sea-chanel.

But beſides theſe Iſlands and the ſeveral ſorts of them, there are others which I call *Original*; becauſe they could not be produc'd in any of the forementioned ways, but are of the ſame Origin and Antiquity with the Chanel of the Sea; and ſuch are the generality of our Iſlands; They were not made of heaps of Sands, nor torn from any Continent, but are as ancient as the Continents themſelves, namely, ever ſince the Deluge, the common Parent of them both. Nor is there any difficulty to underſtand how Iſlands were made at the diſſolution of the Earth, any more than how Continents were made; for Iſlands are but leſſer Continents, or Continents greater Iſlands; and according as Continents were made of greater maſſes of Earth or greater fragments ſtanding above the Water, ſo Iſlands were made of leſs, but ſo big always, and in ſuch a poſture, as to bear their tops above the Water. Yet though they agree thus far, there is a particular difference to be taken notice of as to their Origin; for the Continents were made of thoſe three or four primary maſſes into which the falling Orb of the Earth was divided, but the Iſlands were made of the fractures of theſe, and broken off by the fall from the skirts and extremities of the Continents; We noted before, that when thoſe great maſſes and primary fragments came to daſh upon the Abyſs in their fall, the ſudden

ſtop

ſtop of the motion, and the weighty bulk of the deſcending fragment broke off all the edges and extremities of it, which edges and extremities broken off made the Iſlands; and accordingly we ſee that they generally lie ſcatter'd along the ſides of the Continents, and are but ſplinters, as it were, of thoſe greater bodies. 'Tis true, beſides theſe, there were an infinite number of other pieces broke off that do not appear, ſome making Rocks under water, ſome ſhallows and banks in the Sea; but the greateſt of them when they fell either one upon another, or in ſuch a poſture as to prop up one another, their heads and higher parts would ſtand out of the water and make Iſlands.

Thus I conceive the Iſlands of the Sea were at firſt produc'd; we cannot wonder therefore that they ſhould be ſo numerous, or far more numerous than the Continents. Theſe are the Parents, and thoſe are the Children; Nor can we wonder to ſee along the ſides of the Continents ſeveral Iſlands or ſets of Iſlands, ſown, as it were, by handfuls, or laid in trains; for the manner of their generation would lead us to think they would be ſo plac'd. So the *American* Iſlands lie ſcatter'd upon the Coaſt of that Continent; the *Maldivian* and *Philippine* upon the *Eaſt-Indian* ſhore, and the *Heſperides* upon the *Africk*; and there ſeldom happen to be any towards the middle of the Ocean, though, by an accident, that alſo might come to paſs. Laſtly, It ſuits very well with our Explication, that there ſhould be Mountains and Rocks, ſometimes in cluſters, ſometimes in long chains, in all Iſlands; (as we find there are in all that are true and Original) for 'tis that makes them high enough to appear above the water, and ſtrong enough to continue and preſerve themſelves in that high ſituation.

And thus much may ſuffice for a ſummary Explication of the cauſes of the Sea-chanel and Iſlands, according to our *Hypotheſis*.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Mountains of the Earth, their greatneſs and irregular Form, their Situation, Cauſes, and Origin.

WE have been in the hollows of the Earth, and the Chambers of the Deep, amongſt the damps and ſteams of thoſe lower Regions; let us now go air our ſelves on the tops of the Mountains, where we ſhall have a more free and large Horizon, and quite another face of things will preſent it ſelf to our obſervation.

The greateſt objects of Nature are, methinks, the moſt pleaſing to behold; and next to the great Concave of the Heavens, and thoſe boundleſs Regions where the Stars inhabit, there is nothing that I look upon with more plaeſure than the wide Sea and the Mountains of the Earth. There is ſomething auguſt and ſtately in the Air of theſe things, that inſpires the mind with great thoughts and paſſions; We do naturally, upon ſuch occaſions, think of God and

and his greatneſs: and whatſoever hath but the ſhadow and appearance of INFINITE, as all things have that are too big for our comprehenſion, they fill and over-bear the mind with their Exceſs, and caſt it into a pleaſing kind of ſtupor and admiration.

And yet theſe Mountains we are ſpeaking of, to confeſs the truth, are nothing but great ruines; but ſuch as ſhow a certain magnificence in Nature; as from old Temples and broken Amphitheaters of the *Romans* we collect the greatneſs of that people. But the grandeur of a Nation is leſs ſenſible to thoſe that never ſee the remains and monuments they have left, and thoſe who never ſee the mountainous parts of the Earth, ſcarce ever reflect upon the cauſes of them, or what power in Nature could be ſufficient to produce them. The truth is, the generality of people have not ſence and curioſity enough to raiſe a queſtion concerning theſe things, or concerning the Original of them. You may tell them that Mountains grow out of the Earth like Fuzz-balls, or that there are Monſters under ground that throw up Mountains as Moles do Mole-hills; they will ſcarce raiſe one objection againſt your doctrine; or if you would appear more Learned, tell them that the Earth is a great Animal and theſe are Wens that grow upon its body. This would paſs current for Philoſophy; ſo much is the World drown'd in ſtupidity and ſenſual pleaſures, and ſo little inquiſitive into the works of God and Nature.

There is nothing doth more awaken our thoughts or excite our minds to enquire into the cauſes of ſuch things, than the actual view of them; as I have had experience my ſelf when it was my fortune to croſs the *Alps* and *Appennine* Mountains; for the ſight of thoſe wild, vaſt and indigeſted heaps of Stones and Earth, did ſo deeply ſtrike my fancy, that I was not eaſie till I could give my ſelf ſome tolerable account how that confuſion came in Nature. 'Tis true, the height of Mountains compar'd with the Diameter of the Earth is not conſiderable, but the extent of them and the ground they ſtand upon, bears a conſiderable proportion to the ſurface of the Earth; and if from *Europe* we may take our meaſures for the reſt, I eaſily believe, that the Mountains do at leaſt take up the tenth part of the dry Land. The Geographers are not very careful to deſcribe or note in their Charts, the multitude or ſituation of Mountains; They mark the bounds of Countries, the ſite of Cities and Towns, and the courſe of Rivers, becauſe theſe are things of chief uſe to civil affairs and commerce, and that they deſign to ſerve, and not Philoſophy or Natural Hiſtory. But *Cluverius* in his deſcription of *Ancient Germany*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*, hath given Maps of thoſe Countries more approaching to the natural face of them, and we have drawn (at the end of this Chapter) ſuch a Map of either Hemiſphere, without marking Countries or Towns, or any ſuch artificial things; diſtinguiſhing only Land and Sea, Iſlands and Continents, Mountains and not Mountains; and 'tis very uſeful to imagine the Earth in this manner, and to look often upon ſuch bare draughts as ſhew us Nature undreſt, for then we are beſt able to judge what her true ſhapes and proportions are.

'Tis

'Tis certain that we naturally imagine the ſurface of the Earth much more regular than it is; for unleſs we be in ſome Mountainous parts, there ſeldom occur any great inequalities within ſo much compaſs of ground as we can, at once, reach with our Eye; and to conceive the reſt, we multiply the ſame *Idea*, and extend it to thoſe parts of the Earth that we do not ſee; and ſo fanſie the whole Globe much more ſmooth and uniform than it is. But ſuppoſe a man was carri'd aſleep out of a Plain Country amongſt the *Alps*, and left there upon the top of one of the higheſt Mountains, when he wak'd and look'd about him, he would think himſelf in an inchanted Country, or carri'd into another World; every thing would appear to him ſo different to what he had ever ſeen or imagin'd before. To ſee on every hand of him a multitude of vaſt bodies thrown together in confuſion, as thoſe Mountains are; Rocks ſtanding naked round about him; and the hollow Valleys gaping under him; and at his feet it may be, an heap of frozen Snow in the midſt of Summer. He would hear the thunder come from below, and ſee the black Clouds hanging beneath him; Upon ſuch a proſpect, it would not be eaſie to him to perſwade himſelf that he was ſtill upon the ſame Earth; but if he did, he would be convinc'd, at leaſt, that there are ſome Regions of it ſtrangely rude, and ruine-like, and very different from what he had ever thought of before. But the Inhabitants of theſe wild places are even with us; for thoſe that live amongſt the *Alps* and the great Mountains, think that all the reſt of the Earth is like their Country, all broken into Mountains, and Valleys, and Precipices; They never ſee other, and moſt people think of nothing but what they have ſeen at one time or another.

Theſe *Alps* we are ſpeaking of are the greateſt range of Mountains in *Europe*; and 'tis prodigious to ſee and to conſider of what extent theſe heaps of Stones and Rubbiſh are; one way they overſpread *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, and reach through *France* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and ſo to the Ocean. The other way they run along the skirts of *Germany*, through *Stiria*, *Pannonia*, and *Dalmatia*, as far as *Thrace* and the Black Sea. Then backwards they cover *Switzerland* and the parts adjacent; and that branch of them which we call the *Appennines*, ſtrikes through *Italy*, and is, as it were, the back-bone of that Country. This muſt needs be a large ſpace of ground which they ſtand upon; Yet 'tis not this part of *Europe* only that is laden with Mountains, the Northern part is as rough and rude in the face of the Country, as in the manners of the people; *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweedland*, *Lapland*, and *Iſeland*, and all the coaſts of the *Baltick Sea*, are full of Clifts, and Rocks, and Crags of Mountains: Beſides the *Riphean* Mountains in *Muſcovy*, which the Inhabitants there uſe to call the *Stone-girdle*, and believe that it girds the Earth round about.

Nor are the other parts of our Continent more free from Mountains than *Europe*, nor other parts of the Earth than our Continent: They are in the New World as well as the Old; and if they could diſcover two or three New Worlds or Continents more, they would ſtill find them there. Neither is there any Original Iſland upon

upon the Earth, but is either all a Rock, or hath Rocks and Mountains in it. And all the dry Land, and every Continent, is but a kind of Mountain: though that Mountain hath a multitude of leſſer ones, and Valleys, and Plains, and Lakes, and Marſhes, and all variety of grounds.

In *America*, the *Andes*, or a ridge of Mountains ſo call'd, are reported to be higher than any we have, reaching above a thouſand Leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, where they are the narroweſt. In *Africk* the Mountain *Atlas*, that for its height was ſaid to bear the Heavens on its back, runs all along from the Weſtern Sea to the borders of *Ægypt*, parallel with the *Mediterranean*. There alſo are the Mountains of the *Moon*, and many more whereof we have but an imperfect account, as neither indeed of that Country in the remote and inner parts of it. *Aſia* is better known, and the Mountains thereof better deſcrib'd: *Taurus*, which is the principal was adjudg'd by the ancient Geographers the greateſt in the World. It divides *Aſia* into two parts, which have their denomination from it: And there is an *Anti-Taurus* the greater and the leſs, which accordingly divide *Armenia* into greater and leſs. Then the *Cruciform* Mountains of *Imaus*, the famous *Caucaſus*, the long Chains of *Tartary* and *China*, and the Rocky and Mountainous *Arabia*. If one could at once have a proſpect of all theſe together, one would be eaſily ſatisfied, that the Globe of the Earth is a more rude and indigeſted Body than 'tis commonly imagin'd; If one could ſee, I ſay, all the Kingdoms and Regions of the Earth at one view, how they lie in broken heaps; The Sea hath overwhelm'd one half of them, and what remains are but the taller parts of a ruine. Look upon thoſe great ranges of Mountains in *Europe* or in *Aſia* whereof we have given a ſhort ſurvey, in what confuſion do they lie? They have neither form nor beauty, nor ſhape, nor order, no more than the Clouds in the Air. Then how barren, how deſolate, how naked are they? How they ſtand neglected by Nature? Neither the Rains can ſoften them, nor the Dews from Heaven make them fruitful.

I have given this ſhort account of the Mountains of the Earth, to help to remove that prejudice we are apt to have, or that conceit, That the preſent Earth *is regularly form'd*. And to this purpoſe I do not doubt but that it would be of very good uſe to have *natural* Maps of the Earth, as we noted before, as well as *civil*; and done with the ſame care and judgment. Our common Maps I call *Civil*, which note the diſtinction of Countries and of Cities, and repreſent the Artificial Earth as inhabited and cultivated: But Natural Maps leave out all that, and repreſent the Earth as it would be if there was not an Inhabitant upon it, nor ever had been; the Skeleton of the Earth, as I may ſo ſay, with the ſite of all its parts. Methinks alſo every Prince ſhould have ſuch a Draught of his own Country and Dominions, to ſee how the ground lies in the ſeveral parts of them, which higheſt, which loweſt; what reſpect they have to one another, and to the Sea; how the Rivers flow, and why; how the Mountains ſtand, how the Heaths, and how the Marches are plac'd. Such a Map or Survey would be uſeful both in time of War and Peace, and many good obſervations might be made by it, not only as to Natural Hiſtory and Philoſophy, but

alſo in order to the perfect improvement of a Country. But to return to our Mountains.

As this View of the multitude and greatneſs of them may help to rectifie our miſtakes about the form of the Earth, ſo before we proceed to examine their cauſes it will be good to obſerve farther, that theſe Mountains are plac'd in no order one with another, that can either reſpect uſe or beauty; and if you conſider them ſingly, they do not conſiſt of any proportion of parts that is referable to any deſign, or that hath the leaſt footſteps of Art or Counſel. There is nothing in Nature more ſhapeleſs and ill-figur'd than an old Rock or a Mountain, and all that variety that is among them, is but the various modes of irregularity; ſo as you cannot make a better character of them, in ſhort, than to ſay they are of all forms and figures, except regular. Then if you would go within theſe Mountains, (for they are generally hollow,) you would find all things there more rude, if poſſible, than without: And laſtly, if you look upon an heap of them together, or a Mountainous Country, they are the greateſt examples of confuſion that we know in Nature; no Tempeſt or Earthquake puts things into more diſorder. 'Tis true, they cannot look ſo ill now as they did at firſt; a ruine that is freſh looks much worſe than afterwards, when the Earth grows diſcolour'd and skin'd over. But I fancy if we had ſeen the Mountains when they were new born and raw, when the Earth was freſh-broken, and the waters of the Deluge newly retir'd, the fractions and confuſions of them would have appear'd very gaſtly and frightful.

After this general Survey of the Mountains of the Earth and their properties, let us now reflect upon the cauſes of them. There is a double pleaſure in Philoſophy, firſt that of Admiration, whilſt we contemplate things that are great and wonderful, and do not yet underſtand their Cauſes; for though admiration proceed from ignorance, yet there is a certain charm and ſweetneſs in that paſſion. Then the ſecond pleaſure is greater and more intellectual, which is that of diſtinct knowledge and comprehenſion, when we come to have the Key that unlocks thoſe ſecrets, and ſee the methods wherein thoſe things come to paſs that we admir'd before; The reaſons why the World is ſo or ſo, and from what cauſes Nature, or any part of Nature, came into ſuch a ſtate; and this we are now to enquire after as to the Mountains of the Earth, what their original was, how and when the Earth came into this ſtrange frame and ſtructure? In the beginning of our World, when the Earth roſe from a Chaos, 'twas impoſſible it ſhould come immediately into this Mountainous form; becauſe a maſs that is fluid, as a Chaos is, cannot lie in any other figure than what is regular; for the conſtant Laws of Nature do certainly bring all liquors into that form: And a Chaos is not call'd ſo from any confuſion or brokenneſs in the form of it, but from a confuſion and mixture of all ſorts of ingredients in the compoſition of it. So we have already produc'd, in the precedent Chapters a double argument that the Earth was not originally in this form, both becauſe it roſe from a Chaos, which could not of it ſelf, or by any immediate concretion,

tion, ſettle into a form of this nature, as hath been ſhown in the Fourth and Fifth Chapters; as alſo becauſe if it had been originally made thus, it could never have undergone a Deluge, as hath been prov'd in the Second and Third Chapters. If this be then a ſecondary and ſuccedaneous form, the great queſtion is from what cauſes it ariſes.

Some have thought that Mountains, and all other irregularities in the Earth, have riſe from Earthquakes, and ſuch like cauſes; others have thought that they came from the univerſal Deluge; yet not from any diſſolution of the Earth that was then, but only from the great agitation of the waters, which broke the ground into this rude and unequal form. Both theſe cauſes ſeem to me very incompetent and inſufficient. Earthquakes ſeldom make Mountains, they often take them away, and ſink them down into the Caverns that lie under them; Beſides, Earthquakes are not in all Countries and Climates as Mountains are; for, as we have obſerv'd more than once, there is neither Iſland that is original, nor Continent any where in the Earth, in what Latitude ſoever, but hath Mountains and Rocks in it. And laſtly, what probability is there, or how is it credible, that thoſe vaſt tracts of Land which we ſee fill'd with Mountains both in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, were rais'd by Earthquakes, or any eruptions from below. In what Age of the World was this done, and why not continu'd? As for the Deluge, which they alledge as another cauſe, I doubt not but Mountains were made in the time of the general Deluge, that great change and transformation of the Earth happen'd then, but not from ſuch cauſes as are pretended, that is, the bare rolling and agitation of the waters; For if the Earth was ſmooth and plain before the Flood, as they ſeem to ſuppoſe as well as we do, the waters could have little or no power over a ſmooth ſurface to tear it any way in pieces, no more than they do a meadow or low ground when they lie upon it; for that which makes Torrents and Land-floods violent, is their fall from the Mountains and high Lands, which our Earth is now full of, but if the Rain fell upon even and level ground, it would only ſadden and compreſs it; there is no poſſibility how it ſhould raiſe Mountains in it. And if we could imagine an univerſal Deluge as the Earth is now conſtituted, it would rather throw down the Hills and Mountains than raiſe new ones; or by beating down their tops and looſe parts, help to fill the Valleys, and bring the Earth nearer to evenneſs and plainneſs.

Seeing then there are no hopes of explaining the Origin of Mountains, either from particular Earthquakes, or from the general Deluge, according to the common notion and Explication of it; theſe not being cauſes anſwerable to ſuch vaſt effects; Let us try our *Hypotheſis* again; which hath made us a Chanel large enough for the Sea, and room for all ſubterraneous Cavities, and I think will find us materials enough to raiſe all the Mountains of the Earth. We ſuppoſe the great Arch or circumference of the firſt Earth to have fallen into the Abyſs at the Deluge, and ſeeing that was larger than the ſurface it fell upon, 'tis abſolutely certain, that it could not all fall flat, or lie under the water; Now as all thoſe parts that ſtood above the water made dry Land, or the preſent

ſent habitable Earth, ſo ſuch parts of the dry Land as ſtood higher than the reſt, made Hills and Mountains; and this is the firſt and general account of them, and of all the inequalities of the Earth: But to conſider theſe things a little more particularly; There is a double cauſe and neceſſity of Mountains, firſt this now mention'd, becauſe the exteriour Orb of the Earth was greater than the interiour which it fell upon, and therefore it could not all fall flat; and ſecondly, becauſe this exteriour Orb did not fall ſo flat and large as it might, or did not cover all the bottom of the Abyſs, as it was very capable to do; but as we ſhewed before in explaining the Chanel of the Ocean, it left a gaping in the middle, or an *Abyſs-chanel*, as I ſhould call it; and the broader this Abyſs-chanel was, the more Mountains there would be upon the dry Land; for there would be more Earth, or more of the falling Orb left, and leſs room to place it in, and therefore it muſt ſtand more in heaps.

In what parts of the Earth theſe heaps would lie, and in what particular manner, it cannot be expected that we ſhould tell; but all that we have hitherto obſerv'd concerning Mountains, how ſtrange ſoever and otherwiſe unaccountable, may eaſily be explain'd, and deduc'd from this original; we ſhall not wonder at their greatneſs and vaſtneſs, ſeeing they are the ruines of a broken World; and they would take up more or leſs of the dry Land, according as the Ocean took up more or leſs ſpace of our Globe: Then as to their figure and form, whether External or Internal, 'tis juſt ſuch as anſwers our expectation, and no more than what the *Hypotheſis* leads us to; For you would eaſily believe that theſe heaps would be irregular in all manner of ways, whether conſider'd apart, or in their ſituation to one another. And they would lie commonly in Cluſters and in Ridges, for thoſe are two of the moſt general poſtures of the parts of a ruine, when they fall inwards. Laſtly, We cannot wonder that Mountains ſhould be generally hollow; For great bodies falling together in confuſion, or bearing and leaning againſt one another, muſt needs make a great many hollowneſſes in them, and by their unequal Applications empty ſpaces will be intercepted. We ſee alſo from the ſame reaſon, why mountainous Countries are ſubject to Earthquakes; and why Mountains often ſink and fall down into the Caverns that lie under them; their joynts and props being decayed and worn, they become unable to bear their weight. And all theſe properties you ſee hang upon one and the ſame ſtring, and are juſt conſequences from our ſuppoſition concerning the diſſolution of the firſt Earth. And there is no ſurer mark of a good *Hypotheſis*, than when it doth not only hit luckily in one or two particulars, but anſwers all that it is to be apply'd to, and is adequate to Nature in her whole extent.

But how fully or eaſily ſoever theſe things may anſwer Nature, you will ſay, it may be, that all this is but an *Hypotheſis*; that is, a kind of fiction or ſuppoſition that things were ſo and ſo at firſt, and by the coherence and agreement of the Effects with ſuch a ſuppoſition, you would argue and prove that they were really ſo. This I confeſs is true, this is the method, and if we would know any thing in Nature further than our ſenſes go, we can know it no other-

wiſe

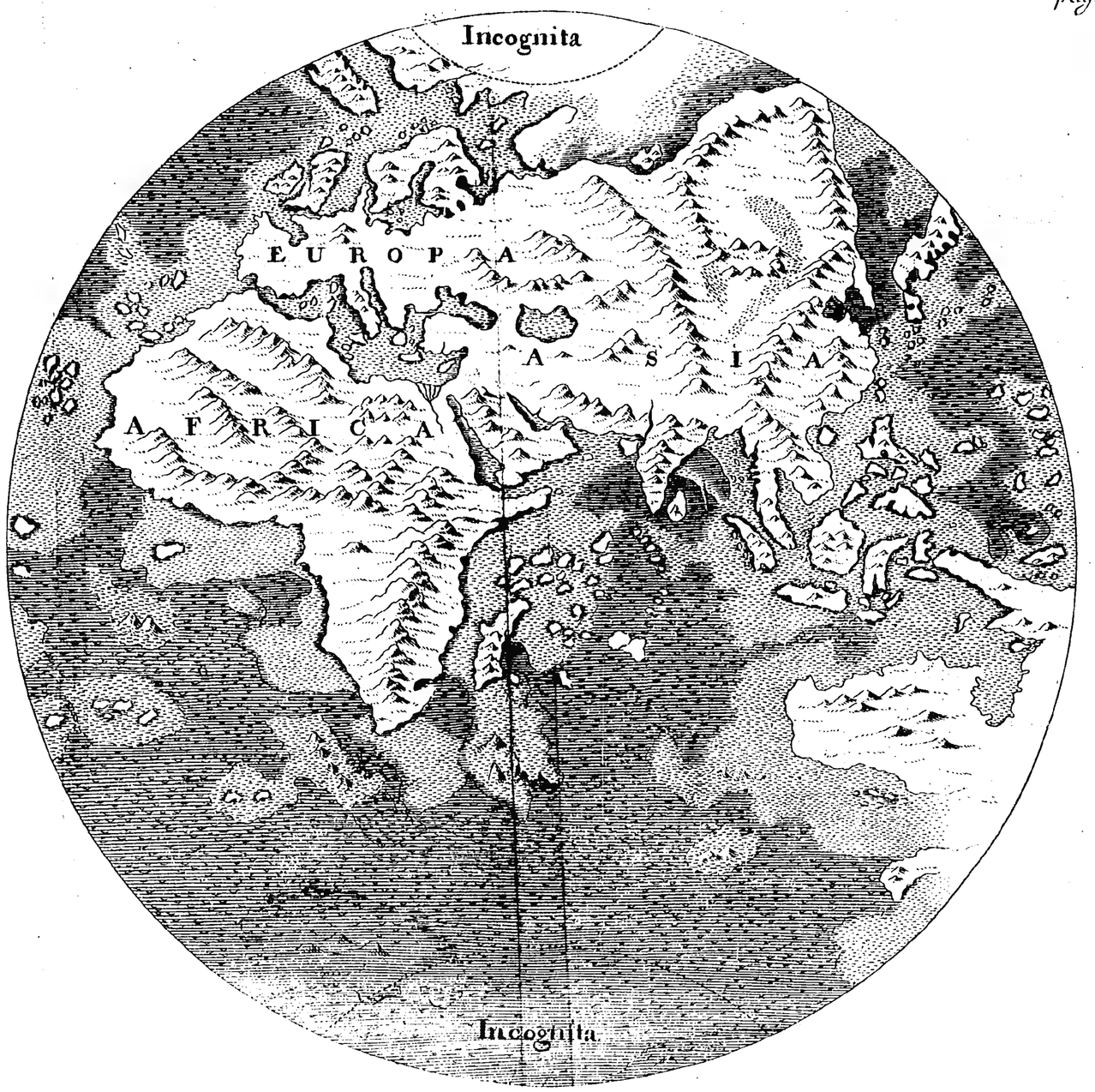

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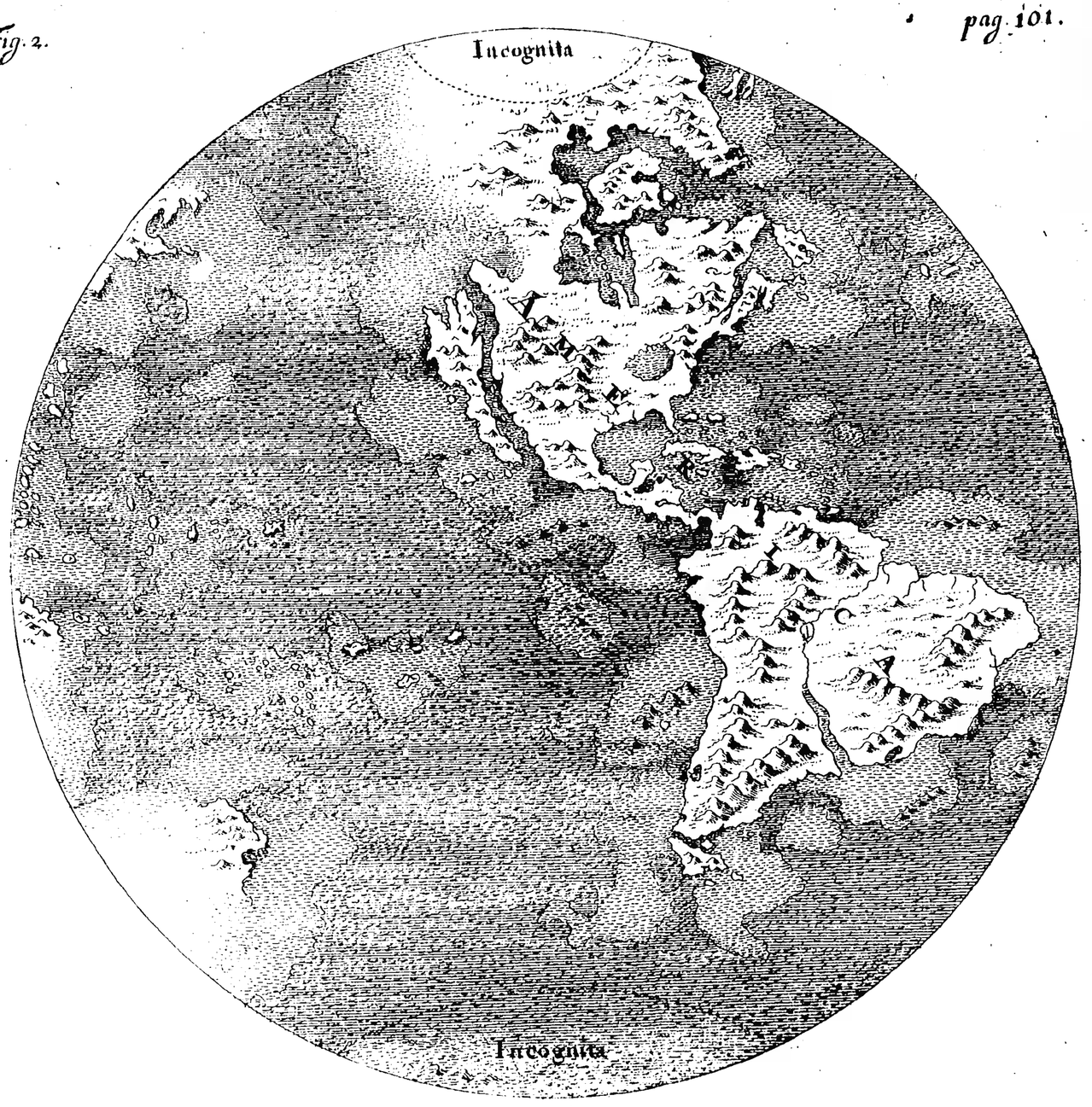
Fig. 2.

pag. 101.



wiſe than by an *Hypotheſis*. When things are either too little for our ſenſes, or too remote and inacceſſible, we have no way to know the inward Nature, and the cauſes of their ſenſible properties, but by reaſoning upon an *Hypotheſis*. If you would know, for example, of what parts Water, or any other Liquor conſiſts, they are too little to be diſcern'd by the Eye, you muſt therefore take a ſuppoſition concerning their inviſible figure and form, and if that agrees and gives the reaſon of all their ſenſible qualities, you underſtand the nature of Water. In like manner, if you would know the nature of a Comet, or of what matter the Sun conſiſts, which are things inacceſſible to us, you can do this no otherwiſe than by an *Hypotheſis*; and if that *Hypotheſis* be eaſie and intelligible, and anſwers all the *Phænomena* of thoſe two bodies, you have done as much as a *Philoſopher* or as *Humane reaſon* can do. And this is what we have attempted concerning the Earth and concerning the Deluge. We have laid down an *Hypotheſis* that is eaſie and perſpicuous, conſiſting of a few things, and thoſe very intelligible, and from this we have given an account how the Old World was deſtroy'd by a Deluge of Water, and how the Earth came into this preſent form; ſo diſtinguiſh'd and interrupted with Sea and Land, Mountains and Valleys, and ſo broken in the ſurface and inward parts of it.

But to ſpeak the Truth, this Theory is ſomething more than a bare *Hypotheſis*; becauſe we are aſſur'd that the general ground that we go upon is true, namely, That the Earth roſe at firſt from a Chaos; for beſides Reaſon and Antiquity, Scripture it ſelf doth aſſure us of that; and that one point being granted, we have deduc'd from it all the reſt by a direct chain of conſequences, which I think cannot be broken eaſily in any part or link of it. Beſides, the great hinge of this Theory upon which all the reſt turns, is the diſtinction we make of the Ante diluvian Earth and Heavens from the Poſt-diluvian, as to their form and conſtitution. And it will never be beaten out of my head, but that S. *Peter* hath made the ſame diſtinction ſixteen hundred years ſince, and to the very ſame purpoſe; ſo that we have ſure footing here again, and the Theory riſeth above the character of a bare *Hypotheſis*. And whereas an *Hypotheſis* that is clear and proportion'd to Nature in every reſpect, is accounted morally certain, we muſt in equity give more than a moral certitude to this Theory. But I mean this only as to the general parts of it; for as to particularities, I look upon them only as problematical, and accordingly I affirm nothing therein but with a power of revocation, and a liberty to change my opinion when I ſhall be better inform'd. Neither do I know any Author that hath treated a matter new, remote, and conſiſting of a multitude of particulars, who would not have had occaſion, if he had liv'd to have ſeen his *Hypotheſis* fully examin'd, to have chang'd his mind and manner of explaining things, in many material inſtances.

Ep. Chap. 3. 5, 6.

To conclude both this Chapter and this Section, we have here added a Map or Draught of the Earth, according to the Natural face of it, as it would appear from the Moon, if we were a little nearer to her; or as it was at firſt after the Deluge, before Cities were built, diſtinctions of Countries made, or any alterations by humane

humane induſtry. 'Tis chiefly to expoſe more to view the Mountains of the Earth, and the proportions of Sea and Land, to ſhew it as it lies in it ſelf, and as a Naturaliſt ought to conceive and conſider it. 'Tis true, there are far more Mountains upon the Earth than what are here repreſented, for more could not conveniently be plac'd in this narrow Scheme; But the beſt and moſt effectual way of repreſenting the body of the Earth as it is by Nature, would be, not in plain Tables, but by a *rough Globe*, expreſſing all the conſiderable inequalities that are upon the Earth. The ſmooth Globes that we uſe, do but nouriſh in us the conceit of the Earth's regularity, and though they may be convenient enough for Geographical purpoſes, they are not ſo proper for Natural Science; nothing would be more uſeful, in this reſpect, than a rough Globe of the largeſt dimenſions, wherein the Chanel of the Sea ſhould be really hollow, as it is in Nature, with all its unequal depths according to the beſt ſoundings, and the ſhores expreſt both according to matter and form, little Rocks ſtanding where there are Rocks, and Sands and Beaches in the places where they are found; and all the Iſlands planted in the Sea-chanel in a due form, and in their ſolid dimenſions. Then upon the Land ſhould ſtand all the ranges of Mountains, in the ſame order or diſorder that Nature hath ſet them there; And the in-land Seas, and great Lakes, or rather the beds they lie in, ſhould be duly repreſented; as alſo the vaſt deſarts of Sand as they lie upon the Earth. And this being done with care and due Art, would be a true Epitome or true model of our Earth. Where we ſhould ſee, beſides other inſtructions, what a rude Lump our World is, which we are ſo apt to dote upon.

CHAP. XII.

A ſhort review of what hath been already treated of, and in what manner. The ſeveral Faces and Schemes under which the Earth would appear to a Stranger, that ſhould view it firſt at a diſtance, and then more cloſely, and the Application of them to our ſubject. All methods, whether Philoſophical or Theological, that have been offer'd by others for the Explication of the Form of the Earth, are examin'd and diſprov'd. A conjecture concerning the other Planets, their Natural Form and State compared with ours.

WE have finiſh'd the Three Sections of this Book, and in this laſt Chapter we will make a ſhort review and reflection upon what hath been hitherto treated of, and add ſome further confirmations of it. The Explication of the Univerſal Deluge was the firſt propoſal and deſign of this Diſcourſe, to make that a thing credible

credible and intelligible to the mind of Man: And the full Explication of this drew in the whole Theory of the Earth: Whoſe original we have deduc'd from its firſt Source, and ſhew'd both what was its primæval Form, and how it came into its preſent Form. The ſumm of our *Hypotheſis* concerning the Univerſal Deluge was this; That it came not to paſs, as was vulgarly believ'd, by any exceſs of Rains, or any Inundation of the Sea, nor could ever be effected by a meer abundance of Waters; unleſs we ſuppoſe ſome diſſolution of the Earth at the ſame time, namely when the *Great Abyſs* was broken open. And accordingly we ſhewed that without ſuch a diſſolution, or if the Earth had been always in the ſame form it is in now, no maſs of water, any where to be found in the World, could have equall'd the height of the Mountains, or made ſuch an Univerſal Deluge. Secondly, We ſhewed that the form of the Earth at firſt, and till the Deluge, was ſuch as made it capable and ſubject to a Diſſolution: And thirdly, That ſuch a diſſolution being ſuppos'd, the Doctrine of the Univerſal Deluge is very reaſonable and intelligible; And not only the Doctrine of the Deluge, but the ſame ſuppoſition is a Key to all Nature beſides, ſhewing us how our Globe became Terraqueous, what was the original of Mountains, of the Sea-chanel, of Iſlands, of ſubterraneous Cavities; Things, which without this ſuppoſition, are as unintelligible as the univerſal Flood it ſelf. And theſe things reciprocally confirming one another, our *Hypotheſis* of the Deluge is arm'd both breaſt and back, by the cauſes and by the effects.

It remains now, that, as to confirm our Explication of the Deluge, we ſhew'd all other accounts that had been given of it to be ineffectual or impoſſible, ſo to confirm our doctrine concerning the diſſolution of the Earth, and concerning the Original of Mountains, Seas, and all inequalities upon it, or within it, we muſt examine what cauſes have been aſſign'd by others, or what accounts given of theſe things: That ſeeing their defectiveneſs, we may have the more aſſurance and ſatisfaction in our own method.

And in order to this, let us obſerve firſt the general forms under which the Earth may be conſider'd, or under which it doth appear accordingly as we view it more nearly or remotely; And the firſt of theſe and the moſt general is that of a *Terraqueous Globe*. If a Philoſopher ſhould come out of another World out of curioſity to ſee our Earth, the firſt diſcovery or obſervation he would make would be this, that it was a Terraqueous Globe; Thus much he might obſerve at a great diſtance when he came but near the borders of our World. This we diſcern in the Moon and moſt of the Planets, that they are divided into Sea and Land, and how this diviſion came, would be his firſt remark and inquiry concerning our Earth; and how alſo thoſe ſubdiviſions of Iſlands, or little Earths which lie in the Water, how theſe were form'd, and that great Chanel that contains them both.

The ſecond form that the Earth appears under, is that of an uneven and *Mountainous Globe*. When our Traveller had got below the Circle of the Moon, he would diſcern the bald tops of our Mountains, and the long ranges of them upon our Continents. We cannot

not from the Earth discern Mountains and Valleys in the Moon, directly, but from the motion of the light and shadows which we see there, we easily collect that there are such inequalities: And accordingly we suppose that our Mountains would appear at a great distance, and the shady Valleys lying under them; and that this curious person that came to view our Earth, would make that his second Enquiry, how those Mountains were form'd? and how our Globe came to be so rude and irregular? for we may justly demand how any irregularity came into Nature, seeing all her first motions and her first forms are regular, and whatsoever is not so is but secondary, and the consequence of some degeneracy, or of some decay.

The Third visible form of our Earth is that of *a broken Globe*; and broken throughout, but in the outward parts and Regions of it. This, it may be, you will say, is not a visible form; it doth not appear to the eye, without reasoning, that the surface of the Earth is so broken. Suppose our new Visitant had now pass'd the middle Region of the Air, and was alighted upon the top of Pick *Teneriffe* for his first resting place, and that sitting there he took a view of the great Rocks, the wide Sea, and of the shores of *Africk* and *Europe*; for we'll suppose his piercing Eye to reach so far; I will not say that at first sight he would pronounce that the surface of this Globe was broken, unless he knew it to be so by comparison with some other Planet like to it; but the broken form and figure of many parts of the Rocks, and the posture in which they lay, or great portions of them, some inclin'd, some prostrate, some erected, would naturally lead him to that thought, that they were a ruine; He would see also the Islands tore from the Continents, and both the shores of the Continents and their inland parts in the same disorder and irregular situation. Besides, he had this great advantage in viewing the Earth at a distance, that he could see a whole Hemisphere together, which, as he made his approaches through the Air, would have much what the same
Pag. 100. aspect and countenance as 'tis represented with in the great Scheme; And if any man should accidentally hit upon that Scheme, not knowing or thinking that it was the Earth, I believe his first thought of it would be, that it was some great broken body, or ruin'd frame of matter; and the original, I am sure, is more manifestly so. But we'll leave our Strange-Philosopher to his own observations, and wish him good Guides and Interpreters in his Survey of the Earth, and that he would make a favourable report at his return home, of our little dirty Planet.

In the mean time, let us pursue, in our own way, this Third *Idea* of the Earth a little further, as it is *a broken Globe*, Nature I know hath dissembled and cover'd this form as much as may be, and time hath helpt to repair some of the old breaches, or fill them up; besides, the changes that have been made by Art and Humane industry, by Agriculture, Planting, and Building Towns, hath made the face of the Earth quite another thing from what it was in its naked rudeness. As mankind is much alter'd from its Pristine state, from what it was four thousand years ago, or towards the first

Ages

Ages after the Flood, when the Nations liv'd in simplicity or barbarousness; so is the Earth too, and both so disguis'd and transform'd, that if one of those Primitive Fathers should rise from the dead, he would scarce know this to be the same World which he liv'd in before. But to discern the true form of the Earth, whether intire or broken, regular or disorder'd, we must in the first place take away all those ornaments or additions made by Art or Nature, and view the bare carcass of the Earth, as it hath nothing on it but Rocks and Mountains, Desarts and Fields, and hollow Valleys, and a wide Sea. Then secondly, We must in our imagination empty this Chanel of the Sea, take out all the Waters that hinder the sight of it, and look upon the dry Ditch, measure the depth and breadth of it in our mind, and observe the manner of its construction, and in what a wild posture all the parts of it lie; according as it hath been formerly represented. And lastly, We must *Chap.* 10. take off the cover of all Subterraneous places and deep Caverns, to see the inside of the Earth; and lay bare the roots of Mountains, to look into those holes and Vaults that are under them, fill'd sometimes with Fire, sometimes with Water, and sometimes with thick Air and Vapours. The object being thus prepar'd, we are then to look fix'dly upon it, and to pronounce what we think of this disfigur'd mass, whether this Exteriour frame doth not seem to be shatter'd; and whether it doth more aptly resemble a new-made World, or the ruines of one broken. I confess when this *Idea* of the Earth is present to my thoughts, I can no more believe that this was the form wherein it was first produc'd, than if I had seen the Temple of *Jerusalem* in its ruines, when defac'd and sack'd by the *Babylonians*, I could have perswaded my self that it had never been in any other posture, and that *Solomon* had given orders for building it so.

So much for the form of the Earth: It remains now that we examine what causes have been assign'd by others of these irregularities in the form of the Earth, which we explain by the dissolution of it; what accounts any of the Ancients have given or attempted to give, how the Earth swell'd into Mountains in certain places, and in others was depress'd into low Valleys, how the body of it was so broken, and how the Chanel of the Sea was made. The Elements naturally lie in regular forms one above another, and now we find them mixt, confounded and transpos'd, how comes this disturbance and disordination in Nature? The Explications of these things that have been given by others, may be reduc'd to two general sorts, *Philosophical* or *Theological*, and we will try them both for our satisfaction.

Of Philosophers none was more concern'd to give an account of such things than *Epicurus*, both because he acknowledged the Origin of the Earth to have been from a *Chaos*, and also admitted no causes to act in Nature but Matter and Motion: Yet all the account we have from the *Epicureans* of the form of the Earth, and the great inequalities that are in it, is so slight and trivial, that methinks it doth not deserve the name of a Philosophical Explication. They say that the Earth and Water were mix'd at first, or rather the

Earth was above the Water, and as the Earth was condens'd by the heat of the Sun, and the Winds, the Water was ſqueez'd out in certain places, which either it found hollow or made ſo; and ſo was the Chanel of the Sea made. Then as for Mountains, while ſome parts of the Earth ſhrunk and ſunk in this manner, others would not ſink, and theſe ſtanding ſtill while the others fell lower, made the Mountains. How the ſubterraneous Cavities were made according to them, I do not find.

This is all the Account that *Monſieur Gaſſendi* (who ſeems to have made it his buſineſs, as well as his pleaſure, to embelliſh that Philoſophy) can help us to out of the *Epicurean* Authors, how the Earth came into this form; and he that can content himſelf with this, is, in my mind, of an humour very eaſie to be pleas'd. Do the Sun and the Wind uſe to ſqueaze pools of Water out of the Earth, and that in ſuch a quantity as to make an Ocean? They dry the Earth, and the Waters too, and rariſie them into vapours, but I never knew them to be the cauſes of preſſing Water out of the Earth by condenſation. Could they compreſs the Earth any otherwiſe, than by drying it and making it hard? and in proportion, as it was more dry, would it not the more imbibe and ſuck up the Water? and how were the great Mountains of the Earth made, in the North and in the South, where the influence of the Sun is not great? What ſunk the Earth there, and made the fleſh ſtart from the bones? But 'tis no wonder that *Epicurus* ſhould give ſuch a mean account of the Origin of the Earth, and the form of its parts, who did not ſo much as underſtand the general Figure of the Body of it, that it was in ſome manner Spherical, or that the Heavens encompaſt it round. One muſt have a blind love for that Philoſophy, and for the concluſions it drives at, not to ſee its lameneſs and defects in thoſe firſt and fundamental parts.

Ariſtotle, though he was not concern'd to give an account how the Earth came into this preſent form, as he ſuppos'd it, Eternal; yet upon another conſideration he ſeems oblig'd to give ſome reaſon how the Elements came into this diſorder; ſeeing he ſuppoſeth, that, according to the order of Nature, the Water ſhould lie above the Earth in a Sphere, as the Air doth above the Water, and his Fire above the Air. This he toucheth upon in his Meteors, but ſo gently and fearfully, as if he was handling hot coals. He ſaith the Sea is to be conſider'd as the Element, or body of Waters that belongs to this Earth, and that theſe Waters change places, and the Sea is ſome Ages in one part of the Globe, and ſome Ages in another; but that this is at ſuch great diſtances of time that there can be no memory or record of it. And he ſeems willing to ſuppoſe that the Water was once all over the Earth, but that it dri'd up in certain places, and continuing in others, it there made the Sea.

What a miſerable account is this? As to his change or removal of the Sea-chanel in ſeveral Ages, as it is without all proof or probability, if he mean it of the Chanel of the great Ocean, ſo 'tis nothing to the purpoſe here; for the queſtion is not why the Chanel of the Sea is in ſuch a part of the Earth, rather than in another,

ther, but why there is any ſuch prodigious Cavity in or upon the Earth any where. And if we take his ſuppoſition, that the Element of Water was once higher than the Earth, and lay in a Sphere about it, then let him tell us in plain terms how the Earth got above, or how the Cavity of the Ocean was made, and how the Mountains riſe; for this Elementary Earth which lay under the Water, was, I ſuppoſe, equal and ſmooth when it lay there; and what reaſon was there, that the Waters ſhould be dri'd in one part of it, more than another, if they were every where of an equal depth, and the ground equal under them? It was not the Climates made any diſtinction, for there is Sea towards the Poles, as well as under the Æquator; but ſuppoſe they were dri'd up in certain places, that would make no Mountains, no more than there are Mountains in our dri'd Marches: And the places where they were not dri'd, would not therefore become as deep and hollow as the Sea chanel, and tear the Earth and Rocks in pieces. If you ſhould ſay that this very Elementary Earth, as it lay under the Waters, was unequal, and was ſo originally, form'd into Mountains and Valleys, and great Cavities; beſides, that the ſuppoſition is altogether irrational in it ſelf, you muſt ſuppoſe a prodigious maſs of Water to cover ſuch an Earth; as much as we found requiſite for the vulgar Deluge, namely, eight Oceans; and what then is become of the other ſeven? Upon the whole I do not ſee that either in *Epicurus*'s way, who ſeems to ſuppoſe that the Waters were at firſt within the Earth; nor in *Ariſtotle*'s way, who ſeems to ſuppoſe them upon the Earth, any rational or tolerable account can be given of the preſent form of the Earth.

Wherefore ſome modern Authors, diſſatisfied, as very well they might be, with theſe Explications given us by the Ancients concerning the form of the Earth, have pitch'd upon other cauſes, more true indeed in their kind, and in their degree, but that fall as much ſhort of thoſe effects to which they would apply them. They ſay that all the irregularities of the body of the Earth have riſen from Earthquakes in particular places, and from Torrents and Inundations, and from eruptions of Fire, or ſuch like cauſes, whereof we ſee ſome inſtances more or leſs every Age; And theſe have made that havock upon the face of the Earth, and turn'd things up-ſide down, raiſing the Earth in ſome places, and making great Cavities or Chaſms in others, ſo as to have brought it at length into that torn, broken, and diſorderly form in which we now ſee it.

Theſe Authors do ſo far agree with us, as to acknowledge that the preſent irregular form of the Earth muſt have proceeded from ruines and diſſolutions of one ſort or other, but theſe ruines they make to have been partial only, in this or in that Country, by piece-meal, and in ſeveral Ages, and from no other cauſes but ſuch as ſtill continue to act in Nature, namely, accidental Earthquakes and Eruptions of Fires and Waters. Theſe cauſes we acknowledge as readily as they do, but not as capable to produce ſo great effects as they would aſcribe to them; The ſurface of the Earth may be a little changed by ſuch accidents as theſe, but for

the moſt part they rather ſink the Mountains than raiſe new ones: As when Houſes are blown up by Mines of Powder, they are not ſet higher, but generally fall lower and flatter: Or ſuppoſe they do ſometimes raiſe an Hill, or a little Mount, what's that to the great Mountains of our World, to thoſe long and vaſt piles of Rocks and Stones, which the Earth can ſcarce bear? What's that to ſtrong-backt *Taurus* or *Atlas*, to the *American Andes*, or to a Mountain that reacheth from the *Pyreneans* to the *Euxine* Sea? There's as much difference between theſe and thoſe factitious Mountains they ſpeak of, as betwixt them and Mole-hills.

And to anſwer more diſtinctly to this opinion, as before in ſpeaking of Iſlands we diſtinguiſh'd betwixt Factitious and Original Iſlands, ſo, if you pleaſe, we may diſtinguiſh here betwixt Factitious and Original Mountains; and allowing ſome few, and thoſe of the fifth or ſixth magnitude, to have riſen from ſuch accidental cauſes, we enquire concerning the reſt and the greateſt, what was their Original? If we ſhould ſuppoſe that the ſeven Hills upon which *Rome* ſtands, came from ruines or eruptions, or any ſuch cauſes, it doth not follow that the *Alps* were made ſo too. And as for Mountains, ſo for the Cavities of the Earth, I ſuppoſe there may be diſruptions ſometimes made by Earthquakes, and holes worn by ſubterraneous Fires and Waters; but what's that to the Chanel of the *Atlantick Ocean*, or of the *Pacifick Ocean*, which is extended an hundred and fifty degrees under the Æquator, and towards the Poles ſtill further. He that ſhould derive ſuch mighty things from no greater cauſes, I ſhould think him a very credulous Philoſopher. And we are too ſubject indeed to that fault of credulity in matter of Philoſophizing; Many when they have found out cauſes that are proper for certain effects within ſuch a compaſs, they cannot keep them there, but they will make them do every thing for them; and extend them often to other effects of a ſuperiour nature or degree, which their activity can by no means reach to. *Ætna* hath been a burning Mountain ever ſince and above the memory of Man, yet it hath not deſtroy'd that Iſland, nor made any new Chanel to the Sea, though it ſtands ſo near it. Neither is *Veſuvius* above two or three miles diſtant from the Sea-ſide, to the beſt of my remembrance, and yet in ſo many Ages it hath made no paſſage to it, neither open nor ſubterraneous.' Tis true ſome *Iſthmus*'s have been thrown down by Earthquakes, and ſome Lakes have been made in that manner, but what's this to a Ditch nine thouſand miles broad? ſuch an one we have upon the Earth, and of a depth that is not meaſurable; what proportion have theſe cauſes to ſuch an inſtance? and how many thouſand Ages muſt be allow'd to them to do their work, more than the Chronology of our Earth will bear?

Beſides, When were theſe great Earthquakes and diſruptions, that did ſuch great execution upon the body of the Earth? Was this before the Flood or ſince? If before, then the old difficulty returns, how could there be a Flood, if the Earth was in this Mountainous form before that time? This, I think, is demonſtrated impoſſible in the Second and Third Chapters. If ſince the Flood, where

where were the Waters of the Earth before theſe Earthquakes made a Chanel for them? Beſides, Where is the Hiſtory or Tradition that ſpeaks of theſe ſtrange things, and of this great change of the Earth? Hath any writ of the Origins of the *Alps*? In what year of *Rome*, or what *Olympiad* they were born? Or how they grew from little ones? how the Earth groan'd when it brought them forth, when its bowels were torn by the ragged Rocks? Do the Chronicles of the Nations mention theſe things, or ancient fame, or ancient Fables? were they made all at once, or in ſucceſſive Ages? Theſe cauſes continue ſtill in Nature, we have ſtill Earthquakes and ſubterraneous Fires and Waters, why ſhould they not ſtill operate and have the ſame effects? We often hear of Cities thrown down by Earthquakes, or Countries ſwallow'd up, but whoever heard of a new chain of Mountains made upon the Earth, or a new Chanel made for the Ocean? We do not read that there hath been ſo much as a new *Sinus* of the Sea ever ſince the memory of Man; Which is far more feaſible than what they pretend. And things of this nature being both ſtrange and ſenſible, excite admiration and great attention when they come to paſs, and would certainly have been remembred or propagated in ſome way or other, if they had ever happen'd ſince the Deluge. They have recorded the foundation of Cities and Monarchies, the appearance of Blazing Stars, the eruptions of fiery Mountains, the moſt remarkable Earthquakes and Inundations, the great Eclipſes or obſcurations of the Sun, and any thing that look'd ſtrange or prodigy-like, whether in the Heavens or on Earth: And theſe which would have been the greateſt prodigies and greateſt changes that ever happen'd in nature, would theſe have eſcap'd all obſervation and memory of Men? That's as incredible as the things themſelves are.

Laſtly, To comprehend all theſe opinions together, both of the Ancient and Modern Authors, they ſeem all to agree with us in this, *That* the Earth was once under another form; otherwiſe why do they go about to ſhew the cauſes how it came into this form. I deſire then to know what form they ſuppoſe the Earth to have been under before the Mountains were made, the Chanel of the Sea, or ſubterraneous Cavities. Either they muſt take that form which we have aſſign'd it before the Deluge, or elſe they muſt ſuppoſe it cover'd with Water, till the Sea-chanels were made, and the Mountains brought forth; as in that Fig. *pag.* 37. And no doubt it was once in this form, both reaſon and the authority of *Moſes* aſſures us of it; and this is the Teſt which every opinion muſt be brought to, *how* the Earth emerg'd out of that watery form? and in particular, as to that opinion which we are now examining, the queſtion is, *how* by Earthquakes, and fiery eruptions, ſubterraneous Waters, and ſuch like cauſes, the body of the Earth could be wrought from that form to this preſent form? And the thing is impoſſible at firſt ſight; for ſuch cauſes as theſe could not take place in ſuch an Earth. As for ſubterraneous Waters, there could be none at that time, for they were all above ground; and as for ſubterraneous Exhalations, whether Fiery or Aery, there was no place for them neither, for the Earth when it lay under the Water was a

Fig. 2. *p.* 37.

ſolid

ſolid uniform maſs, compact and cloſe united in its parts, as we have ſhewn before upon ſeveral occaſions; no Mines or hollow Vaults for the Vapours to be lodg'd in, no Store-houſes of Fire, nothing that could make Earthquakes, nor any ſort of ruines or eruptions: Theſe are Engines that cannot play but in an Earth already broken, hollow, and cavernous. Therefore the Authors of this opinion do in effect beg the queſtion; they aſſign ſuch cauſes of the preſent form of the Earth, as could not take place, nor have any activity until the Earth was in this form: Theſe cauſes may contribute ſomething to increaſe the rudeneſs and inequalities of the Earth in certain places, but they could not be the original cauſes of it: And that not only becauſe of their diſproportion to ſuch effects, but alſo becauſe of their incapacity, or non-exiſtence at that time when theſe effects were to be wrought.

Thus much concerning the Philoſophical opinions, or the natural Cauſes that have been aſſign'd for the irregular form of this preſent Earth. Let us now conſider the Theological opinions, how Mountains were made at firſt, and the wonderful Chanel of the Sea: And theſe Authors ſay, God Almighty made them immediately when he made the World; and ſo diſpatcht the buſineſs in a few words. This is a ſhort account indeed, but we muſt take heed that we do not derogate from the perfection of God, by aſcribing all things promiſcuouſly to his immediate action. I have often ſuggeſted that the firſt order of things is regular and ſimple, according as the Divine Nature is; and continues ſo till there is ſome degeneracy in the moral World; I have alſo noted upon ſeveral occaſions, eſpecially in the *Lat. Treat. Cap.* 11. the deformity and incommodiouſneſs of the preſent Earth; and from theſe two conſiderations we may reaſonably infer, that the preſent ſtate of the Earth was not Original, but is a ſtate of ſubjection to Vanity, wherein it muſt continue till the redemption and reſtitution of all things.

But beſides this general conſideration, there are many others, both Natural and Theological againſt this opinion, which the Authors of it, I believe, will find unanſwerable. As firſt, S. *Peter*'s diſtinction betwixt the preſent Earth and the Ante-diluvian; and that in oppoſition to certain profane perſons, who ſeem to have been of the ſame opinion with theſe Authors, namely, That the Heavens and the Earth were the ſame now that they had been from the beginning, and that there had been no change in Nature, either of late, or in former Ages; Theſe S. *Peter* confutes and upbraids them with ignorance or forgetfulneſs of the change that was brought upon Nature at the Deluge, or that the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth were of a different form and conſtitution from the preſent, whereby that World was obnoxious to a Deluge of Water, as the preſent is to a Deluge of Fire. Let theſe Authors put themſelves in the place of thoſe Objectors, and ſee what anſwer they can make to the Apoſtle, whom I leave to diſpute the caſe with them. I hope they will not treat this Epiſtle of S. *Peter*'s ſo rudely as *Didymus Alexandrinus* did, an ancient Chriſtian, and one of S. *Jerom*'s Maſters, he was of the ſame opinion with theſe Theological Authors, and

2 *Ep. Chap.* 3. 5, 6.

and ſo fierce in it, that ſeeing S. *Peter*'s doctrine here to be contrary, he ſaid this Epiſtle of S. *Peter*'s was corrupted, and was not to be receiv'd into the Canon. And all this becauſe it taught that the Heavens and the Earth had chang'd their form, and would do ſo again at the Conflagration; ſo as the ſame World would be Tri-form in ſucceſs of time. We acknowledge his Expoſition of S. *Peter*'s words to be very true, but what he makes an argument of the corruption of this Epiſtle, is rather, in my mind, a peculiar argument of its Divine Inſpiration. In the ſecond place, theſe Writers daſh upon the old rock, the impoſſibility of explaining the Deluge, if there were Mountains from the beginning, and the Earth then in the ſame form as it is in now. Thirdly, They make the ſtate of *Paradiſe* as unintelligible as that of the Deluge; For thoſe properties that are aſſign'd to *Paradiſe* by the Ancients, are inconſiſtent with the preſent form of the Earth: As will appear in the Second Book. Laſtly, They muſt anſwer, and give an account of all thoſe marks which we have obſerv'd in Nature (both in this Chapter, and the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh,) of fractions, ruines, and diſſolutions that have been on the Earth, and which we have ſhown to be inexplicable, unleſs we admit that the Earth was once in another form.

Theſe arguments being premis'd, let us now bring their opinion cloſe to the Teſt, and ſee in what manner theſe Mountains muſt have been made according to them, and how the Chanel of the Sea, and all other Cavities of the Earth. Let us to this purpoſe conſider the Earth again in that tranſient incompleat forth which it had when the Abyſs encompaſt the whole body of it; we both a- gree that the Earth was once in this ſtate, and they ſay that it came immediately out of this ſtate into its preſent form, there being made by a ſupernatural Power a great Chanel or Ditch in one part of it, which drew off the Waters from the reſt, and the Earth which was ſqueez'd and forc'd out of this Ditch, made the Mountains. So there is the Chanel of the Sea made, and the Mountains of the Earth; how the ſubterraneous Cavities were made according to theſe Authors, I do not well know. This I confeſs ſeems to me a very groſs thought, and a way of working very un-God-like; but however let's have patience to examine it.

a *Fig.* 2. *p.* 37.

And in the firſt place, if the Mountains were taken out of the Chanel of the Sea, then they are equal to it, and would fill it up if they were thrown in again. But theſe proportions upon examination will not agree; for though the Mountains of the Earth be very great, yet they do not equal by much the great Ocean. The Ocean extends to half the ſurface of the Earth; and if you ſuppoſe the greateſt depth of the Ocean to anſwer the height of the greateſt Mountains, and the middle depth to the middle ſort of Mountains, the Mountains ought to cover all the dry Land to make them anſwer to all the capacity of the Ocean; whereas we ſuppos'd them upon a reaſonable computation to cover but the tenth part of the dry Land; and conſequently, neither they, nor the Sea-chanel, could have been produc'd in this manner, becauſe of their great diſproportion to one another. And the ſame thing appears,

pears, if we compare the Mountains with the Abyſs, which cover'd the Earth before this Chanel was made; for this Chanel being made great enough to contain all the Abyſs, the Mountains taken out of it muſt alſo be equal to all the Abyſs, but the aggregate of the Mountains will not anſwer this by many degrees; for ſuppoſe the Abyſs was but half as deep as the deep Ocean, to make this Calculus anſwer, all the dry Land ought to be cover'd with Mountains, and with Mountains as high as the Ocean is deep, or doubly high to the depth of the Abyſs, becauſe they are but upon one half of the Globe. And this is the firſt argument againſt the reciprocal production of Mountains and the Sea, their incongruency or diſproportion.

Secondly, We are to conſider that a great many Mountains of the Earth are far diſtant from any Seas, as the great in-land Mountains of *Aſia* and of *Africk*, and the *Sarmatick* Mountains, and others in *Europe*, how were theſe great bodies flung thorow the Air from their reſpective Seas, whence they were taken, to thoſe places where they ſtand? What appearance is there in common reaſon, or credibility, that theſe huge maſſes of Earth and Stone that ſtand in the middle of Continents, were dug out of any Seas? We think it ſtrange, and very deſervedly, that a little Chapel ſhould be tranſported from *Paleſtine* to *Italy* over Land and Sea, much more the tranſportation of Mount *Atlas* or *Taurus* thorow the Air, or of a range of Mountains two or three thouſand miles long, would ſurely upon all accounts appear incongruous and incredible: Beſides, neither the hollow form of Mountains, nor the ſtony matter whereof they commonly conſiſt, agrees with that ſuppoſition, that they were preſt or taken out of the Chanel of the Sea.

Laſtly, We are to conſider that the Mountains are not barely laid upon the Earth, as a Tomb-ſtone upon a Grave, nor ſtand as Statues do upon a Pedeſtal, as this opinion ſeems to ſuppoſe; but they are one continued ſubſtance with the body of the Earth, and their roots reach into the Abyſs; as the Rocks by the Sea-ſide go as deep as the bottom of the Sea in one continu'd maſs: And 'tis a ridiculous thing to imagine the Earth firſt a plain ſurface, then all the Mountains ſet upon it, as Hay-cocks in a Field, ſtanding upon their flat bottoms. There is no ſuch common ſurface in Nature, nor conſequently any ſuch ſuper-additions: 'Tis all one frame or maſs, only broken and disjoynted in the parts of it. To conclude, 'Tis not only the Mountains that make the inequalities of the Earth, or the irregularity of its ſurface, every Country, every Province, every Field hath an unequal and different ſituation, higher or lower, inclin'd more or leſs, and ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, you can ſcarce take a miles compaſs in any place where the ſurface of the ground continues uniform; and can you imagine that there were Moulds or Stones brought from the Sea-chanel to make all thoſe inequalities? Or that Earthquakes have been in every County, and in every Field? The inner Veins and Lares, the beds or Strata of the Earth are alſo broken as well as the ſurface. Theſe muſt proceed from univerſal cauſes, and all thoſe that have been alledg'd, whether from Philoſophy or Theology, are

are but particular or Topical. I am fully ſatisfied, in contemplation of theſe things, and ſo I think every unprejudic'd perſon may be, that to ſuch an irregular variety of ſituation and conſtruction, as we ſee every where in the parts of the Earth, nothing could anſwer but ſome univerſal concuſſion or diſlocation, in the nature of a general ruine.

We have now finiſht this firſt part of our Theory, and all that concerns the Deluge or diſſolution of the Earth; and we have not only eſtabliſht our own *Hypotheſis* by poſitive arguments, but alſo produc'd and examin'd all ſuppoſitions that have been offer'd by others, whether Philoſophical or Theological, for the Explication of the ſame things; ſo as nothing ſeems now to remain further upon this ſubject. For a concluſion of all, we will conſider, if you pleaſe, the reſt of the Earths, or of the Planets within our Heavens, that appertain to the ſame common Sun; to ſee, ſo far as we can go by rational conjectures, if they be not of the ſame Fabrick, and have undergone the like fate, and forms with our Earth. It is now acknowledg'd by the generality of Learned Men, that the Planets are Opake bodies, and particularly our next neighbour, the Moon, is known to be a Terraqueous Globe, conſiſting of Mountains and Valleys, as our Earth does; and we have no reaſon to believe but that ſhe came into that form by a diſſolution, or from like cauſes as our Earth did. *Mercury* is ſo near the Sun, that we cannot well diſcern his face, whether ſpotted or no, nor make a judgment of it. But as for *Venus* and *Mars*, if the ſpots that be obſerved in them be their Waters or their Sea, as they are in the Moon, 'tis likely They are alſo Terraqueous Globes, and in much what a like form with the Moon and the Earth; and, for ought we know, from like cauſes. Particularly as to *Venus*, 'tis a remarkable paſſage that S. *Auſtin* hath preſerv'd out of *Varro*, he ſaith, That *about the time of the great Deluge there was a wonderful alteration or Cataſtrophe happen'd to the Planet* Venus, *and that ſhe chang'd her Colour, form, figure, and magnitude.* This is a great preſumption that ſhe ſuffer'd her diſſolution about the ſame time that our Earth did. I do not know that any ſuch thing is recorded concerning any of the other Planets, but the body of *Mars* looks very rugged, broken, and much diſorder'd. *De Civ. Dei lib. 21. c. 8.*

Saturn and *Jupiter* deſerve a diſtinct conſideration, as having ſomething particular and different from the reſt of the Planets. *Saturn* is remarkable for his *Hoop* or Ring, which ſeems to ſtand off, or higher than his body, and would ſtrongly induce one to believe, that the exteriour Earth of that Planet, at its diſſolution, did not all fall in, but the Polar parts ſinking into the Abyſs, the middle or Æquinoctial parts ſtill ſubſiſted, and bore themſelves up in the nature of an Arch about the Planet, or of a Bridge, as it were, built over the Sea of *Saturn*. And as ſome have obſerv'd concerning the figure of *Jupiter*, that it is not wholly Sphærical, but a Sphæroid, protuberant in the Æquator, and depreſt towards the Poles: So I ſhould ſuſpect *Saturn* to have been much more ſo, before his diſruption: Namely, That the Body of that Planet in its firſt ſtate, was more flat and low towards the Poles, and alſo

weaker and thinner: and about the Æquator higher, fuller and ſtronger Built: By reaſon of which figure and conſtruction the Polar parts did more eaſily fall in, or were ſuckt in (as Cupping-glaſſes draw in the Fleſh) when the Abyſs below grew more empty. Whereas the middle parts about the Æquator, being a more juſt Arch and ſtrongly built, would not yield or ſink, but ſtood firm and unbroken, and continues ſtill in its firſt poſture. Planets break in different ways, according to the quality of their matter, the manner of their conſtruction, and the Nature of the Cauſes that act upon them. Their diſſolutions are ſometimes total, as in our Earth, ſometimes partial: and both of theſe may be under great variety. In partial diſſolutions, the middle parts ſometimes ſtand, and the Polar are broke; or the Polar ſtand and the middle are broke. Or one Hemiſphere, or part of an Hemiſphere may be ſunk, the reſt ſtanding. There may be Cauſes and occaſions for all theſe varieties and many more, in diverſifying the Phænomena of an immenſe Univerſe. But to return to *Saturn*.

That this preſent uncouth form of *Saturn* was not its Original form, I am very well ſatisfied, if that Planet riſe from a Chaos, as ours did. And if this be an adventitious form, I know no account can be given of it with more probability, than by ſuppoſing it the effect of ſome fraction or diſruption in the Polar parts. Neither do I know any Phænomenon hitherto obſerv'd concerning *Saturn*, that does diſprove this Hypotheſis or conjecture.

As to *Jupiter*, that Planet without doubt is alſo turned about its Axis, otherwiſe how ſhou'd its four Moons be carried round him? And this is alſo collected from the motion of that permanent Spot (if it be found to be ſo) that is upon its Body. Which Spot I take to be either a Lake, or a Chaſm and *Hiatus* into the Abyſs of the Planet: That is, part of the Abyſs open or uncover'd, like the Aperture we made in the Seventh Figure. And this might either have been left ſo by Providence, at firſt, for ſome reaſons and cauſes fitting that Earth: or it may have fallen in afterwards, as *Plato*'s *Atlantis*, or as *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, for ſome judgment upon part of that World.

Chap. 6. p. 46.

To conclude, Seeing all the Planets that are plac'd in this Heaven, and are the foſter-children of this Sun, ſeem to have ſome affinity one with another, and have much-what the ſame countenance, and the ſame general *Phænomena*; It ſeems probable that they riſe much-what the ſame way, and after the like manner as our Earth, each one from its reſpective Chaos; And that they had the ſame Elementary Regions at firſt, and an exteriour Orb form'd over their Abyſs: And laſtly, That every one of them hath ſuffer'd, or is to ſuffer its Deluge, as our Earth hath done. Theſe, I ſay, are probable conjectures according to the Analogy of Reaſon and Nature, ſo far as we can judge concerning things very remote and inacceſſible.

And

And theſe things being thus, and our Theory of the Deluge, and the Diſſolution which brought it, having ſuch a general agreement both with our Heavens and our Earth, I think there is nothing but the uncouthneſs of the thing to ſome mens underſtandings, the cuſtom of thinking otherwiſe, and the uneaſineſs of entring into a new ſet of thoughts, that can be a bar or hindrance to its reception. But it may be improv'd, I doubt not, in many reſpects, and in ſome particularities rectified. The firſt attempts in great Things are ſeldom or never perfect: Such is the weakneſs of our Underſtandings, and the want of a full Natural Hiſtory. And in aſſigning Cauſes of ſuch great effects, fair conjectures are to be allow'd, till they be diſplac'd by others more evident and more certain. Accordingly I readily ſubmit to theſe terms, and leave this, and all other parts of the Theory, to further examination and enquiries.

F I N I S.

THE

THEORY
OF THE
EARTH:

Containing an Account
OF THE
Original of the Earth,
AND OF ALL THE
GENERAL CHANGES
Which it hath already undergone
OR
IS TO UNDERGO
Throughout the whole Course of its Duration.

THE SECOND BOOK
Concerning the PRIMÆVAL EARTH,
AND
Concerning PARADISE.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-Head in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1697.

THE THEORY OF THE EARTH.

Book II.

Concerning the Primæval Earth, and concerning *Paradise*.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction and Contents of the Second Book. The general state of the Primæval Earth, and of Paradise.

WE have already seen a World begin and perish; An Earth rais'd from the rudiments of a Chaos, and dissolv'd and destroy'd in an Universal Deluge. We have given also an imperfect description of that primæval Earth, so far as was necessary to shew the Causes and manner of its dissolution. But we must not content our selves with this; Seeing that Earth was the first Theater upon which Mortals appear'd and acted, and continued so for above Sixteen Hundred Years; and that with Scenes, as both Reason and History tell us, very extraordinary and very different from these of our present Earth, 'tis reasonable we should endeavour to make a more full discovery and description of it; Especially seeing *Paradise* was there; that seat of pleasure which our first Parents lost, and which all their posterity have much ado to find again.

In the First Book we so far describ'd This New-found World, as to shew it very different in form and fabrick from the present Earth; there was no Sea there, no Mountains, nor Rocks, nor broken Caves, 'twas all one continued and regular mass, smooth, simple and compleat, as the first works of Nature use to be. But to know thus much only, doth rather excite our curiosity than satisfie

ſatisfie it; what were the other properties of this World? how were the Heavens, how the Elements? what accommodation for humane life? why was it more proper to be the ſeat of *Paradiſe* than the preſent Earth? Unleſs we know theſe things, you will ſay, it will ſeem but an aëry *Idea* to us; and 'tis certain that the more properties and particularities that we know concerning any thing, the more real it appears to be.

As it was our chief deſign therefore in the precedent Book, to give an account of the Univerſal Deluge, by way of a Theory; ſo we propoſe to our ſelves chiefly in this Book, from the ſame Theory to give an account of *Paradiſe*; and in performing of this, we ſhall be led into a more full examination and diſplay of that firſt Earth, and of its qualities. And if we be ſo happy, as by the conduct of the ſame principles and the ſame method, to give as fair an account, and as intelligible of the ſtate of *Paradiſe* in that Original Earth, as we have done of the Deluge by the diſſolution of it, and of the form of this Earth which ſucceeded, one muſt be very moroſe or melancholy to imagine that the grounds we go upon, all this while, are wholly falſe or fictitious. A foundation which will bear the weight of two Worlds without ſinking, muſt ſurely ſtand upon a firm Rock. And I am apt to promiſe my ſelf that this Theory of the Earth will find acceptance and credit, more or leſs, with all but thoſe, that think it a ſufficient anſwer to all arguments, to ſay *it is a Novelty.*

But to proceed in our diſquiſition concerning *Paradiſe*, we may note, in the firſt place, two opinions to be avoided, being both extreams; one that placeth *Paradiſe* in the extra-mundane Regions, or in the Air, or in the Moon; and the other that makes it ſo inconſiderable, as to be confin'd to a little ſpot of ground in *Meſopotamia*, or ſome other Country of *Aſia*, the Earth being now as it was then. This offends as much in the defect, as the other in the exceſs. For it is not any ſingle Region of the Earth that can be *Paradiſiacal*, unleſs all Nature conſpire, and a certain Order of things proper and peculiar for that ſtate. Nor is it of leſs importance to find out this peculiar Order of things, than to find out the particular ſeat of *Paradiſe*, but rather pre-requiſite to it: We will endeavour therefore to diſcover and determine both, ſo far as a Theory can go, beginning with that which is more general.

'Tis certain there were ſome qualities and conditions of *Paradiſe* that were not meerly Topical, but common to all the reſt of the Earth at that time; and theſe we muſt conſider in the firſt place, examine what they were, and upon what they depended. Hiſtory, both Sacred and Profane, muſt tell us what they were, and our Theory muſt ſhew us upon what cauſes they depended. I had once, I confeſs, propos'd to my ſelf another method, independent upon Hiſtory or Effects; I thought to have continued the deſcription of the Primitive or Ante-diluvian Earth from the contemplation of its cauſes only, and then left it to the judgment of others to determine, whether that was not the Earth where the Golden Age was paſt, and where *Paradiſe* ſtood. For I had obſerv'd three conditions or characters of it, which I thought were ſufficient to anſwer all that we

we knew concerning that firſt ſtate of things, *viz. The regularity of its ſurface; The ſituation or poſture of its Body to the Sun; and the Figure of it:* From theſe three general cauſes, I thought might be deduc'd all the chief differences of that Earth from the preſent, and particularly thoſe that made it more capable of being *Paradiſiacal.*

But upon ſecond thoughts I judg'd it more uſeful and expedient to lay aſide the Cauſes at preſent, and begin with the Effects, that we might have ſome ſenſible matter to work upon. Bare *Idea's* of things are lookt upon as Romantick till Effects be propos'd, whereof they are to give an account; 'Tis that makes us value the Cauſes when neceſſity puts us upon enquiry after them; and the reaſons of things are very acceptable, when they eaſe the mind, anxious, and at a loſs, how to underſtand Nature without their help. We will therefore, without more ado, premiſe thoſe things that have been taken notice of as extraordinary and peculiar to the firſt Ages of the World, and to *Paradiſe*, and which neither do, nor can, obtain in the preſent Earth; whereof the firſt is a *perpetual Spring or Equinox*; The ſecond, the *Longævity of Animals*; and the third *Their production out of the Earth*, and the great fertility of the ſoil in all other things.

Theſe difficulties guard the way to *Paradiſe* like the flaming Sword, and muſt be remov'd before we can enter; theſe are general Preliminaries which we muſt explain before we proceed to enquire after the particular place of this Garden of Pleaſure. The Ancients have taken notice of all theſe in the firſt Ages of the World, or in their *Golden Age*, as they call it; and I do not doubt but what they aſcrib'd to the Golden Age, was more remarkably true of *Paradiſe*; yet was not ſo peculiar to it, but that it did in a good meaſure extend to other parts of the Earth at that time. And 'tis manifeſt that their Golden Age was contemporary with our *Paradiſe*; for they make it begin immediately after the production and inhabitation of the Earth (which They, as well as *Moſes*, raiſe from the Chaos) and to degenerate by degrees till the Deluge; when the World ended and begun again.

That this parallel may the better appear, we may obſerve, that as we ſay that the whole Earth was, in ſome ſence, Paradiſiacal in the firſt Ages of the World, and that there was beſides, one Region or Portion of it that was peculiarly ſo, and bore the denomination of *Paradiſe*; So the Ancients beſides their Golden Age, which was common to all the Earth, noted ſome parts of it that were more Golden, if I may ſo ſay, than the reſt, and which did more particularly anſwer to *Paradiſe*; as their *Elyſian* Fields, Fortunate Iſlands, Gardens of *Heſperides*, *Alcinous*, &c. theſe had a double portion of pleaſantneſs, and beſides the advantages which they had common with the reſt of the Earth at that time, had ſomething proper and ſingular, which gave them a diſtinct conſideration and character from the reſt.

Having made this obſervation, let us proceed, and ſee what Antiquity ſaith concerning that firſt and Paradiſiacal ſtate of things, upon thoſe three Heads forementioned; Firſt, That there was a perpetual Spring, and conſtant ſerenity of the Air; This is often

repeated by the Ancient Poets, in their deſcription of the Golden Age:

Virgil.

Non alios primâ creſcentis origine mundi
Illuxiſſe dies, aliumve habuiſſe tenorem,
Crediderim: Ver illud erat, Ver magnus agebat
Orbis, & hybernis parcebant flatibus Euri.

Such days the new-born Earth enjoy'd of old,
And the calm Heavens in this ſame tenour rowl'd:
All the great World had then one conſtant Spring,
No cold Eaſt-winds, ſuch as our Winters bring.

For I interpret this in the ſame ſence with *Ovid*'s Verſes of the Golden Age:

Ver erat Æternum: placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

The Spring was conſtant, and ſoft Winds that blew,
Rais'd, without Seed, Flow'rs always ſweet and new.

And then upon the expiration of the Golden Age, He ſays,

Jupiter antiqui contraxit tempora Veris, &c.

When Jove *begun to reign he chang'd the Year,*
And for one Spring four Seaſons made appear.

The Ancients ſuppos'd, that in the reign of *Saturn*, who was an Ante-diluvian God, as I may ſo call him, Time flow'd with a more even motion, and there was no diverſity of Seaſons in the Year; but *Jupiter*, they ſay, firſt introduc'd that, when he came to manage affairs. This is expreſt after their way, who ſeldom give any ſevere and Philoſophical accounts of the changes of Nature. And as they ſuppos'd this perpetual Spring in the Golden Age, ſo they did alſo in their particular *Elyſiums*; as I could ſhew largely from their Authors, if it would not multiply Citations too much. 'Tis true, their *Elyſiums* reſpected the New Heavens, and New Earth to come, rather than the paſt, but they are both fram'd upon the ſame model, and have common properties.

De Grat. prim. hom.

The Chriſtian Authors have no leſs celebrated the perpetual Spring and Serenity of the Heavens in *Paradiſe*; ſuch expreſſions or deſcriptions you will find in *Juſtin Martyr*, S. *Baſil*, *Damaſcen*, *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis*, and others; inſomuch that *Bellarmine*, I remember, reflecting upon thoſe Characters of *Paradiſe*, which many of the Fathers have given in theſe reſpects, ſaith, Such things could not be, unleſs the Sun had then another courſe from what he hath now; or which is more eaſie, the Earth another ſituation. Which conjecture will hereafter appear to have been well-grounded. In the mean time, let us ſee the Chriſtian Poetry upon this ſubject, as we have

have ſeen the *Roman* upon the other. *Alcimus Avitus* hath thus deſcrib'd *Paradiſe* in his Notes upon *Geneſis*:

Non hîc alterni ſuccedit temporis unquam
Bruma, nec æſtivi redeunt poſt frigora Soles;
Hîc Ver aſſiduum Cœli clementia ſervat.
Turbidus Auſter abeſt, ſempérque ſub aere ſudo
Nubila diffugiunt, jugi ceſſura ſereno.
Nec poſcit Natura loci, quos non habet, imbres,
Sed contenta ſuo dotantur germina rore.
Perpetuò viret omne ſolum, terræque benignæ
Blanda nitet facies: Stant ſemper collibus herbæ,
Arboribúſque comæ, &c.

No change of Seaſons or exceſs was there,
No Winter chill'd, nor Summer ſcorch'd the Air,
But, with a conſtant Spring, Nature was freſh and fair.
Rough Winds or Rains that Region never knew;
Water'd with Rivers and the morning Dew;
The Heav'ns ſtill clear, the Fields ſtill green and gay,
No Clouds above, nor on the Earth decay;
Trees kept their leaves and verdure all the Year;
And Fruits were never out of Seaſon there.

And as the Chriſtian Authors, ſo likewiſe the *Jewiſh* have ſpoken of *Paradiſe* in the ſame manner; they tell us alſo that the days there were always of the ſame length throughout the whole Year; and that made them fancy *Paradiſe* to lie under the Æquinoctial; as we ſhall ſee in its due place. 'Tis true, we do not find theſe things mention'd expreſly in the Sacred Writings, but the Effects that flow'd from them are recorded there, and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe providence to have foreſeen, that when thoſe Effects came to be ſcan'd and narrowly lookt into, they would lead us to a diſcovery of the Cauſes, and particularly of this great and general Cauſe, that *perpetual Æquinox* and unity of ſeaſons in the Year, till the Deluge. The Longævity of the Ante-diluvians cannot be explain'd upon any other ſuppoſition, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow hereafter; and that you know is recorded carefully in Scripture: As alſo that there was no *Rainbow* before the Flood; which goes upon the ſame ground, that there was no variety of Seaſons, nor any Rain: And this by many is thought to be underſtood by *Moſes* his words, *Gen.* 2, 5, 6. which he ſpeaks of the firſt and Paradiſiacal Earth. Laſtly, Seeing the Earth then brought forth the principles of life and all living Creatures (Man excepted) according to *Moſes*, *Gen.* 1. 24. we muſt ſuppoſe that the ſtate of the Heavens was ſuch as favour'd theſe Conceptions and Births, which could not poſſibly be brought to perfection, as the Seaſons of the Year are at preſent. The firſt time that we have mention made in Scripture of Summer and Winter, and the differences of Seaſons, is at the ending of the Deluge. *Gen.* 8. 22. *Hence forward all the days of the Earth, Seed-time and Harveſt, Heat and Cold, Summer and Winter,*

Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe. 'Tis true theſe words are ſo lax, that they may be underſtood either of a new courſe of Nature then inſtituted, or of an old one reſtor'd; but ſeeing it doth appear from other arguments and conſiderations, that there was at that time a new courſe of Nature conſtituted, it is more reaſonable to interpret the words in that ſence; which, as it is agreeable to truth, according to Reaſon and Antiquity; ſo it renders that remark of *Moſes* of far greater importance, if it be underſtood as an indication of a new order then ſetled in Nature, which ſhould continue thenceforwards ſo long as the Earth endur'd. Nor do I at all wonder that ſuch things ſhould not be expreſly and poſitively declar'd in Scripture, for Natural Myſteries in the Holy Writings, as well as Prophetical, are many times, on ſet purpoſe, incompleatly deliver'd, ſo as to awaken and excite our thoughts rather than fully reſolve them: This being often more ſuitable to the deſigns of Providence in the government of the World. But thus much for this firſt common or general Character of the Golden Age, and of *Paradiſe*, a *perpetual Serenity and perpetual Æquinox.*

The ſecond Character is the Longævity of Men, and, as is probable, of all other Animals in proportion. This, methinks, is as ſtrange and ſurpriſing as the other; and I know no difference betwixt the Ante-diluvian World and the preſent, ſo apt to affect us, if we reflect upon it, as this wonderful diſproportion in the Ages of Men; Our fore-fathers and their Poſterity; They liv'd ſeven, eight, nine hundred Years and upwards, and 'tis a wonder now if a Man live to one hundred. Our Oakes do not laſt ſo long as their Bodies did; Stone and Iron would ſcarce out-wear them. And this property of the firſt Ages, or their Inhabitants, how ſtrange ſoever, is well atteſted, and beyond all exception, having the joynt conſent of Sacred and Profane Hiſtory. The Scripture ſets down the preciſe Age of a ſeries of Ante diluvian Patriarchs, and by that meaſures the time from the beginning of the World to the Deluge; ſo as all Sacred Chronology ſtand upon that bottom. Yet I know ſome have thought this ſo improbable and incongruous a thing, that to ſave the credit of *Moſes* and the Sacred Hiſtory, they interpret theſe years of *Lunar* years or months; and ſo the Ages of theſe Patriarchs are reduc'd to much what the ſame meaſure with the common life of man at this time. It may be obſerv'd in this, as in many other inſtances, that for want of a Theory to make things credible and intelligibile, men of wit and parts have often depreſt the ſence of Scripture; and that not out of any ill will to Scripture or Religion, but becauſe they could not otherwiſe, upon the ſtock of their notions, give themſelves a rational account of things recorded there. But I hope when we come to explain the Cauſes of this Longævity, we ſhall ſhew that it is altogether as ſtrange a thing that Men ſhould have ſuch ſhort lives as they have now, as that they had ſuch long lives in the firſt Ages of the World. In the mean time, there are a great many collateral reaſons to aſſure us that *Lunar* years cannot be here underſtood by *Moſes*, for all Antiquity gives the ſame account of thoſe firſt Ages of the World, and of the firſt Men, that they were extremely long-liv'd.

long-liv'd. We meet with it generally in the deſcription of the Golden Age; and not only ſo, but in their Topical *Paradiſes* alſo they always ſuppos'd a great vivacity or longævity in thoſe that enjoy'd them. And *Joſephus* ſpeaking upon this ſubject, ſaith, the Authors of all the learned Nations, *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, bear witneſs to *Moſes*'s doctrine in this particular. And in the *Moſaical* Hiſtory it ſelf, there are ſeveral circumſtances and marks that diſcover plainly, that the years of the Patriarchs cannot be underſtood of *Lunar* years; as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow in another place. We proceed in the mean time to the third and laſt Character, The extraordinary fertility of the Soil, and the production of Animals out of the new-made Earth. *Book 1. Ch. 4. Few. Ant.* *Chap. 4.*

The firſt part of this Character is unqueſtionable; All Antiquity ſpeaks of the plenty of the Golden Age, and of their *Paradiſes*, whether Chriſtian or Heathen. The fruits of the Earth at firſt were ſpontaneous, and the ground without being torn and tormented, ſatisfied the wants or deſires of Man. When Nature was freſh and full, all things flow'd from her more eaſily and more pure, like the firſt running of the Grape, or the Hony-comb; but now ſhe muſt be preſt and ſqueez'd, and her productions taſte more of the Earth and of bitterneſs. The Ancient Poets have often pleas'd themſelves in making deſcriptions of this happy ſtate, and in admiring the riches and liberality of Nature at that time; but we need not tranſcribe their Poetry here, ſeeing this point is not, I think, conteſted by any. The ſecond part of this Character, concerning the ſpontaneous Origin of living Creatures out of that firſt Earth, is not ſo unqueſtionable, and as to Man, *Moſes* plainly implies that there was a particular action or miniſtery of Providence in the formation of his Body, but as to other Animals He ſeems to ſuppoſe that the Earth brought them forth as it did Herbs and Plants. (*Gen.* 1. 24. compar'd with the 11. Verſ.) And the truth is, there is no ſuch great difference betwixt Vegetable and Animal Eggs, or betwixt the Seeds out of which Plants riſe, and the Eggs out of which all Animals riſe, but that we may conceive, the one as well as the other, in the firſt Earth: And as ſome warmth and influence from the Sun is requir'd for the Vegetation of Seeds, ſo that influence or impregnation which is neceſſary to make Animal Eggs fruitful, was imputed by the Ancients to the *Æther*, or to an active and pure Element which had the ſame effect upon our great Mother the Earth, as the irradiation of the Male hath upon the Females Eggs.

Tum Pater Omnipotens fœcundis imbribus Æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit.

In fruitful ſhow'rs of Æther Jove *did glide*
Into the boſom of his joyful Bride.

'Tis true, this opinion of the ſpontaneous Origin of Animals in the firſt Earth, hath lain under ſome *Odium*, becauſe it was commonly reckon'd to be *Epicurus*'s opinion peculiarly; and he extended it

it not only to all brute Creatures, but to Mankind alſo, whom he ſuppos'd to grow out of the Earth in great numbers, in ſeveral Parts and Countries, like other Animals; which is a notion contrary to the Sacred Writings; for they declare, that all Mankind, though diffus'd now through the ſeveral parts and Regions of the Earth, riſe at firſt from one Head or ſingle Man and Woman; which is a Concluſion of great importance, and that could not, I think, by the Light of Nature, have ever been diſcover'd. And this makes the *Epicurean* opinion the more improbable, for why ſhould two riſe only, if they ſprung from the Earth? or how could they riſe in their full growth and perfection, as *Adam* and *Eve* did? But as for the opinion of Animals riſing out of the Earth at firſt, that was not at all peculiar to *Epicurus*; The *Stoicks* were of the ſame mind, and the *Pythagoreans*, and the *Ægyptians*, and, I think, all that ſuppos'd the Earth to riſe from a Chaos. Neither do I know any harm in that opinion, if duly limited and ſtated; for what inconvenience is it, or what diminution of Providence, that there ſhould be the principles of Life, as well as the principles of Vegetation, in the new Earth? And unleſs you ſuppoſe all the firſt Animals, as well as the firſt Man, to have been made at one ſtroke, in their full growth and perfection, which we have neither reaſon nor authority ſufficient to believe; if they were made young, little and weak, as they come now into the World, there ſeems to be no way for their production more proper, and decorous, than that they ſhould ſpring from their great Mother the Earth. Laſtly, conſidering the innumerable little Creatures that are upon the Earth, Inſects and Creeping things: and that theſe were not created out of nothing, but form'd out of the ground: I think that an office moſt proper for Nature, that can ſet ſo many hands to work at once; and that hath hands fit for all thoſe little operations or manufactures, how ſmall ſoever, that would leſs become the dignity of Superiour Agents.

Thus much for the Preliminaries, or three general Characters of *Paradiſe*, which were common to it with the reſt of the Primæval Earth; and were the chief ingredients of the Golden Age, ſo much celebrated by the Ancients. I know there were ſeveral other differences betwixt that Earth and this, but theſe are the original; and ſuch as are not neceſſary to be premis'd for the general Explication of *Paradiſe*, we reſerve for another place. We may, in the mean time obſerve, how prepoſterouſly they go to work, that ſet themſelves immediately to find out ſome pleaſant place of the Earth to fix *Paradiſe* in, before they have conſider'd, or laid any grounds, to explain the general conditions of it, whereſoever it was. Theſe muſt be firſt known and determin'd, and we muſt take our aim and directions from theſe, how to proceed further in our enquiries after it; otherwiſe we ſail without a Compaſs, or ſeek a Port and know not which way it lies. And as we ſhould think him a very unskilful Pilot that ſought a place in the New World, or *America*, that really was in the Old; ſo they commit no leſs an error, that ſeek *Paradiſe* in the preſent Earth, as now conſtituted, which could only belong to the former, and to the ſtate of the firſt World: As will appear more plainly in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The great Change of the World ſince the Flood, from what it was in the firſt Ages. The Earth under its preſent form could not be Paradiſiacal, *nor any part of it.*

THE *Scheme of this World paſſeth away,* ſaith an holy Author: The mode and form, both of the Natural and Civil World, changeth continually more or leſs, but moſt remarkably at certain Periods, when all Nature puts on another face; as it will do at the Conflagration, and hath done already from the time of the Deluge. We may imagine how different a proſpect the firſt World would make from what we ſee now in the preſent ſtate of things, if we conſider only thoſe generals by which we have deſcrib'd it in the foregoing Chapter, and what their influence would be upon Mankind and the reſt of Nature. For every new ſtate of Nature doth introduce a new Civil Order, and a new face and Oeconomy of Humane affairs: And I am apt to think that ſome two Planets, that are under the ſame ſtate or Period, do not ſo much differ from one another, as the ſame Planet doth from it ſelf, in different periods of its duration. We do not ſeem to inhabit the ſame World that our firſt fore-fathers did, nor ſcarce to be the ſame race of Men. Our life now is ſo ſhort and vain, as if we came into the World only to ſee it and leave it; by that time we begin to underſtand our ſelves a little, and to know where we are, and how to act our part, we muſt leave the ſtage, and give place to others as meer Novices as we were our ſelves at our firſt entrance. And this ſhort life is imploy'd, in a great meaſure, to preſerve our ſelves from neceſſity, or diſeaſes, or injuries of the Air, or other inconveniencies; to make one Man eaſie, ten muſt work and do drudgery; The Body takes up ſo much time, we have little leiſure for Contemplation, or to cultivate the mind. The Earth doth not yield us food, but with much labour and induſtry, and what was her free-will offering before, or an eaſie liberality can ſcarce now be extorted from her. Neither are the Heavens more favourable, ſometimes in one extreme, ſometimes in another; The Air often impure or infectious, and, for a great part of the year, Nature her ſelf ſeems to be ſick or dead. To this vanity the external Creation is made ſubject as well as Mankind, and ſo muſt continue till the reſtitution of all things.

Can we imagine, in thoſe happy Times and Places we are treating of, that things ſtood in this ſame poſture? are theſe the fruits of the Golden Age and of *Paradiſe*, or conſiſtent with their happineſs? And the remedies of theſe evils muſt be ſo univerſal, you cannot give them to one place or Region of the Earth, but all muſt participate: For theſe are things that flow from the courſe of the Heavens, or ſuch general Cauſes as extend at once to all Nature. If there was a perpetual Spring and perpetual Æquinox in *Paradiſe*,

diſe, there was at the ſame time a perpetual Æquinox all the Earth over; unleſs you place *Paradiſe* in the middle of the Torrid Zone. So alſo the long-lives of the Ante-diluvians was an univerſal Effect, and muſt have had an univerſal Cauſe. 'Tis true, in ſome ſingle parts or Regions of the preſent Earth, the Inhabitants live generally longer than in others, but do not approach in any meaſure the Age of their Ante-diluvian fore-fathers; and that degree of longævity which they have above the reſt, they owe to the calmneſs and tranquility of their Heavens and Air; which is but an imperfect participation of that cauſe which was once Univerſal, and had its effect throughout the whole Earth. And as to the fertility of this Earth, though in ſome ſpots it be eminently more fruitful than in others, and more delicious, yet that of the firſt Earth was a fertility of another kind, being ſpontaneous, and extending to the production of Animals, which cannot be without a favourable concourſe from the Heavens alſo.

Thus much in general; We will now go over thoſe three forementioned Characters more diſtinctly, to ſhow by their unſuitableneſs to the preſent ſtate of Nature, that neither the whole Earth, as it is now, nor any part of it, could be *Paradiſiacal*. The perpetual Spring, which belong'd to the Golden Age, and to *Paradiſe*, is an happineſs this preſent Earth cannot pretend to, nor is capable of, unleſs we could transfer the Sun from the Ecliptick to the Æquator, or, which is as eaſie, perſwade the Earth to change its poſture to the Sun. If *Archimedes* had found a place to plant his Machines in for removing of the Earth, all that I ſhould have deſir'd of him, would have been only to have given it an heave at one end, and ſet it a little to rights again with the Sun, that we might have enjoy'd the comfort of a perpetual Spring, which we have loſt by its diſlocation ever ſince the Deluge. And there being nothing more indiſpenſably neceſſary to a *Paradiſiacal* ſtate than this unity and equality of Seaſons, where that cannot be, 'tis in vain to ſeek for the reſt of *Paradiſe*.

The ſpontaneous fruitfulneſs of the ground was a thing peculiar to the primigenial ſoil, which was ſo temper'd, as made it more luxuriant at that time than it could ever be afterwards; and as that rich temperament was ſpent, ſo by degrees it grew leſs fertile. The Origin or production of Animals out of the Earth, depended not only upon this vital conſtitution of the ſoil at firſt, but alſo upon ſuch a poſture and aſpect of the Heavens, as favour'd, or at leaſt permitted, Nature, to make her beſt works out of this prepar'd matter, and better than could be made in that manner, after the Flood. *Noah*, we ſee, had orders given him to preſerve the Races of living Creatures in his Ark, when the Old World was deſtroy'd; which is an argument to me, that Providence foreſaw that the Earth would not be capable to produce them under its new form; and that, not only for want of fitneſs in the ſoil, but becauſe of the diverſity of Seaſons, which were then to take place, whereby Nature would be diſturb'd in her work, and the ſubject to be wrought upon would not continue long enough in the ſame due temper. But this part of the ſecond Character concerning the Original of Animals, deſerves to be further examin'd and explain'd.

The

The firſt principles of Life muſt be tender and ductile, that they may yield to all the motions and gentle touches of Nature; otherwiſe it is not poſſible that they ſhould be wrought with that curioſity, and drawn into all thoſe little fine threds and textures, that we ſee and admire in ſome parts of the Bodies of Animals. And as the matter muſt be ſo conſtituted at firſt, ſo it muſt be kept in a due temper till the work be finiſht, without any exceſs of heat or cold; and accordingly we ſee that Nature hath made proviſion in all ſorts of Creatures, whether Oviparous or Viviparous, that the firſt rudiments of Life ſhould be preſerv'd from all injuries of the Air, and kept in a moderate warmth. Eggs are enclos'd in a Shell, or Film, and muſt be cheriſh'd with an equal gentle heat, to begin formation and continue it; otherwiſe the work miſcarries: And in Viviparous Creatures, the materials of life are ſafely lodg'd in the Females womb, and conſerv'd in a fit temperature 'twixt heat and cold, while the Cauſes that Providence hath imploy'd, are buſie at work, faſhioning and placing and joyning the parts, in that due order which ſo wonderful a Fabrick requires.

Let us now compare theſe things with the birth of Animals in the new-made World, when they firſt roſe out of the Earth, to ſee what proviſion could be made there for their ſafety and nouriſhment, while they were a-making, and when newly made; And though we take all advantages we can, and ſuppoſe both the Heavens and the Earth favourable, a fit ſoil and a warm and conſtant temper of the Air, all will be little enough to make this way of production feaſible or probable. But if we ſuppoſe there was then the ſame inconſtancy of the Heavens that is now, the ſame viciſſitude of ſeaſons, and the ſame inequality of heat and cold, I do not think it at all poſſible that they could be ſo form'd, or being new-form'd, preſerv'd and nouriſh'd. 'Tis true, ſome little Creatures that are of ſhort diſpatch in their formation, and find nouriſhment enough whereſoever they are bred, might be produc'd and brought to perfection in this way, notwithſtanding any inequality of Seaſons; becauſe they are made all at a heat, as I may ſo ſay, begun and ended within the compaſs of one Seaſon; But the great queſtion is concerning the more perfect kinds of Animals, that require a long ſtay in the womb, to make them capable to ſuſtain and nouriſh themſelves when they firſt come into the World. Such Animals being big and ſtrong, muſt have a pretty hardneſs in their bones, and force and firmneſs in their Muſcles and Joynts, before they can bear their own weight, and exerciſe the common motions of their body: And accordingly we ſee Nature hath ordain'd for theſe a longer time of geſtation, that their limbs and members might have time to acquire ſtrength and ſolidity. Beſides the young ones of theſe Animals have commonly the milk of the Dam to nouriſh them after they are brought forth, which is a very proper nouriſhment, and like to that which they had before in the womb; and by this means their ſtomachs are prepar'd by degrees for courſer food: Whereas our Terrigenous Animals muſt have been wean'd as ſoon as they were born, or as ſoon as they were ſeparated from their Mother the Earth, and therefore muſt be allow'd a longer time of continuing there.

These things being consider'd, we cannot in reason but suppose, that these Terrigenous Animals were as long, or longer, a perfecting, than our Viviparous, and were not separated from the body of the Earth for ten, twelve, eighteen or more months, according as their Nature was; and seeing in this space of time they must have suffer'd, upon the common *Hypothesis*, all vicissitudes and variety of seasons, and great excesses of heat and cold, which are things incompatible with the tender principles of life and the formation of living Creatures, as we have shown before; we may reasonably and safely conclude, that Nature had not, when the World began, the same course she hath now, or that the Earth was not then in its present posture and constitution: Seeing, I say, these first spontaneous Births, which both the Holy Writ, Reason, and Antiquity seem to allow, could not be finish'd and brought to maturity, nor afterwards preserv'd and nourisht, upon any other supposition.

Longævity is the last Character to be consider'd, and as inconsistent with the present state of the Earth as any other. There are many things in the story of the first Ages that seem strange, but nothing so prodigy-like as the long lives of those Men; that their houses of Clay should stand eight or nine hundred years and upwards, and those we build of the hardest Stone or Marble will not now last so long. This hath excited the curiosity of ingenious and learned men in all Ages to enquire after the possible Causes of that longævity; and if it had been always in conjunction with innocency of life and manners, and expir'd when that expir'd, we might have thought it some peculiar blessing or reward attending that; but 'twas common to good and bad, and lasted till the Deluge, whereas mankind was degenerate long before. Amongst Natural Causes, some have imputed it to the sobriety and simplicity of their diet and manner of living in those days, that they eat no flesh, and had not all those provocations to gluttony which Wit and Vice have since invented. This might have some effect, but not possibly to that degree and measure that we speak of. There are many Monastical persons now that live abstemiously all their lives, and yet they think an hundred years a very great age amongst them. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their Fruits and some unknown vertue in their Herbs and Plants in those days; But they may as well say nothing, as say that which can neither be prov'd nor understood. It could not be either the quantity or quality of their food that was the cause of their long lives, for the Earth was said to be curst long before the Deluge, and probably by that time was more barren and juiceless (for the generality) than ours is now; yet we do not see that their longævity decreast at all, from the beginning of the World to the Flood. *Methusalah* was *Noah*'s Grandfather, but one intire remove from the Deluge, and he liv'd longer than any of his Fore-fathers. That food that will nourish the parts and keep us in health, is also capable to keep us in long life, if there be no impediments otherwise; for to continue health is to continue life; as that fewel that is fit to raise and nourish a flame, will preserve it as long as you please, if you add fresh fewel, and no

no external causes hinder: Neither do we observe that in those parts of the present Earth where people live longer than in others, that there is any thing extraordinary in their food, but that the difference is chiefly from the Air and the temperateness of the Heavens; And if the Ante-diluvians had not enjoy'd that advantage in a peculiar manner, and differently from what any parts of the Earth do now, they would never have seen, seven, eight, or nine hundred years go over their heads, though they had been nourish'd with *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*.

Others have thought that the long lives of those Men of the old World proceeded from the strength of their *Stamina*, or first principles of their bodies; which if they were now as strong in us, they think we should still live as long as they did. This could not be the sole and adæquate cause of their longævity, as will appear both from History and Reason. *Shem*, who was born before the Flood, and had in his body all the vertue of the Ante-diluvian *Stamina* and constitution, fell three hundred years short of the age of his fore-fathers, because the greatest part of his life was past after the Flood. That their *Stamina* were stronger than ours are, I am very ready to believe, and that their bodies were greater; and any race of strong Men, living long in health, would have children of a proportionably strong constitution with themselves; but then the question is, How was this interrupted? We that are their posterity, why do not we inherit their long lives? how was this constitution broken at the Deluge, and how did the *Stamina* fail so fast when that came? why was there so great a *Crisis* then and turn of life, or why was that the period of their strength?

We see this longævity sunk half in half immediately after the Flood, and after that it sunk by gentler degrees, but was still in motion and declension till it was fixt at length, before *David*'s time, in that which hath been the common standard of Man's Age ever since: As when some excellent fruit is transplanted into a worse Climate and Soil, it degenerates continually till it comes to such a degree of meanness as suits that Air and Soil, and then it stands. That the Age of Man did not fall all on a sudden from the Ante-diluvian measure to the present, I impute it to the remaining *Stamina* of those first Ages, and the strength of that pristine constitution which could not wear off but by degrees. We see the *Blacks* do not quit their complexion immediately by removing into another Climate, but their posterity changeth by little and little, and after some generations they become altogether like the people of the Country where they are. Thus by the change of Nature that happened at the Flood, the unhappy influence of the Air and unequal Seasons weaken'd by degrees the innate strength of their bodies and the vigour of their parts, which would have been capable to have lasted several more hundreds of years, if the Heavens had continued their course as formerly, or the Earth its position. To conclude this particular, If any think that the Ante-diluvian longævity proceeded only from the *Stamina*, or the meer strength of their bodies, and would have been so under any constitution of the Heavens, let them resolve themselves these Questions; first, Why

Ps. 90. 10. call'd a *Psalm* of Moses.

theſe *Stamina*, or this ſtrength of conſtitution fail'd? Secondly, Why did it fail ſo much and ſo remarkably at the Deluge? Thirdly, Why in ſuch proportions as it hath done ſince the Deluge? And laſtly, Why it hath ſtood ſo long immovable, and without any further diminution? Within the compaſs of five hundred years they ſunk from nine hundred to ninety; and in the compaſs of more than three thouſand years ſince they have not ſunk ten years, or ſcarce any thing at all. Who conſiders the reaſons of theſe things, and the true reſolution of theſe queſtions, will be ſatisfi'd, that to underſtand the cauſes of that longævity ſomething more muſt be conſider'd than the make and ſtrength of their bodies; which, though they had been made as ſtrong as the *Behemoth* or *Leviathan*, could not have laſted ſo many Ages, if there had not been a particular concurrence of external cauſes, ſuch as the preſent ſtate of Nature doth not admit of.

By this ſhort review of the three general Characters of *Paradiſe* and the Golden Age, we may conclude how little conſiſtent they are with the preſent form and order of the Earth. Who can pretend to aſſign any place or Region in this Terraqueous Globe, Iſland or Continent, that is capable of theſe conditions, or that agrees either with the deſcriptions given by the ancient Heathens of their *Paradiſes*, or by the Chriſtian Fathers of Scripture *Paradiſe*. But where then, will you ſay, muſt we look for it, if not upon this Earth? This puts us more into deſpair of finding it than ever; 'tis not above nor below, in the Air or in the ſubterraneous Regions: no, doubtleſs 'twas upon the ſurface of the Earth, but of the Primitive Earth, whoſe form and properties as they were different from this, ſo they were ſuch as made it capable of being truly *Paradiſiacal*, both according to the forementioned Characters, and all other qualities and privileges reaſonably aſcrib'd to *Paradiſe*.

CHAP. III.

The Original differences of the Primitive Earth from the preſent or Poſt-diluvian. The three Characters of Paradiſe *and the Golden Age found in the Primitive Earth. A particular Explication of each Character.*

WE have hitherto only perplext the Argument and our ſelves, by ſhowing how inexplicable the ſtate of *Paradiſe* is according to the preſent order of things, and the preſent condition of the Earth. We muſt now therefore bring into view that Original and Ante-diluvian Earth where we pretend its ſeat was, and ſhow it capable of all thoſe privileges which we have deny'd to the preſent; in vertue of which privileges, and of the order of Nature eſtabliſht there, that primitive Earth might be truly *Paradiſiacal*, as in the Golden Age; and ſome Region of it might be peculiarly

peculiarly ſo, according to the receiv'd *Idea* of *Paradiſe*. And this, I think, is all the knowledge and ſatisfaction that we can expect, or that Providence hath allow'd us in this Argument.

The Primigenial Earth, which in the firſt Book (*Chap.* 5.) we rais'd from a Chaos, and ſet up in an habitable form, we muſt now ſurvey again with more care, to obſerve its principal differences from the preſent Earth, and what influence they will have upon the queſtion in hand. Theſe differences, as we have ſaid before, were chiefly three; The form of it, which was ſmooth, even and regular. The poſture and ſituation of it to the Sun, which was direct, and not, as it is at preſent, inclin'd and oblique; And the Figure of it, which was more apparently and regularly Oval than it is now. From theſe three differences flow'd a great many more, inferiour and ſubordinate; and which had a conſiderable influence upon the moral World at that time, as well as the natural. But we will only obſerve here their more immediate effects, and that in reference to thoſe general Characters or properties of the Golden Age and of *Paradiſe*, which we have inſtanc'd in, and whereof we are bound to give an account by our *Hypotheſis*.

And in this reſpect the moſt fundamental of thoſe three differences we mention'd, was, that of the right poſture and ſituation of the Earth to the Sun; for from this immediately follow'd a perpetual Æquinox all the Earth over, or, if you will, a perpetual Spring: and that was the great thing we found a wanting in the preſent Earth to make it *Paradiſiacal*, or capable of being ſo. Wherefore this being now found and eſtabliſht in the Primitive Earth, the other two properties, of Longævity and of Spontaneous and Vital fertility, will be of more eaſie explication. In the mean time let us view a little the reaſons and cauſes of that regular ſituation in the firſt Earth.

The truth is, one cannot ſo well require a reaſon of the regular ſituation the Earth had then, for that was moſt ſimple and natural; as of the irregular ſituation it hath now, ſtanding oblique and inclin'd to the Sun or the Ecliptick: Whereby the courſe of the year is become unequal, and we are caſt into a great diverſity of Seaſons. But however, ſtating the firſt aright with its circumſtances, we ſhall have a better proſpect upon the ſecond, and ſee from what cauſes, and in what manner, it came to paſs. Let us therefore ſuppoſe the Earth, with the reſt of its fellow Planets, to be carried about the Sun in the Ecliptick by the motion of the liquid Heavens; and being at that time perfectly uniform and regular, having the ſame Center of its magnitude and gravity, it would by the equality of its libration neceſſarily have its Axis parallel to the Axis of the ſame Ecliptick, both its Poles being equally inclin'd to the Sun. And this poſture I call a *right ſituation*, as oppos'd to oblique or inclin'd: or a *parallel* ſituation, if you pleaſe. Now this is a thing that needs no proof beſides its own evidence; for 'tis the immediate reſult and common effect of gravity or libration, that a Body freely left to it ſelf in a fluid *medium*, ſhould ſettle in ſuch a poſture as beſt anſwers to its gravitation; and this firſt Earth whereof we ſpeak, being uniform and every way equally balanc'd, there

was

was no reaſon why it ſhould incline at one end, more than at the other, towards the Sun. As if you ſhould ſuppoſe a Ship to ſtand North and South under the Æquator, if it was equally built and equally ballaſted, it would not incline to one Pole or other, but keep its Axis parallel to the Axis of the Earth; but if the ballaſt lay more at one end, it would dip towards that Pole, and riſe proportionably higher towards the other. So thoſe great Ships that ſail about the Sun once a year, or once in ſo many years, whilſt they are uniformly built and equally pois'd, they keep ſteddy and even with the Axis of their Orbit; but if they loſe that equality, and the Center of their gravity change, the heavier end will incline more towards the common Center of their motion, and the other end will recede from it. So particularly the Earth, which makes one in that aëry Fleet, when it ſcap'd ſo narrowly from being ſhipwrackt in the great Deluge, was however ſo broken and diſorder'd, that it loſt its equal poiſe, and thereupon the Center of its gravity changing, one Pole became more inclin'd towards the Sun, and the other more remov'd from it, and ſo its right and parallel ſituation which it had before to the Axis of the Ecliptick, was chang'd into an oblique; in which skew poſture it hath ſtood ever ſince, and is likely ſo to do for ſome Ages to come. I inſtance in this, as the moſt obvious cauſe of the change of the ſituation of the Earth, tho' it may be, upon this, followed a change in its Magnetiſm, and that might alſo contribute to the ſame effect.

However, This change and obliquity of the Earth's poſture had a long train of conſequences depending upon it; whereof that was the moſt immediate, that it alter'd the form of the year, and brought in that inequality of Seaſons which hath ſince obtain'd: As, on the contrary, while the Earth was in its firſt and natural poſture, in a more eaſie and regular diſpoſition to the Sun, That had alſo another reſpective train of conſequences, whereof one of the firſt, and that which we are moſt concern'd in at preſent, was, that it made a perpetual Æquinox or Spring to all the World, all the parts of the year had one and the ſame tenour, face and temper; there was no Winter or Summer, Seed-time or Harveſt, but a continual temperature of the Air and Verdure of the Earth. And this fully anſwers the firſt and fundamental character of the Golden Age and of *Paradiſe*; And what Antiquity, whether Heathen or Chriſtian, hath ſpoken concerning that perpetual ſerenity and conſtant Spring that reign'd there, which in the one was accounted fabulous, and in the other hyperbolical, we ſee to have been really and Philoſophically true. Nor is there any wonder in the thing, the wonder is rather on our ſide, that the Earth ſhould ſtand and continue in that forc'd poſture wherein it is now, ſpinning yearly about an Axis, I mean that of the Æquator, that doth not belong to the Orbit of its motion; This, I ſay, is more ſtrange than that it once ſtood in a poſture that was ſtreight and regular; As we more juſtly admire the Tower at *Piſa*, that ſtands crook'd, than twenty other ſtreight Towers that are much higher.

Having got this foundation to ſtand upon, the reſt of our work will go on more eaſily; and the two other Characters which we mention'd,

mention'd, will not be of very difficult explication. The ſpontaneous fertility of the Earth, and its production of Animals at that time, we have in ſome meaſure explain'd before; ſuppoſing it to proceed partly from the richneſs of the Primigenial ſoil, and partly from this conſtant Spring and benignity of the Heavens, which we have now eſtabliſht; Theſe were always ready to excite Nature, and put her upon action, and never to interrupt her in any of her motions or attempts. We have ſhow'd in the Fifth Chapter of the Firſt Book, how this primigenial ſoil was made, and of what ingredients; which were ſuch as compoſe the richeſt and fatteſt ſoil, being a light Earth mixt with unctuous juices, and then afterwards refreſh'd and diluted with the dews of Heaven all the year long, and cheriſht with a continual warmth from the Sun. What more hopeful beginning of a World than this? You will grant, I believe, that whatſoever degree or whatſoever kind of fruitfulneſs could be expected from a Soil and a Sun, might be reaſonably expected there. We ſee great Woods and Foreſts of Trees riſe ſpontaneouſly, and that ſince the Flood (for who can imagine that the ancient Foreſts, whereof ſome were ſo vaſtly great were planted by the hand of Man?) why ſhould we not then believe that Fruit-trees and Corn roſe as ſpontaneouſly in that firſt Earth? That which makes Husbandry and Humane Arts ſo neceſſary now for the Fruits and productions of the Earth, is partly indeed the decay of the Soil, but chiefly the diverſity of Seaſons, whereby they periſh, if care be not taken of them; but when there was neither Heat nor cold, Winter nor Summer, every Seaſon was a Seed-time to Nature, and every Seaſon an Harveſt.

This, it may be you will allow as to the Fruits of the Earth, but that the ſame Earth ſhould produce Animals alſo will not be thought ſo intelligible. Since it hath been diſcover'd, that the firſt materials of all Animals are Eggs, as Seeds are of Plants, it doth not ſeem ſo hard to conceive that theſe Eggs might be in the firſt Earth, as well as thoſe Seeds; for there is a great analogy and ſimilitude betwixt them; Eſpecially if you compare theſe Seeds firſt with the Eggs of Inſects or Fiſhes, and then with the Eggs of Viviparous Animals. And as for thoſe juices which the Eggs of Viviparous Animals imbibe thorough their coats from the womb, they might as well imbibe them, or ſomething analogous to them, from a conveniently temper'd Earth, as Plant-Eggs do; And theſe things being admitted, the progreſs is much-what the ſame in Seeds as Eggs, and in one ſort of Eggs as in another.

'Tis true, Animal-Eggs do not ſeem to be fruitful of themſelves, without the influence of the Male; and this is not neceſſary in Plant-Eggs or Vegetable Seeds. But neither doth it ſeem neceſſary in all Animal Eggs, if there be any Animals *ſponte orta*, as they call them, or bred without copulation. And, as we obſerv'd before, according to the beſt knowledge that we have of this Male influence, it is reaſonable to believe, that it may be ſupplied by the Heavens or *Æther*. The Ancients, both the *Stoicks* and *Ariſtotle*, have ſuppos'd that there was ſomething of an Æthereal Element in the Male-geniture, from whence the vertue of it chiefly proceeded; and if ſo,

why

why may we not ſuppoſe, at that time, ſome general impreſſion or irradiation of that purer Element to fructifie the new-made Earth? *Moſes* ſaith there was an incubation of the Spirit of God upon the maſs; and without all doubt that was either to form or fructifie it, and by the mediation of this active principle; but the Ancients ſpeak more plainly with expreſs mention of this *Æther*, and of the impregnation of the Earth by it, as betwixt Male and Female. As in the place before-cited;

Tum Pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus Æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit; & omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

De Civ. D. lib. 4. c. 10.

Which notion, I remember, S. *Auſtin* ſaith, *Virgil* did not take from the fictions of the Poets, but out of the Books of the Philoſophers. Some of the graveſt Authors amongſt the *Romans* have reported that this vertue hath been convey'd into the Wombs of ſome Animals by the Winds or the *Zephyri*; and as I eaſily believe that the firſt freſh Air was more impregnated with this Æthereal principle than ours is, ſo I ſee no reaſon but thoſe balmy dews that fell every night in the Primitive Earth, might be the Vehicle of it as well as the Male-geniture is now; and from them the teeming Earth and thoſe vital Seeds which it contain'd, were actuated, and receiv'd their firſt fruitfulneſs.

Now this Principle, howſoever convey'd to thoſe rudiments of life which we call Eggs, is that which gives the firſt ſtroke towards Animation; and this ſeems to be by exciting a ferment in thoſe little maſſes whereby the parts are looſen'd, and diſpos'd for that formation which is to follow afterwards. And I ſee nothing that hinders but that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that theſe Animal productions might proceed thus far in the Primigenial Earth; And as to their progreſs and the formation of the Body, by what Agents or Principles ſoever that great work is carried on in the womb of the Female, it might by the ſame be carried on there. Neither would there be any danger of miſcarrying by exceſs of Heat or Cold, for the Air was always of an equal temper and moderate warmth; And all other impediments were remov'd, and all principles ready, whether active or paſſive; ſo as we may juſtly conclude, that as *Eve* was the Mother of all living as to Mankind, ſo was the Earth the Great Mother of all living Creatures beſides.

The Third Character to be explain'd, and the moſt extraordinary in appearance, is that of LONGÆVITY. This ſprung from the ſame root, in my opinion, with the other; though the connexion, it may be, is not ſo viſible. We ſhow'd in the foregoing Chapter, that no advantage of Diet, or of ſtrong Conſtitutions, could have carried their lives, before the Flood, to that wonderful length, if they had been expos'd to the ſame changes of Air and of Seaſons that our Bodies are; But taking a perpetual Æquinox, and fixing the Heavens, you fix the life of Man too; which was not then in ſuch a rapid flux as it is now, but ſeem'd to ſtand ſtill, as the Sun did once, without declenſion. There is no queſtion but every

every thing upon Earth, and eſpecially the Animate World, would be much more permanent, if the general courſe of Nature was more ſteddy and uniform; A ſtabi ity in the Heavens, makes a ſtability in all things below; and that change and contrariety of qualities that we have in theſe Regions, is the fountain of corruption, and ſuffers nothing to be long in quiet: Either by inteſtine motions and fermentations excited within, or by outward impreſſions, Bodies are no ſooner well conſtituted, but they are tending again to diſſolution. The *Æther* in their little pores and chinks is unequally agitated, and differently mov'd at different times, and ſo is the Air in their greater, and the Vapours and Atmoſphere round about them: All theſe ſhake and unſettle both the texture and continuity of Bodies. Whereas in a fixt ſtate of Nature, where theſe principles have always the ſame conſtant and uniform motion, when they are once ſuited to the forms and compoſitions of Bodies, they give them no further diſturbance; they enjoy a long and laſting peace without any commotions or violence, within or without.

We find our ſelves, ſenſible changes in our Bodies upon the turn of the Year, and the change of Seaſons; new fermentations in the Bloud and reſolutions of the Humours; which if they do not amount to diſeaſes, at leaſt they diſturb Nature, and have a bad effect not only upon the fluid parts, but alſo upon the more ſolid; upon the Springs and Fibres in the Organs of the Body; to weaken them and unfit them by degrees for their reſpective functions. For though the change is not ſenſible immediately in theſe parts, yet after many repeated impreſſions every year, by unequal heat and cold, drineſs and moiſture, contracting and relaxing the Fibres, their tone at length is in a great meaſure deſtroy'd, and brought to a manifeſt debility; and the great Springs failing, the leſſer that depend upon them, fall in proportion, and all the ſymptoms of decay and old age follow. We ſee by daily experience, that Bodies are kept better in the ſame *medium*, as we call it, than if they often change their *medium*, as ſometimes in Air, ſometimes in Water, moiſten'd and dry'd, heated and cool'd; theſe different ſtates weaken the contexture of the parts: But our Bodies, in the preſent ſtate of Nature, are put into an hundred different *mediums* in the courſe of a Year; ſometimes we are ſteept in Water, or in a miſty foggy Air for ſeveral days together, ſometimes we are almoſt frozen with cold, then fainting with heat at another time of the Year; and the Winds are of a different nature, and the Air of a different weight and preſſure, according to the Weather and the Seaſons: Theſe things would wear our Bodies, though they were built of Oak, and that in a very ſhort time in compariſon of what they would laſt, if they were always incompaſt with one and the ſame *medium*, under one and the ſame temper, as it was in the Primitive Earth.

The Ancients ſeem to have been ſenſible of this, and of the true cauſes of thoſe long periods of life; for whereſoever they aſſign'd a great longævity, as they did not only to their Golden Age, but alſo to their particular and topical *Paradiſes*, they alſo aſſign'd there a conſtant ſerenity and equality of the Heavens, and ſometimes expreſly a conſtant Æquinox; as might be made appear from

their Authors. And ſome of our Chriſtian Authors have gone farther, and connected theſe two together, as Cauſe and Effect; for they ſay that the Longævity of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs proceeded from a favourable Aſpect and influence of the Heavens at that time; which *Aſpect* of the Heavens being rightly interpreted, is the ſame thing that we call the Poſition of the Heavens, or the right ſituation of the Sun and the Earth, from whence came a perpetual Æquinox. And if we conſider the preſent Earth, I know no place where they live longer than in that little Iſland of the *Bermudas*, where, according to the proportion of time they hold out there, after they are arriv'd from other parts, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Natives would live two hundred Years. And there's nothing appears in that Iſland that ſhould give long life above other places, but the extraordinary ſteddineſs of the Weather, and of the temper of the Air throughout the whole Year, ſo as there is ſcarce any conſiderable difference of Seaſons.

But becauſe it would take up too much time to ſhow in this place the full and juſt reaſons why, and how theſe long periods of life depend upon the ſtability of the Heavens: and how on the contrary, from their inconſtancy and mutability theſe periods are ſhorten'd, as in the preſent order of Nature; we will ſet apart the next Chapter to treat upon that ſubject; yet by way of digreſſion only, ſo as thoſe that have a mind may paſs to the following, where the thred of this diſcourſe is continued. In the mean time, you ſee, we have prepar'd an Earth for *Paradiſe*, and given a fair and intelligible account of thoſe three general Characters, which, according to the rules of method, muſt be determin'd before any further progreſs can be made in this Argument. For in the doctrine of *Paradiſe* there are two things to be conſider'd, the ſtate of it, and the place of it; And as it is firſt in order of Nature, ſo it is much more material, to find out the ſtate of it, than the Region where it ſtood. We need not follow the Windings of Rivers, and the interpretation of hard names, to diſcover this, we take more faithful Guides, The unanimous reports of Antiquity, Sacred and Profane, ſupported by a regular Theory. Upon theſe grounds we go, and have thus far proceeded on our way; which we hope will grow more eaſie and pleaſant, the nearer we come to our journeys end.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

A digreſſion, concerning the Natural Cauſes of Longævity. That the Machine of an Animal conſiſts of Springs, and which are the two principal. The Age of the Ante-diluvians to be computed by Solar *not* Lunar *Years.*

TO confirm our opinion concerning the reaſons of Longævity in the firſt Inhabitants of the World, it will not be amiſs to deduce more at large the Natural Cauſes of *long* or *ſhort periods of life*. And when we ſpeak of long or ſhort periods of life, we do not mean thoſe little differences of ten, twenty or forty Years which we ſee amongſt Men now adays, according as they are of ſtronger or weaker conſtitutions, and govern themſelves better or worſe, but thoſe grand and famous differences of ſeveral hundreds of Years, which we have examples of in the different Ages of the World, and particularly in thoſe that liv'd before and ſince the Flood. Neither do we think it peculiar to this Earth to have ſuch an inequality in the lives of Men, but the other Planets, if they be inhabited, have the ſame property, and the ſame difference in their different periods; All Planets that are in their Ante-diluvian ſtate, and in their firſt and regular ſituation to the Sun, have long-liv'd Inhabitants; and thoſe that are in an oblique ſituation, have ſhort-liv'd; unleſs there be ſome counter-cauſes that hinder this general rule of Nature from taking place.

We are now ſo us'd to a ſhort life, and to drop away after three-ſcore or fourſcore years, that when we compare our lives with thoſe of the Ante-diluvians, we think the wonder lies wholly on their ſide, *why* they liv'd ſo long; and ſo it doth, popularly ſpeaking; but if we ſpeak Philoſophically, the wonder lies rather on our ſide, *why* we live ſo little, or ſo ſhort a time: For ſeeing our Bodies are ſuch Machines as have a faculty of nouriſhing themſelves, that is, of repairing their loſt or decay'd parts, ſo long as they have good nouriſhment to make uſe of, why ſhould they not continue in good plight, and always the ſame? as a flame does, ſo long as it is ſupplied with fewel? And that we may the better ſee on whether ſide the wonder lies, and from what cauſes it proceeds, we will propoſe this Problem to be examin'd, *Why the frame or Machine of an humane Body, or of another Animal, having that conſtruction of parts and thoſe faculties which it hath, laſts ſo ſhort a time?* And though it fall into no diſeaſe, nor have any unnatural accident, within the ſpace of eighty years, more or leſs, fatally and inevitably decays, dies and periſheth?

That the ſtate and difficulty of this queſtion may the better appear, let us conſider a Man in the prime and vigour of his life, at the age of twenty or twenty four years, of an healthful conſtitution, and all his Vitals ſound; let him be nouriſh'd with good food,

uſe due exerciſe, and govern himſelf with moderation in all other things; The Queſtion is, Why this Body ſhould not continue in the ſame plight, and in the ſame ſtrength, for ſome Ages? or at leaſt why it ſhould decay ſo ſoon, and ſo faſt as we ſee it does? We do not wonder at things that happen daily, though the cauſes of them be never ſo hard to find out; We contract a certain familiarity with common events, and fancy we know as much of them as can be known, though in reality we know nothing of them but matter of fact, which the vulgar knows as well as the Wiſe or the Learned. We ſee daily inſtances of the ſhortneſs of man's life, how ſoon his race is run, and we do not wonder at it, becauſe 'tis common, yet if we examine the compoſition of the Body, it will be very hard to find any good reaſons why the frame of it ſhould decay ſo ſoon.

I know 'tis eaſie to give general and ſuperficial anſwers and accounts of theſe things, but they are ſuch, as being ſtrictly examin'd, give no ſatisfaction to an inquiſitive mind: You would ſay, it may be, that the Interiour parts and Organs of the Body wear and decay by degrees, ſo as not performing ſo well their ſeveral offices and functions, for the digeſtion and diſtribution of the food and its juices, all the other parts ſuffer by it, and draws on inſenſibly a decay upon the whole frame of the Body. This is all true; but why, and how comes this to paſs? from what cauſes? where is the firſt failure, and what are the conſequences of it? The inward parts do not deſtroy themſelves, and we ſuppoſe that there is no want of good food, nor any diſeaſe, and we take the Body in its full ſtrength and vigour, why doth it not continue thus, as a Lamp does, if you ſupply it with Oil? The cauſes being the ſame, why doth not the ſame effect ſtill follow? why ſhould not the flame of life, as well as any other flame, if you give it fewel, continue in its force without languiſhing or decay?

You will ſay, it may be, The caſe is not the ſame in a ſimple Body, ſuch as a Lamp or a Fire, and in an Organical Body; which being variouſly compounded of multiplicity of parts, and all thoſe parts put in connexion and dependance one upon another; if any one fail, it will diſorder the whole frame; and therefore it muſt needs be more difficult for ſuch a body to continue long in the ſame ſtate, than for a ſimple Body that hath no variety of parts or operations. I acknowledge ſuch a Body is much more ſubject to diſeaſes and accidents than a more ſimple, but barring all diſeaſes and accidents, as we do, it might be of as long a duration as any other, if it was ſuppli'd with nouriſhment adequately to all its parts: As this Lamp we ſpeak of, if it conſiſted of twenty branches, and each of theſe branches was to be fed with a different Oil, and theſe Oils could be all mix'd together in ſome common Ciſtern, whence they were to be diſtributed into the ſeveral branches, either according to their different degrees of lightneſs, one riſing higher than another; or according to the capacity and figure of the little pipes they were to paſs thorough; ſuch a compounded Lamp, made up of ſuch artifices, would indeed be more ſubject to accidents, and to be out of order, by the obſtruction of ſome of the little pipes, or ſome

ſome unfit qualities in the Oils, but all theſe caſualties and diſorders excepted, as they are in our caſe, if it was ſuppli'd with convenient liquors, it would burn as long as any other, though more plain and ſimple.

To inſtance yet, for more plainneſs, in another ſort of Machine, ſuppoſe a Mill, where the Water may repreſent the nouriſhment and humours in our Body, and the frame of Wood and Stone, the ſolid parts; if we could ſuppoſe this Mill to have a power of nouriſhing it ſelf by the Water it receiv'd, and of repairing all the parts that were worn away, whether of the Wood-work or of the Stone, feed it but with a conſtant ſtream, and it would ſubſiſt and grind for ever. And 'tis the ſame thing for all other Artificial Machines of this nature, if they had a faculty of nouriſhing themſelves, and repairing their parts. And ſeeing thoſe natural Machines we are ſpeaking of, the Body of Man, and of other Animals, have and enjoy this faculty, why ſhould they not be able to preſerve themſelves beyond that ſhort period of time which is now the meaſure of their life?

Thus much we have ſaid to ſhew the difficulty propos'd and inforce it; We muſt now conſider the true anſwer and reſolution of it; and to that purpoſe bring into view again thoſe cauſes which we have aſſign'd, both of the long periods of life before the Flood, and of the ſhort ones ſince. That there was a perpetual Æquinox and ſtability of the Heavens before the Flood, we have ſhow'd both from Hiſtory and Reaſon; neither was there then any thing of Clouds, Rains, Winds, Storms or unequal weather, as will appear in the following Chapter; And to this ſteddineſs of Nature and univerſal calmneſs of the External World, we have imputed thoſe long periods of life which Men enjoy'd at that time: As on the contrary, when that great change and revolution happen'd to Nature at the Deluge, and the Heavens and the Earth were caſt in another mould, then was brought in, beſides many other new Scenes, that ſhortneſs and vanity in the life of Man, and a general inſtability in all ſublunary things, but eſpecially in the Animate World.

It is not neceſſary to ſhow, more than we have done already, how that Primitive ſtate of Nature contributed to long life; neither is it requir'd that it ſhould actively contribute, but only be permiſſive, and ſuffer our Bodies to act their parts; for if they be not diſturb'd, nor any harm done them by External Nature, they are built with art and ſtrength enough to laſt many hundreds of years. And as we obſerv'd before concerning the poſture of the Earth, that that which it had at firſt, being ſimple and regular, was not ſo much to be accounted for, as its preſent poſture, which is irregular; ſo likewiſe for the life of Man, the difficulty is not why they liv'd ſo long in the old World; that was their due and proper courſe; but why our Bodies being made after the ſame manner, ſhould endure ſo ſhort a time now. This is it therefore which we muſt now make our buſineſs to give an account of, namely, how that viciſſitude of Seaſons, inconſtancy of the Air, and unequal courſe of Nature which came in at the Deluge, do ſhorten *Life*; and indeed haſten the diſſolution of all Bodies, Animate or Inanimate.

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In our Bodies we may conſider three ſeveral qualities or diſpoſitions, and according to each whereof they ſuffer decay; Firſt, Their continuity; Secondly, That diſpoſition whereby they are capable of receiving nouriſhment, which we may call Nutribility; and Thirdly, The Tone or Tonick diſpoſition of the Organs whereby they perform their ſeveral functions. In all theſe three reſpects they would decay in any ſtate of Nature, but far ſooner, and faſter in the preſent ſtate, than in the Primæval. As for their Continuity, we have noted before, that all conſiſtent Bodies muſt be leſs durable now, than under that firſt order of the World, becauſe of the unequal and contrary motions of the Elements, or of the Air and Æther that penetrate and pervade them; and 'tis part of that vanity which all things now are ſubject to, to be more periſhable than in their firſt Conſtitution. If we ſhould conſider our Bodies only as breathing Statues, conſiſting of thoſe parts they do, and of that tenderneſs, the Air which we breath, and wherewith we are continually incompaſt, changing ſo often 'twixt moiſt and dry, hot and cold, a new and eager motion, theſe different actions and reſtleſs changes would ſooner weaken and deſtroy the union of the parts, than if they were always in a calm and quiet *medium*.

But it is not the groſs and viſible Continuity of the parts of our Body that firſt decays, there are finer Textures that are ſpoil'd inſenſibly, and draw on the decay of the reſt; ſuch are thoſe other two we mention'd, That diſpoſition and temper of the parts whereby they are fit to receive their full nouriſhment; and eſpecially that conſtruction and texture of the Organs that are preparatory to this Nutrition. The Nutribility of the Body depends upon a certain temperament in the parts, ſoft and yielding, which makes them open to the Blood and Juices in their Circulation and paſſage through them, and mixing intimately, and univerſally, hold faſt and retain many of their Particles; as muddy Earth doth the parts of the Water that runs into it and mixeth with it: And when theſe Nutritious Particles retain'd are more than the Body ſpends, that Body is in its growth; as when they are fewer, 'tis in its decay. And as we compar'd the fleſh and tender parts when they are young and in a growing diſpoſition, to a muddy ſoil, that opens to the Water, ſwells and incorporates with it; ſo when they become hard and dry, they are like a ſandy Earth, that ſuffers the Water to glide through it, without incorporating or retaining many of its parts; and the ſooner they come to this temper, the ſooner follows their decay: For the ſame Cauſes that ſet limits to our Growth, ſet alſo limits to our Life; and he that can reſolve that Queſtion, *why* the time of our *Growth* is ſo ſhort, will alſo be able to reſolve the other in a good meaſure, *why* the time of our *Life* is ſo ſhort. In both caſes, that which ſtops our progreſs is external Nature, whoſe courſe, while it was even and ſteddy, and the ambient Air mild and balmy, preſerv'd the Body much longer in a freſh and fit temper to receive its full nouriſhment, and conſequently gave larger bounds both to our Growth and Life.

But the Third thing we mention'd is the moſt conſiderable, The decay of the Organick parts; and eſpecially of the Organs preparatory

tory to Nutrition. This is the point chiefly to be examin'd and explain'd, and therefore we will endeavour to ſtate it fully and diſtinctly. There are ſeveral functions in the Body of an Animal, and ſeveral Organs for the conduct of them; and I am of opinion, that all the Organs of the Body are in the nature of Springs, and that their action is Tonical. The action of the Muſcles is apparently ſo, and ſo is that of the Heart and the Stomach; and as for thoſe parts that make ſecretions only, as the *Glandules* and *Parenchymata*, if they be any more than merely paſſive, as Strainers, 'tis the Tone of the parts, when diſtended, that performs the ſeparation: And accordingly in all other active Organs, the action proceeds from a Tone in the parts. And this ſeems to be eaſily prov'd, both as to our Bodies and all other Bodies: for no matter that is not fluid, hath any motion or action in it, but in vertue of ſome Tone; if matter be fluid, its parts are actually in motion, and conſequently may impel or give motion to other Bodies; but if it be ſolid or conſiſtent, the parts are not ſeparate or ſeparately mov'd from one another, and therefore cannot impel or give motion to any other, but in vertue of their Tone; they having no other motion themſelves. Accordingly we ſee in Artificial Machines there are but two general ſorts, thoſe that move by ſome fluid or volatile matter, as Water, Wind, Air, or ſome active Spirit; And thoſe which move by Springs, or by the Tonick diſpoſition of ſome part that gives motion to the reſt: For as for ſuch Machines as act by weights, 'tis not the weight that is the active principle, but the Air or Æther that impels it. 'Tis true, the Body of an Animal is a kind of mixt Machine, and thoſe Organs that are the Primary parts of it, partake of both theſe principles; for there are Spirits and Liquors that do aſſiſt in the motions of the Muſcles, of the Heart and of the Stomach; but we have no occaſion to conſider them at preſent, but only the Tone of the ſolid Organs.

This being obſerv'd in the firſt place, *Wherein* the force of our Organs conſiſts, we might here immediately ſubjoyn, how this force is weaken'd and deſtroy'd by the unequal courſe of Nature which now obtains, and conſequently our Life ſhorten'd; for the whole ſtate and Oeconomy of the Body depends upon the force and action of theſe Organs. But to underſtand the buſineſs more diſtinctly, it will be worth our time to examine, upon which of the Organs of the Body Life depends more immediately, and the prolongation of it; that ſo reducing our Inquiries into a narrower compaſs, we may manage them with more eaſe and more certainty.

In the Body of Man there are ſeveral *Compages*, or ſetts of parts; ſome whereof need not be conſider'd in this queſtion; There is that Syſteme that ſerves for ſence and local-motion, which is commonly call'd the ANIMAL Compages; and that which ſerves for generation, which is call'd the GENITAL. Theſe have no influence upon long Life, being parts nouriſhed, not nouriſhing, and that are fed from others as Rivers from their Fountain: Wherefore having laid theſe aſide, there remain two Compages more, the NATURAL and VITAL, which conſiſt of the Heart and Stomach, with their appendages. Theſe are the Sources of Life,

and

and these are all that is absolutely necessary to the constitution of a Living Creature; what parts we find more, few or many, of one sort or other, according to the several kinds of Creatures, is accidental to our purpose; The form of an Animal, as we are to consider it here, lies in this little compass, and what is superadded is for some new purposes, besides that of meer Life, as for Sense, Motion, Generation, and such like. As in a Watch, besides the Movement, which is made to tell you the hour of the day, which constitutes a Watch, you may have a fancy to have an Alarum added, or a Minute-motion, or that it should tell you the day of the Month; and this sometimes will require a new Spring, sometimes only new Wheels; however if you would examine the Nature of a Watch, and upon what its motion, or, if I may so say, its Life depends, you must lay aside those secondary Movements, and observe the main Spring, and the Wheels that immediately depend upon that, for all the rest is accidental. So for the Life of an Animal, which is a piece of Nature's Clockwork, if we would examine upon what the duration of it depends, we must lay aside those additional parts or Systems of parts, which are for other purposes, and consider only the first principles and fountains of Life, and the causes of their natural and necessary decay.

Having thus reduc'd our Inquiries to these two Organs, The Stomach and the Heart, as the two Master-Springs in the Mechanism of an Animal, upon which all the rest depend, let us now see what their action is, and how it will be more or less durable and constant, according to the different states of External Nature. We determin'd before, that the force and action of all Organs in the Body was Tonical, and of none more remarkably than of these two, the Heart and Stomach; for though it be not clearly determin'd what the particular structure of these Organs, or of their Fibres is, that makes them Tonical, yet 'tis manifest by their actions that they are so. In the Stomach, besides a peculiar ferment that opens and dissolves the parts of the Meat, and melts them into a fluor or pulp, the coats of it, or Fibres whereof they consist, have a motion proper to them, proceeding from their Tone, whereby they close the Stomach, and compress the Meat when it is receiv'd, and when turn'd into Chyle, press it forwards, and squeeze it into the Intestines; and the Intestines also partaking of the same motion, push and work it still forwards into those little Veins that convey it towards the Heart. The Heart hath the same general motions with the Stomach, of opening and shutting, and hath also a peculiar ferment which rarifies the Bloud that enters into it; and that Bloud by the Spring of the Heart, and the particular Texture of its Fibres, is thrown out again to make its Circulation through the Body. This is, in short, the action of both these Organs; and indeed the mystery of the Body of an Animal, and of its operations and Oeconomy, consists chiefly in Springs and Ferments; The one for the solid parts, the other in the fluid.

But to apply this Fabrick of the Organick parts to our purpose, we may observe and conclude, that whatsoever weakens the Tone or Spring of these two Organs, which are the Bases of all Vitality, weaken

weaken the principle of Life, and shorten the Natural duration of it; And if of two Orders or Courses of Nature, the one be favourable and easie to these Tonick principles in the Body, and the other uneasie and prejudicial, that course of Nature will be attended with long periods of Life, and this with short. And we have shewn, that in the Primitive Earth the course of Nature was even, steddy and unchangeable, without either different qualities of the Air, or unequal Seasons of the Year, which must needs be more easie to these principles we speak of, and permit them to continue longer in their strength and vigour, than they can possibly do under all those changes of the Air, of the Atmosphere, and of the Heavens, which we now suffer yearly, monthly, and daily. And though Sacred History had not acquainted us with the Longævity of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs, nor profane History with those of the Golden Age, I should have concluded, from the Theory alone, and the contemplation of that state of Nature, that the forms of all things were much more permanent in that World than in ours, and that the lives of Men and all other Animals had longer periods.

I confess, I am of opinion, that 'tis this that makes not only these living Springs or Tonick Organs of the Body, but all Artificial Springs also, though made of the hardest Metal, decay so fast. The different pressure of the Atmosphere, sometimes heavier, sometimes lighter, more rare or more dense, moist or dry, and agitated with different degrees of motion, and in different manners; this must needs operate upon that nicer contexture of Bodies, which makes them Tonical or Elastick; altering the figure or minuteness of the pores, and the strength and order of the Fibres upon which that propriety depends: bending and unbending, closing and opening the parts. There is a subtle and Æthereal Element that traverseth the pores of all Bodies, and when 'tis straiten'd and pent up there, or stopt in its usual course and passage, its motion is more quick and eager, as a Current of Water, when 'tis obstructed or runs through a narrower Chanel; and that strife and those attempts which these little active Particles make to get free, and follow the same tracts they did before, do still press upon the parts of the Body that are chang'd, to redress and reduce them to their first and Natural posture, and in this consists the force of a Spring. Accordingly we may observe, that there is no Body that is or will be Tonical or Elastick, if it be left to it self, and to that posture it would take naturally; for then all the parts are at ease, and the subtle matter moves freely and uninterruptedly within its pores; but if by distention, or by compression, or by flexion, or any other way, the situation of the parts and pores be so alter'd, that the Air sometimes, but for the most part that subtiler Element, is uneasie and compress too much, it causeth that renitency or tendency to restitution, which we call the Tone or Spring of a Body. Now as this disposition of Bodies doth far more easily perish than their Continuity, so I think there is nothing that contributes more to its perishing (whether in Natural or Artificial Springs) than the unequal action and different qualities of the Æther, Air, and Atmosphere,

It will be objected to us, it may be, that in the beginning of the Chapter we inſtanc'd in Artificial things, that would continue for ever, if they had but the power of nouriſhing themſelves, as Lamps, Mills, and ſuch like; why then may not Natural Machines that have that power, laſt for ever? The caſe is not the ſame as to the Bodies of Animals, and the things there inſtanc'd in, for thoſe were ſpringleſs Machines, that act only by ſome external cauſe, and not in vertue of any Tone or interiour temper of the parts, as our Bodies do; and when that Tone or temper is deſtroy'd, no nouriſhment can repair it. There is ſomething, I ſay, irreparable in the Tonical diſpoſition of matter, which when wholly loſt, cannot be reſtor'd by Nutrition; Nutrition may anſwer to a bare conſumption of parts, but where the parts are to be preſerv'd in ſuch a temperament, or in ſuch a degree of humidity and drineſs, warmth, rarity or denſity, to make them capable of that nouriſhment, as well as of their other operations, as Organs, (which is the caſe of our Bodies) there the Heavens, the Air, and external Cauſes will change the qualities of the matter in ſpite of all Nutrition; and the qualities of the matter being chang'd (in a courſe of Nature, where the Cauſe cannot be taken away) that is a fault incorrigible, and irreparable by the nouriſhment that follows, being hinder'd of its effect by the indiſpoſition or incapacity of the Recipient. And as they ſay, a fault in the firſt concoction cannot be corrected in the ſecond; ſo neither can a fault in the Prerequiſites to all the concoctions be corrected by any of them.

I know the Ancients made the decay and term of Life to depend rather upon the humours of the Body, than the ſolid parts, and ſuppos'd an *Humidum radicale* and a *Calidum innatum*, as they call them, a Radical Moiſture and Congenit heat to be in every Body from its birth and firſt formation; and as theſe decay'd, life decay"d. But who's wiſer for this account, what doth this inſtruct us in? We know there is heat and moiſture in the Body, and you may call the one *Radical*, and the other *Innate* if you pleaſe; this is but a ſort of Cant, for we know no more of the real Phyſical Cauſes of that effect we enquir'd into, than we did before. What makes this heat and moiſture fail, if the nouriſhment be good, and all the Organs in their due ſtrength and temper? The firſt and original failure is not in the fluid, but in the ſolid parts, which if they continued the ſame, the humours would do ſo too. Beſides, What befel this Radical moiſture and heat at the Deluge, that it ſhould decay ſo faſt afterwards, and laſt ſo long before? There is a certain temper, no doubt, of the juices and humours of the Body, which is more fit than any other to conſerve the parts from drineſs and decay; but the cauſe of that drineſs and decay, or other inhability in the ſolid parts, whence is that, if not from external Nature? 'Tis thither we muſt come at length in our ſearch of the reaſons of the Natural decay of our Bodies, we follow the fate and Laws of that: and, I think, by thoſe Cauſes, and in that order, that we have already deſcrib'd and explain'd.

To conclude this Diſcourſe, we may collect from it what judgment is to be made of thoſe Projectors of Immortality, or undertakers

takers to make Men live to the Age of *Methuſalah*, if they will uſe their methods and medicines; There is but one method for this, To put the Sun into his old courſe, or the Earth into its firſt poſture; there is no other ſecret to prolong life; Our Bodies will ſympathize with the general courſe of Nature, nothing can guard us from it, no Elixir, no Specifick, no Philoſopher's-ſtone. But there are Enthuſiaſts in Philoſophy, as well as in Religion; Men that go by no principles, but their own conceit and fancy, and by a Light within, which ſhines very uncertainly, and, for the moſt part, leads them out of the way of truth. And ſo much for this diſquiſition, concerning the *Cauſes* of *Longævity*, or of the long and ſhort periods of Life in the different periods of the World.

That the Age of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs is to be computed by Solar *or common Years, not by* Lunar *or Months.*

Having made this diſcourſe of the unequal periods of life, only in reference to the Ante-diluvians and their fam'd Longævity, leſt we ſhould ſeem to have proceeded upon an ill-grounded and miſtaken ſuppoſition, we are bound to take notice of, and confute, That Opinion which makes the Years of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs to have been *Lunar*, not *Solar*, and ſo would bear us in hand, that they liv'd only ſo many Months, as Scripture ſaith they liv'd Years. Seeing there is nothing could drive Men to this bold interpretation, but the incredibility of the thing, as they fanſied; They having no Notions or *Hypotheſis* whereby it could appear intelligible or poſſible to them; and ſeeing we have taken away that ſtumbling-ſtone, and ſhew'd it not only poſſible but neceſſary, according to the conſtitution of that World, that the periods of Life ſhould be far longer than in this; by removing the ground or occaſion of their miſinterpretation, we hope we have undeceiv'd them, and let them ſee that there is no need of that ſubterfuge, either to prevent an incongruity, or ſave the credit of the Sacred Hiſtorian.

But as this opinion is inconſiſtent with Nature truly underſtood, ſo is it alſo with common Hiſtory; for beſides what I have already mention'd in the firſt Chapter of this Book, *Joſephus* tells us, that the Hiſtorians of all Nations, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, give the ſame account of the firſt Inhabitants of the Earth; Manetho, *who writ the ſtory of the* Ægyptians, Beroſus, *who writ the* Chaldæan *Hiſtory, and thoſe Authors that have given us an account of the* Phœnician *Antiquities*; *beſides* Molus *and* Heſtiæus, *and* Hieronymus *the* Ægyptian; *and amongſt the Greeks* Heſiodus, Hecateus, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus *and* Nicolaus: *We have the Suffrages of all theſe, and their common conſent, that in the firſt Ages of the World Men liv'd a thouſand Years.* Now we cannot well ſuppoſe, that all theſe Hiſtorians meant *Lunar* Years, or that they all conſpir'd together to make and propagate a Fable. *Lib. 1. Few. Ant. Chap. 4.*

Laſtly, as Nature and Profane Hiſtory do diſown and confute this opinion, ſo much more doth Sacred Hiſtory; not indeed in profeſs'd terms, for *Moſes* doth not ſay that he uſeth *Solar* Years,

but by ſeveral marks and obſervations, or collateral Arguments, it may be clearly collected, that he doth not uſe *Lunar*. As firſt, becauſe He diſtinguiſheth *Months* and *Years* in the Hiſtory of the Deluge, and of the life of *Noah*; for *Gen.* 7.11. he ſaith in the ſix hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, in the ſecond month, *&c.* It cannot be imagin'd that in the ſame verſe and ſentence theſe two terms of *Year* and *Month* ſhould be ſo confounded as to ſignifie the ſame thing; and therefore *Noah*'s Years were not the ſame with Months, nor conſequently thoſe of the other Patriarchs, for we have no reaſon to make any difference. Beſides, what ground was there, or how was it proper or pertinent to reckon, as *Moſes* does there, firſt, ſecond, third Month, as ſo many going to a Year, if every one of them was a Year? And ſeeing the Deluge begun in the ſix hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, and in the ſecond Month, and ended in the ſix hundredth and firſt Year (*Chap.* 8. 13.) the firſt or ſecond Month, all that was betwixt theſe two terms, or all the duration of the Deluge, made but one year in *Noah*'s life, or it may be not ſo much; and we know *Moſes* reckons a great many Months in the duration of the Deluge; ſo as this is a demonſtration that *Noah*'s years are not to be underſtood of *Lunar*. And to imagine that his Years are to be underſtood one way, and thoſe of his fellow-Patriarchs another, would be an inaccountable fiction. This Argument therefore extends to all the Ante-diluvians; And *Noah*'s life will take in the Poſt-diluvians too, for you ſee part of it runs amongſt them, and ties together the two Worlds: ſo that if we exclude *Lunar* years from his life, we exclude them from all, thoſe of his Fathers, and thoſe of his Children.

Secondly, If *Lunar* years were underſtood in the Ages of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs, the interval betwixt the Creation and the Deluge would be too ſhort, and in many reſpects incongruous. There would be but 1656 months from the beginning of the World to the Flood; which converted into common years, make but 127 years, and five months, for that interval. This perverts all Chronology, and beſides, makes the number of people ſo ſmall and inconſiderable at the time of the Deluge, that deſtroying of the World then was not ſo much as deſtroying of a Country Town would be now: For from one couple you cannot well imagine there could ariſe above five hundred perſons in ſo ſhort a time; but if there was a thouſaud, 'tis not ſo many as we have ſometimes in a good Country Village. And were the Flood-gates of Heaven open'd, and the great Abyſs broken up to deſtroy ſuch an handful of people? and the Waters rais'd fifteen Cubits above the higheſt Mountains throughout the face of the Earth, to drown a Pariſh or two? is not this more incredible than our Age of the Patriarchs? Beſides, This ſhort interval doth not leave room for Ten Generations, which we find from *Adam* to the Flood, nor allows the Patriarchs age enough at the time when they are ſaid to have got Children. One hundred twenty ſeven years for Ten Generations is very ſtrait; and of theſe you muſt take off forty ſix years for one Generation only, or for *Noah*, for he liv'd ſix hundred years before the Flood, and if they were *Lunar*, they would come however to forty ſix of our years; ſo that for the other Nine Generations you would have but eighty one years, that is, nine years a-piece; at

at which Age they muſt all be ſuppos'd to have begun to get Children; which you cannot but think a very abſurd ſuppoſition. Thus it would be, if you divide the whole time equally amongſt the Nine Generations, but if you conſider ſome ſingle inſtances, as they are ſet down by *Moſes*, 'tis ſtill worſe; for *Mahaleel* and his Grandchild *Enoch* are ſaid to have got Children at ſixty five years of Age, which if you ſuppoſe months, they were but five years old at that time; now I appeal to any one, Whether it is more incredible that men ſhould live to the age of nine hundred years, or that they ſhould beget Children at the age of five years.

You will ſay, it may be, 'tis true theſe inconveniences follow, if our *Hebrew* Copies of the Old Teſtament be Authentick; but if the *Greek* Tranſlation by the *Septuagint* be of better Authority, as ſome would have it to be, that gives a little relief in this caſe; for the *Septuagint* make the diſtance from the Creation to the Flood ſix hundred years more than the *Hebrew* Text does, and ſo give us a little more room for our Ten Generations: And not only ſo, but they have ſo conveniently diſpos'd thoſe additional years, as to ſalve the other inconvenience too, of the Patriarchs having Children ſo young; for what Patriarchs are found to have got Children ſooner than the reſt, and ſo ſoon, that upon a computation by *Lunar* years, they would be but meer Children themſelves at that time, to theſe, more years are added and plac'd opportunely, before the time of their getting Children; ſo as one can ſcarce forbear to think that it was done on purpoſe to cure that inconvenience, and to favour and protect the computation by *Lunar* years. The thing looks ſo like an artifice, and as done to ſerve a turn, that one cannot but have a leſs opinion of that Chronology for it.

But not to enter upon that diſpute at preſent, methinks they have not wrought the cure effectually enough; for with theſe ſix hundred *Lunar* years added, the ſumm will be only one hundred ſeventy three common years and odd months; and from theſe deducting, as we did before, for *Noah*, forty ſix years, and for *Adam*, or the firſt Generation, about eighteen, (for he was two hundred and thirty years old, according to the *Septuagint*, when he begot *Seth*) there will remain but one hundred and nine years for eight Generations; which will be thirteen years a-piece and odd months; a low age to get children in, and to hold for eight Generations together. Neither is the other inconvenience we mention'd, well cur'd by the *Septuagint* account, namely, the ſmall number of people that would be in the World at the Deluge; for the *Septuagint* account, if underſtood of *Lunar* years, adds but forty ſix common years to the *Hebrew* account, and to the age of the World at the Deluge, in which time there could be but a very ſmall acceſſion to the number of Mankind. So as both theſe incongruities continue, though not in the ſame degree, and ſtand good in either account, if it be underſtood of *Lunar* years.

Thirdly, 'Tis manifeſt from other Texts of Scripture, and from other conſiderations, that our firſt Fathers liv'd very long, and conſiderably longer than men have done ſince; whereas if their years be interpreted *Lunar*, there is not one of them that liv'd to the age

that

that Men do now; *Methuſalah* himſelf did not reach threeſcore and fifteen years, upon that interpretation; Which doth depreſs them not only below thoſe that liv'd next to the Flood, but below all following Generations to this day; and thoſe firſt Ages of the World, which were always celebrated for ſtrength and vivacity, are made as weak and feeble as the laſt dregs of Nature. We may obſerve, that after the Flood for ſome time, till the priſtine *Craſis* of the Body was broken by the new courſe of Nature, they liv'd five, four, three, two hundred years, and the Life of Men ſhortn'd by degrees; but before the Flood, when they liv'd longer, there was no ſuch decreaſe or gradual declenſion in their lives. For *Noah*, who was the laſt, liv'd longer than *Adam*; and *Methuſalah* who was laſt but two, liv'd the longeſt of all: So that it was not ſimply their diſtance from the beginning of the World that made them live a ſhorter time, but ſome change which happen'd in Nature after ſuch a period of time; namely at the Deluge, when the declenſion begun. Let's ſet down the Table of both ſtates.

A Table of the Ages of the Ante-diluvian Fathers.

	Years.
Adam	930
Seth	912
Enos	905
Cainan	910
Mahaleel	895
Jared	962
Enoch	365
Methuſalah	969
Lamech	777
Noah	950

A Table of the Ages of the Poſt-diluvian Fathers, from Shem *to* Joſeph.

	Years.
Shem	600
Arphaxad	438
Salah	433
Eber	464
Peleg	239
Reu	239
Serug	230
Nahor	148
Terah	205
Abraham	175
Iſaac	180
Jacob	147
Joſeph	110

From theſe Tables we ſee that Mens Lives were much longer before the Flood, and next after it, than they are now; which alſo is confirm'd undeniably by *Jacob*'s complaint of the ſhortneſs of his life, in compariſon of his Fore-fathers, when he had liv'd one hundred and thirty years, *Gen.* 47.9. *The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my Fathers.* There was then, 'tis certain, long-liv'd men in the World before *Jacob*'s time; when were they, before the Flood or after? We ſay both, according as the Tables ſhew it? But if you count by *Lunar* years, there never were any, either before or after, and *Jacob*'s complaint was unjuſt and falſe; for he was the oldeſt Man in the World himſelf, or at leaſt there was none of his Fore-fathers that liv'd ſo long as he.

The

The Patrons of this opinion muſt needs find themſelves at a loſs, how or where to break off the account of *Lunar* years in Sacred Hiſtory, if they once admit it. If they ſay, that way of counting muſt only be extended to the Flood, then they make the Poſt-diluvian Fathers longer liv'd than the Ante-diluvian; did the Flood bring in Longævity? how could that be the cauſe of ſuch an effect? Beſides, if they allow the Poſt-diluvians to have liv'd ſix hundred (common) years, that being clearly beyond the ſtandard of our lives, I ſhould never ſtick at two or three hundred years more for the firſt Ages of the World. If they extend their *Lunar* account to the Poſt-diluvians too, they will ſtill be intangled in worſe abſurdities; for they muſt make their lives miſerably ſhort, and their Age of getting Children altogether incongruous and impoſſible. *Nahor*, for example, when he was but two years and three months old muſt have begot *Terah*, *Abraham*'s Father: And all the reſt betwixt him and *Shem* muſt have had Children before they were three years old: A pretty race of Pigmies. Then their lives were proportionably ſhort, for this *Nahor* liv'd but eleven years and ſix months at this rate; and his Grandchild *Abraham*, who is ſaid to have died *in a good old age, and full of years*, (*Gen.* 25. 8.) was not fourteen years old. What a ridiculous account this gives of Scripture-Chronology and Genealogies? But you'll ſay, it may be, theſe *Lunar* years are not to be carried ſo far as *Abraham* neither; tell us then where you'll ſtop, and why you ſtop in ſuch a place rather than another. If you once take in *Lunar* years, what ground is there in the Text, or in the Hiſtory, that you ſhould change your way of computing, at ſuch a time, or in ſuch a place? All our Ancient Chronology is founded upon the Books of *Moſes*, where the terms and periods of times are expreſt by years, and often by Genealogies, and the Lives of Men; now if theſe years are ſometimes to be interpreted *Lunar*, and ſometimes *Solar*, without any diſtinction made in the Text, what light or certain rule have we to go by? let theſe Authors name to us the parts and places where, and only where, the *Lunar* years are to be underſtood, and I dare undertake to ſhow, that their method is not only arbitrary, but abſurd and incoherent.

To conclude this Diſcourſe, we cannot but repeat what we have partly obſerv'd before, How neceſſary it is to underſtand Nature, if we would rightly underſtand thoſe things in holy Writ that relate to the Natural World. For without this knowledge, as we are apt to think ſome things conſiſtent and credible that are really impoſſible in Nature; ſo on the other hand, we are apt to look upon other things as incredible and impoſſible that are really founded in Nature. And ſeeing every one is willing ſo to expound Scripture, as it may be to them good ſence, and conſiſtent with their Notions in other things, they are forc'd many times to go againſt the eaſie and natural importance of the words, and to invent other interpretations more compliant with their principles, and, as they think, with the nature of things. We have, I ſay, a great inſtance of this before us in the Scripture-Hiſtory of the long lives of the Ante-diluvians, where without any ground or ſhadow of ground in the Narration, only to comply with a miſtaken Philoſophy,

and

and their ignorance of the Primitive World, many men would beat down the Scripture account of years into months, and ſink the lives of thoſe firſt Fathers below the rate of the worſt of Ages. Whereby that great Monument, which Providence hath left us of the firſt World, and of its difference from the Second, would not only be defac'd, but wholly demoliſh'd. And all this ſprung only from the ſeeming incredibility of the thing; for they cannot ſhow in any part of Scripture, New or Old, that theſe *Lunar* years are made uſe of, or that any computation, literal or Prophetical, proceeds upon them: Nor that there is any thing in the Text or Context of that place, that argues or intimates any ſuch account. We have endeavour'd, upon this occaſion, effectually to prevent this miſconſtruction of Sacred Hiſtory, for the future; both by ſhowing the incongruities that follow upon it, and alſo that there is no neceſſity from Nature of any ſuch ſhift or evaſion, as that is: But rather on the contrary, that we have juſt and neceſſary reaſons to conclude, That as the Forms of all things would be far more permanent and laſting in that Primitive ſtate of the Heavens and the Earth; ſo particularly the Lives of Men, and of other Animals.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Waters of the Primitive Earth: What the ſtate of the Regions of the Air was then, and how all Waters proceeded from them; how the Rivers aroſe, what was their courſe, and how they ended. Some things in Sacred Writ that confirm this Hydrography of the firſt Earth; eſpecially the Origin of the Rainbow.

HAving thus far clear'd our way to *Paradiſe*, and given a rational account of its general properties; before we proceed to diſcourſe of the place of it, there is one affair of moment, concerning this Primitive Earth, that muſt firſt be ſtated and explain'd; and that is, *How* it was water'd; from what cauſes, and in what manner. How could Fountains riſe, or Rivers flow in an Earth of that Form and Nature? We have ſhut up the Sea with thick walls on every ſide, and taken away all communication that could be 'twixt it and the External Earth; and we have remov'd all the Hills and the Mountains where the Springs uſe to riſe, and whence the Rivers deſcend to water the face of the ground: And laſtly, we have left no iſſue for theſe Rivers, no Ocean to receive them, nor any other place to disburthen themſelves into: So that our Newfound World is like to be a dry and barren Wilderneſs, and ſo far from being *Paradiſiacal*, that it would ſcarce be habitable.

I confeſs there was nothing in this whole Theory that gave ſuch a ſtop to my thoughts, as this part of it, concerning the Rivers of the

the firſt Earth; how they riſe, how they flow'd, and how they ended: It ſeem'd at firſt, that we had wip'd away at once the Notion and whole Doctrine of Rivers, we had turn'd the Earth ſo ſmooth, that there was not an Hill or riſing for the head of a Spring, nor any fall or deſcent for the courſe of a River: Beſides, I had ſuckt in the common opinion of Philoſophers, That all Rivers riſe from the Sea, and return to it again; and both thoſe paſſages, I ſee, were ſtopt up in that Earth. This gave me occaſion to reflect upon the modern and more ſolid opinion, concerning the Origin of Fountains and Rivers, That they riſe chiefly from Rains and melted Snows, and not from the Sea alone; and as ſoon as I had demurr'd in that particular, I ſee it was neceſſary to conſider, and examine, how the Rains fell in that firſt Earth, to underſtand what the ſtate of their Waters and Rivers would be.

And I had no ſooner appli'd my ſelf to that Inquiry, but I eaſily diſcover'd, that the Order of Nature in the Regions of the Air, would be then very different from what it is now, and the Meteorology of that World was of another ſort from that of the preſent. The Air was always calm and equal, there could be no violent Meteors there, nor any that proceeded from extremity of Cold; as Ice, Snow or Hail; nor Thunder neither; for the Clouds could not be of a quality and conſiſtency fit for ſuch an effect, either by falling one upon another, or by their diſruption. And as for Winds, they could not be either impetuous or irregular in that Earth; ſeeing there were neither Mountains nor any other inequalities to obſtruct the courſe of the Vapours; nor any unequal Seaſons, or unequal action of the Sun, nor any contrary and ſtrugling motions of the Air: Nature was then a ſtranger to all thoſe diſorders. But as for watery Meteors, or thoſe that riſe from watery Vapours more immediately, as Dews, and Rains, there could not but be plenty of theſe, in ſome part or other of that Earth; for the action of the Sun in raiſing Vapours, was very ſtrong and very conſtant, and the Earth was at firſt moiſt and ſoft, and according as it grew more dry, the Rays of the Sun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great Abyſs which lay underneath, and was an unexhauſted ſtorehouſe of new Vapours. But, 'tis true, the ſame heat which extracted theſe Vapours ſo copiouſly would alſo hinder them from condenſing into Clouds or Rain, in the warmer parts of the Earth; and there being no Mountains at that time, nor contrary Winds, nor any ſuch cauſes to ſtop them or compreſs them, we muſt conſider which way they would tend, and what their courſe would be, and whether they would any where meet with cauſes capable to change or condenſe them; for upon this, 'tis manifeſt, would depend the Meteors of that Air, and the Waters of that Earth.

And as the heat of the Sun was chiefly towards the middle parts of the Earth, ſo the copious Vapours rais'd there were moſt rarified and agitated; and being once in the open Air, their courſe would be that way, where they found leaſt reſiſtance to their motion; and that would certainly be towards the Poles, and the colder Regions of the Earth. For Eaſt and Weſt they would meet with as warm an Air, and Vapours as much agitated as themſelves, which therefore would

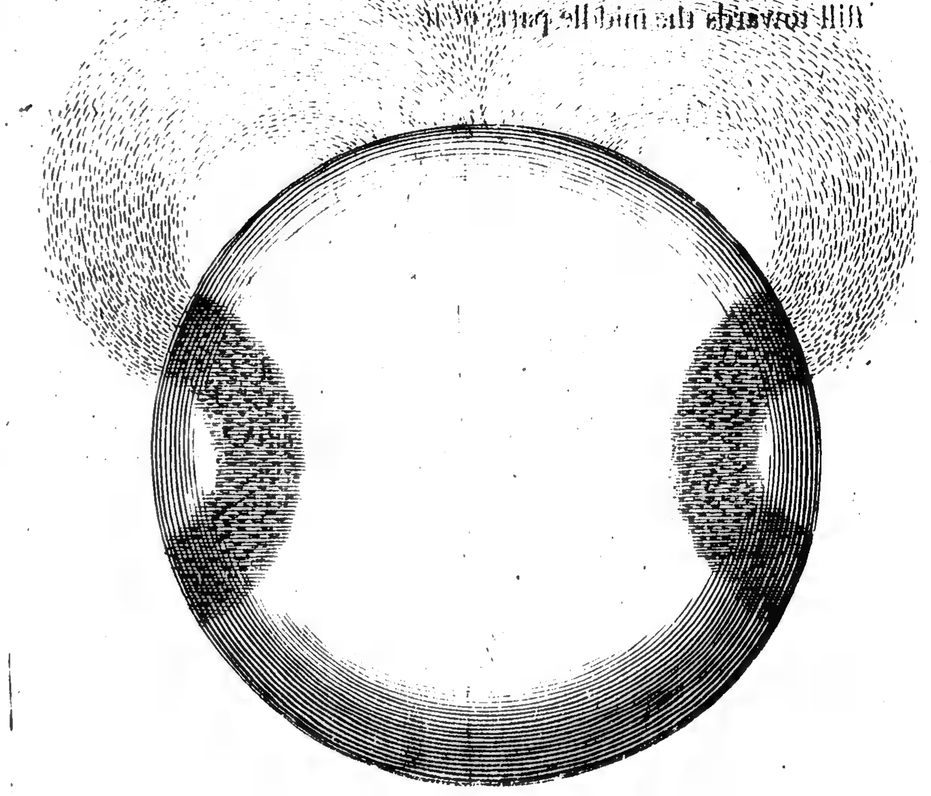
not yield to their progreſs that way; but towards the North and the South, they would find a more eaſie paſſage, the Cold of thoſe parts attracting them, as we call it, that is, making way to their motion and dilatation without much reſiſtance, as Mountains and Cold places uſually draw Vapours from the warmer. So as the regular and conſtant courſe of the Vapours of that Earth, which were rais'd chiefly about the Æquinoctial and middle parts of it, would be towards the extream parts of it, or towards the Poles.

And in conſequence of this, when theſe Vapours were arriv'd in thoſe cooler Climats, and cooler parts of the Air, they would be condens'd into Rain; for wanting there the cauſe of their agitation, namely, the heat of the Sun, their motion would ſoon begin to languiſh, and they would fall cloſer to one another in the form of Water. For the difference betwixt Vapours and Water is only gradual, and conſiſts in this, that Vapours are in a flying motion, ſeparate and diſtant each from another; but the parts of Water are in a creeping motion, cloſe to one another; like a ſwarm of Bees, when they are ſetled; as Vapours reſemble the ſame Bees in the Air before they ſettle together. Now there is nothing puts theſe Vapours upon the wing, or keeps them ſo, but a ſtrong agitation by Heat; and when that fails, as it muſt do in all colder places and Regions, they neceſſarily return to Water again. Accordingly therefore we muſt ſuppoſe they would ſoon, after they reacht theſe cold Regions, be condens'd, and fall down in a continual Rain or Dew upon thoſe parts of the Earth. I ſay a *continual* Rain; for ſeeing the action of the Sun, which rais'd the Vapours, was (at that time) always the ſame, and the ſtate of the Air always alike, nor any croſs Winds, nor any thing elſe that could hinder the courſe of the Vapours towards the Poles, nor their condenſation when arriv'd there; 'tis manifeſt there would be a conſtant Source or ſtore-houſe of Waters in thoſe parts of the Air, and in thoſe parts of the Earth.

And this, I think, was the eſtabliſht order of Nature in that World, this was the ſtate of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth; all their Waters came from above, and that with a conſtant ſupply and circulation; for when the croud of Vapours, rais'd about the middle parts of the Earth, found vent and iſſue this way towards the Poles, the paſſage being once open'd, and the Chanel made, the Current would be ſtill continued without intermiſſion; and as they were diſſolv'd and ſpent there, they would ſuck in more and more of thoſe which followed, and came in freſh ſtreams from the hotter Climates. *Ariſtotle*, I remember, in his *Meteors*, ſpeaking of the courſe of the Vapours, ſaith, there is a River in the Air, conſtantly flowing betwixt the Heavens and the Earth, made by the aſcending and deſcending Vapours; This was more remarkably true in the Primitive Earth, where the ſtate of Nature was more conſtant and regular; there was indeed an uninterrupted flood of Vapours riſing in one Region of the Earth, and flowing to another, and there continually diſtilling in Dews and Rain, which made this Aereal River. As may be eaſily apprehended from this Scheme of the Earth and Air.

Thus

Book 2d Fig. 1. p. 155.

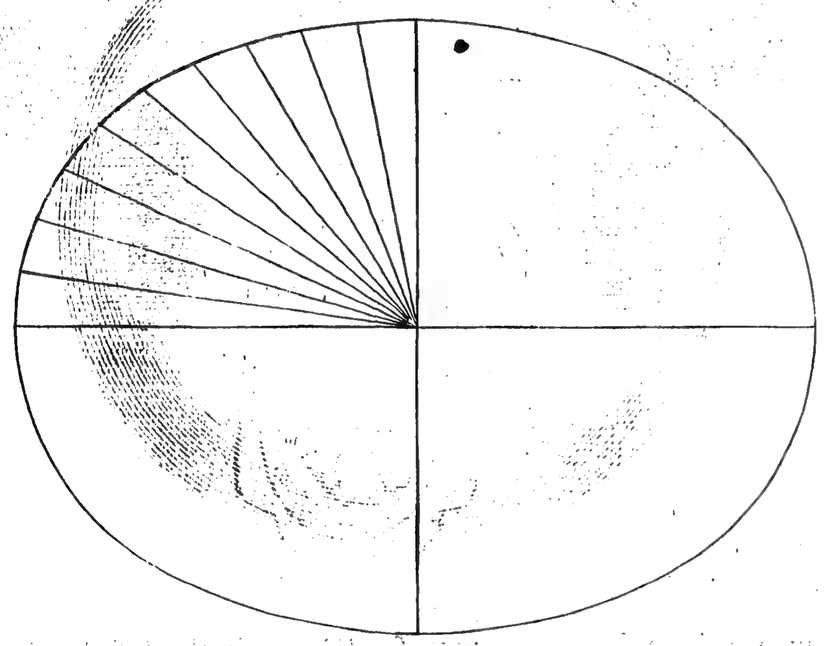


Thus we have found a Source for Waters in the firſt Earth, which had no communication with the Sea; and a Source that would never fail, neither diminiſh or overflow, but feed the Earth with an equal ſupply throughout all the parts of the year. But there is a ſecond difficulty that appears at the end of this, *How* theſe Waters would flow upon the even ſurface of the Earth, or form themſelves into Rivers; there being no deſcent or declivity for their courſe. There were no Hills, nor Mountains, nor high Lands in the firſt Earth, and if theſe Rains fell in the frigid Zones, or towards the Poles, there they would ſtand, in Lakes and Pools, having no deſcent one way more than another; and ſo the reſt of the Earth would be no better for them. This, I confeſs, appear'd as great a difficulty as the former, and would be unanſwerable, for ought I know, if that firſt Earth was not water'd by Dews only (as I believe ſome Worlds are) or had been exactly Spherical; but we noted before, that it was Oval or Oblong; and in ſuch a Figure, 'tis manifeſt, the Polar parts are higher than the Æquinoctial, that is, more remote from the Center, as appears to the eye in this

 Scheme.

Scheme. This affords us a preſent remedy, and ſets us free of the ſecond difficulty; for by this means the Waters which fell about the extreme parts of the Earth, would have a continual deſcent towards the middle parts of it; this Figure gives them motion and diſtribution; and many Rivers and Rivulets would flow from thoſe Mother-Lakes to refreſh the face of the Earth, bending their courſe ſtill towards the middle parts of it.

Booke 2d *fig. 2d* *p. 156.*



'Tis true, Theſe derivations of the Waters at firſt would be very irregular and diffuſe, till the Chanels were a little worn and hollowed; and though that Earth was ſmooth and uniform, yet 'tis impoſſible, upon an inclining ſurface, but that Waters ſhould find a way of creeping downwards, as we ſee upon a ſmooth Table, or a flagg'd Pavement, if there be the leaſt inclination, Water will flow from the higher to the lower parts of it, either directly, or winding to and fro: So the ſmoothneſs of that Earth would be no hindrance to the courſe of the Rivers, provided there was a general declivity in the ſite and libration of it, as 'tis plain there was from the Poles towards the Æquator. The Current indeed would be eaſie and gentle all along, and if it chanc'd in ſome places to reſt

reſt or be ſtopt, it would ſpread it ſelf into a pleaſant Lake, till by freſh ſupplies it had raiſ'd its Waters ſo high, as to overflow and break looſe again; then it would purſue its way, with many other Rivers its companions, through all the temperate Climates, as far as the Torrid Zone.

But you'll ſay, When they were got thither, what would become of them then? *How* would they end or finiſh their courſe? This is the third difficulty, *concerning* the ending of the Rivers in that Earth; what iſſue could they have when they were come to the middle parts of it, whether it ſeems, they all tended. There was no Sea to loſe themſelves in, as our Rivers do; nor any Subterraneous paſſages to throw themſelves into; how would they die, what would be their fate at laſt? I anſwer, The greater Rivers, when they were come towards thoſe parts of the Earth, would be divided into many branches, or a multitude of Rivulets; and thoſe would be partly exhal'd by the heat of the Sun, and partly drunk up by the dry and ſandy Earth. But how and in what manner this came to paſs, requires a little further Explication.

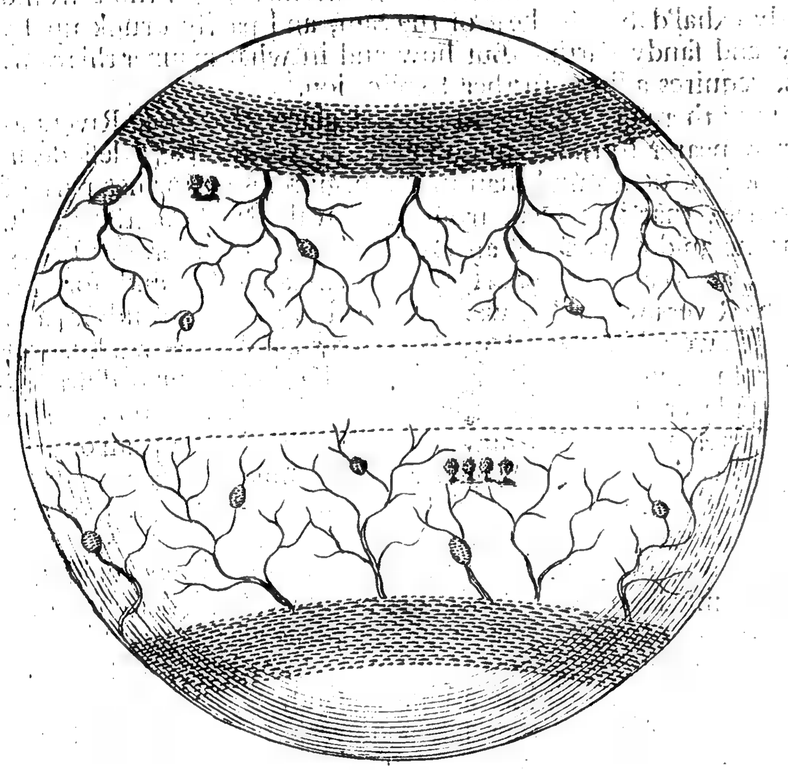
We muſt therefore obſerve in the firſt place, that thoſe Rivers as they drew nearer to the Æquinoctial parts, would find a leſs declivity or deſcent of ground than in the beginning or former part of their courſe; that is evident from the Oval Figure of the Earth, for near the middle parts of an Oval, the Semidiameters, as I may call them, are very little ſhorter one than another; and for this reaſon the Rivers, when they were advanc'd towards the middle parts of the Earth, would begin to flow more ſlowly, and by that weakneſs of their Current, ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be divided and diſtracted into ſeveral leſſer ſtreams and Rivulets; or elſe, having no force to wear a Chanel, would lie ſhallow upon the ground like a plain of Water; and in both caſes their Waters would be much more expos'd to the action of the Sun, than if they had kept together in a deeper Chanel, as they were before.

Secondly, We muſt obſerve, that ſeeing theſe Waters could not reach to the middle of the Torrid Zone, for want of deſcent; that part of the Earth having the Sun always perpendicular over it, and being refreſht by no Rivers, would become extremely dry and parch'd, and be converted at length into a kind of ſandy Deſart; ſo as all the Waters that were carried thus far, and were not exhal'd and conſum'd by the Sun, would be ſuckt up as in a Spunge by theſe Sands of the Torrid Zone. This was the common Grave wherein the Rivers of the firſt Earth were buried; and this is nothing but what happens ſtill in ſeveral parts of the preſent Earth, eſpecially in *Africk*, where many Rivers never flow into the Sea, but expire after the ſame manner as theſe did, drunk up by the Sun and the Sands. And one arm of *Euphrates* dies, as I remember, amongſt the Sands of *Arabia*, after the manner of the Rivers of the firſt Earth.

Thus we have conquer'd the greateſt difficulty, in my apprehenſion, in this whole Theory, *To* find out the ſtate of the Rivers in the Primitive and Ante-diluvian Earth, their origin, courſe, and period. We have been forc'd to win our ground by Inches, and have divided the difficulty into parts, that we might encounter them ſingle with more

more ease. The Rivers of that Earth, you see, were in most respects different, and in some contrary to ours; and if you could turn our Rivers backwards, to run from the Sea towards their Fountain-heads, they would more resemble the course of those Ante-diluvian Rivers; for they were greatest at their first setting out, and the Current afterwards, when it was more weak, and the Chanel more shallow, was divided into many branches, and little Rivers, like the Arteries in our Body, that carry the Blood, they are greatest at first, and the further they go from the Heart, their Source, the less they grow and divide into a multitude of little branches, which lose themselves insensibly in the habit of the flesh, as these little Floods did in the Sands of the Earth.

Book 2d *fig. 3.* p. 158.



Because it pleaseth more, and makes a greater impression upon us, to see things represented to the Eye, than to read their description in words, we have ventur'd to give a model of the Primæval Earth, with its Zones or greater Climates, and the general order and tracts of its Rivers: Not that we believe things to have been in the very same form as here exhibited, but this may serve as a general *Idea* of that Earth, which may be wrought into more exactness, according as we are able to enlarge or correct our thoughts hereafter. And as the Zones

Zones here represented resemble the *Belts* or *Fasciæ* of *Jupiter*, so we suppose them to proceed from like causes, if that Planet be in an Ante-diluvian state, as the Earth we here represent. As for the Polar parts in that first Earth, I can say very little of them, they would make a Scene by themselves, and a very particular one; The Sun would be perpetually in their Horizon, which makes me think the Rains would not fall so much there as in the other parts of the Frigid Zones, where accordingly we have made their chief seat and receptacle. That they flow'd from thence in such a like manner as is here represented, we have already prov'd; And sometimes in their passage swelling into Lakes, and towards the end of their course parting into several streams and branches, they would water those parts of the Earth like a Garden.

We have before compar'd the branchings of these Rivers towards the end of their course to the ramifications of the Arteries in the Body, when they are far from the Heart near the extream parts; and some, it may be, looking upon this Scheme, would carry the comparison further, and suppose, that as in the Body the Bloud is not lost in the habit of the flesh, but strain'd thorough it, and taken up again by the little branches of the Veins; so in that Earth the Waters were not lost in those Sands of the Torrid Zone, but strain'd or percolated thorough them, and receiv'd into the Chanels of the other Hemisphere. This indeed would in some measure answer the Notion which several of the Ancient Fathers make use of, that the Rivers of *Paradise* were trajected out of the other Hemisphere into this, by Subterraneous passages. But, I confess, I could never see it possible, how such a trajection could be made, nor how they could have any motion, being arriv'd in another Hemisphere; and therefore I am apt to believe, that doctrine amongst the Ancients arose from an intanglement in their principles; They suppos'd generally, that *Paradise* was in the other Hemisphere, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter; and yet they believ'd that *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, *Nile*, and *Ganges* were the Rivers of *Paradise*, or came out of it; and these two opinions they could not reconcile, or make out, but by supposing that these four Rivers had their Fountain-heads in the other Hemisphere, and by some wonderful trajection broke out again here. This was the expedient they found out to make their opinions consistent one with another; but this is a method to me altogether unconceivable; and, for my part, I do not love to be led out of my depth, leaning only upon Antiquity. How there could be any such communication, either above ground, or under ground, betwixt the two Hemispheres, does not appear, and therefore we must still suppose the Torrid Zone to have been the Barrier betwixt them, which nothing could pass either way.

We have now examin'd and determin'd the state of the Air, and of the Waters in the Primitive Earth, by the light and consequences of reason; and we must not wonder to find them different from the present order of Nature; what things are said of them, or relating to them in Holy Writ, do testifie or imply as much; and it will be worth our time to make some reflection upon those passages for our further confirmation. *Moses* tells us, that the *Rainbow* was set in the Clouds

Clouds after the Deluge; thoſe Heavens then that never had a Rain-bow before, were certainly of a conſtitution very different from ours. And

2 *Epiſt. Chap.* 3. 5. S. *Peter* doth formally and expreſly tell us, that the *Old Heavens*, or the Ante-diluvian Heavens had a different conſtitution from ours, and particularly, that they were compos'd or conſtituted of Water; which Philoſophy of the Apoſtle's may be eaſily underſtood, if we attend to two things, firſt, that the Heavens he ſpeaks of, were not the Starry Heavens, but the Aereal Heavens, or the Regions of our Air, where the Meteors are; Secondly, That there were no Meteors in thoſe Regions, or in thoſe Heavens, till the Deluge, but watery Meteors, and therefore, he ſays, they conſiſted of Water. And this ſhows the foundation upon which that deſcription is made, how coherently the Apoſtle argues, and anſwers the objection there propos'd: how juſtly alſo he diſtinguiſheth the firſt Heavens from the preſent Heavens, or rather oppoſeth them one to another; becauſe as thoſe were conſtituted of Water and watery Meteors only, ſo the preſent Heavens, he ſaith, have treaſures of Fire, fiery Exhalations and Meteors, and a diſpoſition to become the Executioners of the Divine wrath and decrees in the final Conflagration of the Earth.

This minds me alſo of the *Celeſtial Waters*, or the Waters above the Firmaments, which Scripture ſometimes mentions, and which, methinks, cannot be explain'd ſo fitly and emphatically upon any ſuppoſition as this of ours. Thoſe who place them above the Starry Heavens, ſeem neither to underſtand Aſtronomy nor Philoſophy; and, on the other hand, if nothing be underſtood by them, but the Clouds and the middle Region of the Air, as it is at preſent, methinks that was no ſuch eminent and remarkable thing, as to deſerve a particular commemoration by *Moſes* in his ſix days work; but if we underſtand them, not as they are now, but as they were then, the only Source of Waters, or the only Source of Waters upon that Earth, (for they had not one drop of Water but what was Celeſtial,) this gives it a new force and Emphaſis: Beſides, the whole middle Region having no other ſort of Meteors but them, That made it ſtill the greater ſingularity, and more worthy commemoration. As for the Rivers of *Paradiſe*, there is nothing ſaid concerning their Source, or their iſſue, that is either contrary to this, or that is not agreeable to the general account we have given of the Waters and Rivers of the firſt Earth. They are not ſaid to riſe from any Mountain, but from a great River, or a kind of Lake in *Eden*, according to the cuſtom of the Rivers of that Earth: And as for their end and iſſue, *Moſes* doth not ſay, that they diſburthen'd themſelves into this or that Sea, as they uſually do in the deſcription of great Rivers, but rather implies that they ſpent themſelves in compaſſing and watering certain Countries, which falls in again very eaſily with our *Hypotheſis*. But I ſay this rather to comply with the opinions of others than of my *own* judgment, For I think that ſuggeſtion about the Supercœleſtial Waters made by *Moſes*, was not ſo much according to the ſtrict nature and ſpeciality of Cauſes, as for the eaſe and profit of the People, in their belief and acknowledgment of Providence for ſo great a benefit, by what Cauſes ſoever it was brought to paſs.

But

But to return to the Rainbow, which we mention'd before, and is not to be paſt over ſo ſlightly. This we ſay, is a Creature of the modern World, and was not ſeen nor known before the Flood. *Moſes* (*Gen.* 9, 12, 13.) plainly intimates as much, or rather directly affirms it; for he ſays, The Bow was ſet in the Clouds after the Deluge, as a confirmation of the promiſe or Covenant which God made with *Noah*, that he would drown the World no more with Water. And how could it be a ſign of this, or given as a pledge and confirmation of ſuch a promiſe, if it was in the Clouds before, and with no regard to this promiſe? and ſtood there, it may be, when the World was going to be drown'd. This would have been but cold comfort to *Noah*, to have had ſuch a pledge of the Divine Veracity. You'll ſay, it may be, that it was not a ſign or pledge that ſignified naturally, but voluntarily only, and by Divine Inſtitution; I am of opinion, I confeſs, that it ſignifi'd naturally, and by connexion with the effect, importing thus much, that the ſtate of Nature was chang'd from what it was before, and ſo chang'd, that the Earth was no more in a condition to periſh by Water. But however, let us grant that it ſignified only by inſtitution; to make it ſignificant in this ſence, it muſt be ſomething new, otherwiſe it could not ſignifie any new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promiſe. If God Almighty had ſaid to *Noah*, I make a promiſe to you, and to all living Creatures, that the World ſhall never be deſtroy'd by Water again, and for confirmation of this, Behold, *I ſet the Sun in the firmament*: Would this have been any ſtrengthning of *Noah*'s faith, or any ſatisfaction to his mind? Why, ſays *Noah*, the Sun was in the Firmament when the Deluge came, and was a ſpectator of that ſad Tragedy; why may it not be ſo again? what ſign or aſſurance is this againſt a ſecond Deluge? when God gives a ſign in the Heavens, or on the Earth, of any Prophecy or Promiſe to be fulfill'd, it muſt be by ſomething new, or by ſome change wrought in Nature; whereby God doth teſtifie to us, that he is able and willing to ſtand to his promiſe. God ſays to *Ahaz*, *Ask a ſign of the Lord; Ask it either in the depth, or in the height above*: And when *Ahaz* would ask no ſign, God gives one unaskt, *Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son.* So when *Zachary* was promis'd a Son, he asketh for a ſign, *Whereby ſhall I know this? for I am old, and my Wife well ſtricken in years*; and the ſign given him was, that he became dumb, and continued ſo till the promiſe was fulfill'd. Accordingly, when *Abraham* askt a ſign whereby he might be aſſur'd of God's promiſe that his ſeed ſhou'd inherit the Land of *Canaan*, *Gen.* 15. 8. 'Tis ſaid (*ver.* 17.) *When the Sun went down and it was dark, behold a ſmoaking furnace and a burning Lamp paſſed betwixt the pieces* of the beaſts that he had cut aſunder. So in other inſtances of ſigns given in external Nature, as the ſign given to King *Hezekiah* for his recovery, and to *Gideon* for his victory; to confirm the promiſe made to *Hezekiah*, the ſhadow went back ten degrees in *Ahaz* Dial: And for *Gideon*, *his Fleece was wet, and all the ground about it dry*; and then to change the trial, *it was dry and all the ground about it wet*. Theſe were all ſigns very proper, ſignificant, and ſatisfactory, having ſomething ſurpriſing and extraordinary, yet theſe were ſigns

Iſa. 7.

Luke 1.

Iſa. 38.

Judg. 7.

by inſtitution only; and to be ſuch they muſt have ſomething new and ſtrange, as a mark of the hand of God, otherwiſe they can have no force or ſignificancy. Accordingly we ſee *Moſes* himſelf in another place ſpeaks this very ſence, when in the Mutiny or Rebellion of *Corah* and *Dathan*, he ſpeaks thus to the People, *If theſe men die the common death of men, then the Lord hath not ſent me. But if the Lord make a new thing, and the Earth open her mouth and ſwallow them up*, &c. *then you ſhall underſtand that theſe men have provoked the Lord*, *Num.* 16. 29, 30. So in the caſe of *Noah*, if God *created a new creature* (which are *Moſes*'s words in the forecited place) the ſign was effectual. But where every thing continues to be as it was before, and the face of Nature, in all its parts, the very ſame, it cannot ſignifie any thing new, nor any new intention in the Author of Nature; and conſequently, cannot be a ſign or pledge, a token or aſſurance of the accompliſhment of any new Covenant or promiſe made by him.

This, methinks, is plain to common Senſe, and to every Man's Reaſon; but becauſe it is a thing of importance, to prove that there was no Rainbow before the Flood, and will confirm a conſiderable part of this Theory, by diſcovering what the ſtate of the Air was in the Old World, give me leave to argue it a little further, and to remove ſome prejudices that may keep others from aſſenting to clear Reaſon. I know 'tis uſually ſaid, that ſigns, like words, ſignifie any thing by inſtitution, or may be appli'd to any thing by the will of the Impoſer; as hanging out a white Flag is calling for mercy, a Buſh at the door, a ſign of Wine to be ſold, and ſuch like. But theſe are inſtances nothing to our purpoſe, theſe are ſigns of ſomething preſent, and that ſignifie only by uſe and repeated experience; we are ſpeaking of ſigns of another nature, given in confirmation of a promiſe, or threatning, or prophecy, and given with deſign to cure our unbelief, or to excite and beget in us Faith in God, in the Prophet, or in the Promiſer, ſuch ſigns, I ſay, when they are wrought in external Nature, muſt be ſome new Appearance, and muſt thereby induce us to believe the effect, or more to believe it, than if there had been no ſign, but only the affirmation of the Promiſer; for otherwiſe the pretended ſign is a meer Cypher and ſuperfluity. But a thing that obtain'd before, and in the ſame manner (even when that came to paſs, which we are now promis'd ſhall not come to paſs again) ſignifies no more, than if there had been no ſign at all: it can neither ſignifie another courſe in Nature, nor another purpoſe in God; and therefore is perfectly inſignificant. Some inſtance in the Sacraments, Jewiſh or Chriſtian, and make them ſigns in ſuch a ſence as the Rainbow is: But thoſe are rather Symbolical repreſentations or commemorations; and ſome of them, marks of diſtinction and conſecration of our ſelves to God in ſuch a Religion; They were alſo new, and very particular when firſt inſtituted; but all ſuch inſtances fall ſhort and do not reach the caſe before us; we are ſpeaking of ſigns confirmatory of a promiſe; when there is ſomething affirm'd *de futuro*, and to give us a further argument of the certainty of it, and of the power and veracity of the Promiſer, a ſign is given: This we ſay, muſt indiſpenſably be ſomething new, otherwiſe

otherwiſe it cannot have the nature, vertue, and influence of a ſign.

We have ſeen how incongruous it would be to admit that the Rainbow appear'd before the Deluge, and how dead a ſign that would make it, how forc'd, fruitleſs and ineffectual, as to the promiſe it was to confirm; Let us now on the other hand ſuppoſe, that it firſt appear'd to the Inhabitants of the Earth after the Deluge; How proper, and how appoſite a ſign would this be for Providence to pitch upon, to confirm the Promiſe made to *Noah* and his poſterity, *That* the World ſhould be no more deſtroy'd by Water? It had a ſecret connexion with the effect it ſelf, and was ſo far a natural ſign; but however appearing firſt after the Deluge, and in a watery Cloud, there was, methinks, a great eaſineſs, and propriety of application for ſuch a purpoſe. And if we ſuppoſe, that while God Almighty was declaring his promiſe to *Noah*, and the ſign of it, there appear'd at the ſame time in the Clouds a fair Rainbow, that marvellous and beautiful Meteor, which *Noah* had never ſeen before; it could not but make a moſt lively impreſſion upon him, quickning his Faith, and giving him comfort and aſſurance, that God would be ſtedfaſt to his promiſe.

Nor ought we to wonder, that Interpreters have commonly gone the other way, and ſuppos'd that the Rainbow was before the Flood; This, I ſay, was no wonder in them, for they had no *Hypotheſis* that could anſwer to any other interpretation; And in the interpretation of the Texts of Scripture that concern natural things, they commonly bring them down to their own Philoſophy and Notions: As we have a great inſtance in that diſcourſe of S. *Peter*'s, concerning the Deluge, and the Ante-diluvian Heavens, and Earth, which, for want of a Theory, they have been ſcarce able to make ſence of; for they have forc'dly appli'd to the preſent Earth, or the preſent form of the Earth, what plainly reſpected another. A like inſtance we have in the *Moſaical* Abyſs, or *Tehom-Rabba*, by whoſe diſruption the Deluge was made; this they knew not well what to make of, and ſo have generally interpreted it of the Sea, or of our Subterraneous Waters; without any propriety, either as to the word, or as to the ſence. A third inſtance is this of the Rainbow, where their Philoſophy hath miſguided them again; for to give them their due, they do not alledge, nor pretend to alledge, any thing from the Text, that ſhould make them interpret thus, or think the Rainbow was before the Flood; but they pretend to go by certain reaſons, as that the Clouds were before the Flood, therefore the Rainbow; and if the Rainbow was not before the Flood, then all things were not made within the ſix days Creation: To whom theſe reaſons are convictive, they muſt be led into the ſame belief with them, but not by any thing in the Text, nor in the true Theory, at leaſt if ours be ſo; for by that you ſee that the Vapours were never condens'd into drops, nor into Rain in the temperate and inhabited Climates of that Earth, and conſequently there could never be the production or appearance of this Bow in the Clouds. Thus much concerning the Rainbow.

2 Epiſt. c. 3. 5.

To recollect our ſelves, and conclude this Chapter, and the whole diſquiſition concerning the Waters of the Primitive Earth; we ſeem to have ſo well ſatisfied the difficulties propos'd in the beginning of the Chapter, that they have rather given us an advantage; a better diſcovery, and ſuch a new proſpect of that Earth, as makes it not only habitable, but more fit to be *Paradiſiacal*. The pleaſantneſs of the ſite of *Paradiſe* is made to conſiſt chiefly in two things, its Waters, and its Trees, (*Gen.* 2. and *Chap.* 13. 10. *Ezek.* 31. 8.) and conſidering the richneſs of that firſt ſoil in the Primitive Earth, it could not but abound in Trees, as it did in Rivers and Rivulets; and be wooded like a Grove, as it was water'd like a Garden, in the temperate Climates of it; ſo as it would not be, methinks, ſo difficult to find one *Paradiſe* there, as not to find more than one.

CHAP. VI.

A Recollection and Review of what hath been ſaid concerning the Primitive Earth; with a more full Survey of the State of the firſt World, Natural and Civil, and the compariſon of it with the preſent World.

WE have now, in a good meaſure, finiſh'd our deſcription of the firſt and Ante-diluvian Earth; And as Travellers, when they ſee ſtrange Countries, make it part of their pleaſure and improvement, to compare them with their own, to obſerve the differences, and wherein they excel, or come ſhort of one another: So it will not be unpleaſant, nor unuſeful, it may be, having made a diſcovery, not of a new Countrey, but of a new World, and travell'd it over in our thoughts and fancy, now to ſit down and compare it with our own: and 'twill be no hard task, from the general differences which we have taken notice of already, to obſerve what leſſer would ariſe, and what the whole face of Nature would be.

'Tis alſo one fruit of travelling, that by ſeeing variety of places and people, of humours, faſhions, and forms of living, it frees us, by degrees, from that pedantry and littleneſs of Spirit, whereby we are apt to cenſure every thing for abſurd and ridiculous, that is not according to our own way, and the mode of our own Country; But if inſtead of croſſing the Seas, we could waft our ſelves over to our neighbouring Planets, we ſhould meet with ſuch varieties there, both in Nature and Mankind, as would very much enlarge our thoughts and Souls, and help to cure thoſe diſeaſes of little minds, that make them troubleſome to others, as well as uneaſie to themſelves.

But ſeeing our heavy Bodies are not made for ſuch Voyages, the beſt and greateſt thing we can do in this kind, is to make a Survey and reflection upon the Ante-diluvian Earth, which in ſome ſence was another

another World from this, and it may be, as different as ſome two Planets are from one another. We have declar'd already the general grounds upon which we muſt proceed, and muſt now trace the conſequences of them, and drive them down into particulars, which will ſhew us in moſt things, wherein that Earth, or that World, differ'd from the preſent. The form of that Earth, and its ſituation to the Sun, were two of its moſt fundamental differences from ours; As to the form of it, 'twas all one ſmooth Continent, one continued ſurface of Earth, without any Sea, any Mountains, or Rocks; any Holes, Dens or Caverns: And the ſituation of it to the Sun was ſuch as made a perpetual Æquinox. Theſe two joyn'd together, lay the foundation of a new Aſtronomy, Meteorology, Hydrography and Geography; ſuch as were proper and peculiar to that World. The Earth by this means having its Axis parallel to the Axis of the Ecliptick, the Heavens would appear in another poſture: and their diurnal motion, which is imputed to the *Primum Mobile*, and ſuppos'd to be upon the Poles of the Æquator, would then be upon the ſame Poles with the ſecond and Periodical motions of the Orbs and Planets, namely, upon the Poles of the Ecliptick; by which means the *Phænomena* of the Heavens would be more ſimple and regular, and much of that intangledneſs and perplexity, which we find now in Aſtronomy, would be taken away. Whether the Sun and Moon would ſuffer any Eclipſes then, cannot well be determin'd, unleſs one knew what the courſe of the Moon was at that time, or whether ſhe was then come into our neighbourhood: Her preſence ſeems to have been leſs needful when there were no long Winter-nights, nor the great Pool of the Sea to move or govern.

As for the Regions of the Air and the Meteors, we have in the preceding Chapter ſet down what the ſtate of them would be, and in how much a better order, and more peaceable, that Kingdom was, till the Earth was broken and diſplac'd, and the courſe of Nature chang'd: Nothing violent, nothing frightful, nothing troubleſome or incommodious to Mankind, came from above, but the countenance of the Heavens was always ſmooth and ſerene. I have often thought it a very deſirable piece of power, if a Man could but command a fair day, when he had occaſion for it, for himſelf, or for his friends; 'tis more than the greateſt Prince or Potentate upon Earth can do; yet they never wanted one in that World, nor ever ſee a foul one. Beſides, they had conſtant breezes from the motion of the Earth, and the courſe of the Vapours, which cool'd the open Plains, and made the weather temperate, as well as fair. But we have ſpoken enough in other places upon this ſubject of the Air and the Heavens, Let us now deſcend to the Earth.

The Earth was divided into two Hemiſpheres, ſeparated by the Torrid Zone, which at that time was uninhabitable, and utterly unpaſſable; ſo as the two Hemiſpheres made two diſtinct Worlds, which, ſo far as we can judge, had no manner of commerce or communication one with another. The Southern Hemiſphere the Ancients call'd *Antichthon, the Oppoſite Earth*, or the *Other World*. And this name and notion remain'd long after the reaſon of it had ceaſt. Juſt as the Torrid Zone was generally accounted uninhabitable by the Ancients,

Ancients, even in their time, becauſe it really had been ſo once, and the Tradition remain'd uncorrected, when the cauſes were taken away; namely, when the Earth had chang'd its poſture to the Sun after the Deluge.

This may be lookt upon as the firſt diviſion of that Primæval Earth, into two Hemiſpheres, naturally ſever'd and diſunited: But it was alſo divided into five Zones, two Frigid, two Temperate, and the Torrid betwixt them. And this diſtinction of the Globe into five Zones, I think, did properly belong to that Original Earth, and Primitive Geography, and improperly, and by tranſlation only, to the preſent. For all the Zones of our Earth are habitable, and their diſtinctions are in a manner but imaginary, not fixt by Nature; whereas in that Earth where the Rivers fail'd, and the Regions became uninhabitable, by reaſon of drineſs and heat, there begun the Torrid Zone; and where the Regions became uninhabitable by reaſon of cold and moiſture, there begun the Frigid Zone; and theſe being determin'd, they became bounds on either ſide to the Temperate. But all this was alter'd when the poſture of the Earth was chang'd; and chang'd for that very purpoſe, as ſome of the Ancients have ſaid, *That the uninhabitable parts of the Earth might become habitable.* Yet though there was ſo much of the firſt Earth uninhabitable, there remain'd as much to be inhabited as we have now; for the Sea, ſince the breaking up of the Abyſs, hath taken away half of the Earth from us, a great part whereof was to them good Land. Beſides, We are not to ſuppoſe, that the Torrid Zone was of that extent we make it now, twenty three degrees and more on either ſide of the Æquator; theſe bounds are ſet only by the Tropicks, and the Tropicks by the obliquity of the courſe of the Sun, or of the poſture of the Earth, which was not in that World. Where the Rivers ſtopt, there the Torrid Zone would begin, but the Sun was directly perpendicular to no part of it but the middle.

How the Rivers flow'd in the firſt Earth we have before explain'd ſufficiently, and what parts the Rivers did not reach, were turn'd into Sands and Deſarts by the heat of the Sun; for I cannot eaſily imagine, that the Sandy Deſarts of the Earth were made ſo at firſt, immediately and from the beginning of the World; from what cauſes ſhould that be, and to what purpoſe in that age? But in thoſe Tracts of the Earth that were not refreſht with Rivers and moiſture, which cement the parts, the ground would moulder and crumble into little pieces, and then thoſe pieces by the heat of the Sun were bak'd into Stone. And this would come to paſs chiefly in the hot and ſcorch'd Regions of the Earth, though it might happen ſometimes where there was not that extremity of heat, if by any chance a place wanted Rivers and Water to keep the Earth in due temper; but thoſe Sands would not be ſo early or ancient as the other. As for greater looſe Stones, and rough Pebbles, there were none in that Earth; *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* when the Deluge was over, found new made Stones to caſt behind their backs; the bones of their mother Earth, which then were broken in pieces, in that great ruine.

As for Plants and Trees, we cannot imagine but that they muſt needs abound in the Primitive Earth, ſeeing it was ſo well water'd, and

and had a ſoil ſo fruitful; A new unlabour'd ſoil, repleniſht with the Seeds of all Vegetables; and a warm Sun that would call upon Nature early for her Firſt-fruits, to be offer'd up at the beginning of her courſe. Natura had a wild luxuriancy at firſt, which humane induſtry by degrees gave form and order to. The Waters flow'd with a conſtant and gentle Current, and were eaſily led which way the Inhabitants had a mind, for their uſe, or for their pleaſure; and ſhady Trees, which grow beſt in moiſt and warm Countries, grac'd the Banks of their Rivers or Canals. But that which was the beauty and crown of all, was their perpetual Spring; the Fields always green, the Flowers always freſh, and the Trees always cover'd with Leaves and Fruit: But we have occaſionally ſpoken of theſe things in ſeveral places, and may do again hereafter, and therefore need not inlarge upon them here.

As for Subterraneous things, Metals and Minerals, I believe they had none in the firſt Earth; and the happier thoſe no Gold, nor Silver, nor courſer Metals. The uſe of theſe is either imaginary, or in ſuch works, as, by the conſtitution of their World, they had little occaſion for. And Minerals are either for Medicine, which they had no need of further than Herbs; or for Materials to certain Arts, which were not then in uſe, or were ſuppli'd by other ways. Theſe Subterraneous things, Metals and metallick Minerals, are Factitious, not Original bodies, coæval with the Earth, but are made in proceſs of time, after long preparations and concoctions, by the action of the Sun within the bowels of the Earth. And if the *Stamina* or principles of them riſe from the lower Regions that lie under the Abyſs, as I am apt to think they do, it doth not ſeem probable, that they could be drawn through ſuch a maſs of Waters, or that the heat of the Sun could on a ſudden penetrate ſo deep, and be able to looſen them, and raiſe them into the exteriour Earth. And as the firſt Age of the World was call'd *Golden*, though it knew not what Gold was; ſo the following Ages had their names from ſeveral Metals, which lay then aſleep in the dark and deep womb of Nature, and ſee not the Sun till many Years and Ages afterwards.

Having run through the ſeveral Regions of Nature, from top to bottom, from the Heavens to the lower parts of the Earth, and made ſome obſervations upon their order in the Ante-diluvian World; Let us now look upon Man and other living Creatures, that make the Superiour and Animate part of Nature. We have obſerv'd, and ſufficiently ſpoken to that difference betwixt the Men of the old World, and thoſe of the preſent, in point of Longævity, and given the reaſons of it; but we muſt not imagine, that this long life was peculiar to Man, all other Animals had their ſhare of it, and were in their proportion longer-liv'd than they are now. Nay, not only Animals, but alſo Vegetables, and the forms of all living things were far more permanent; The Trees of the Field and of the Foreſt, in all probability, out-laſted the lives of Men; and I do not know but the firſt Groves of Pines and Cedars that grew out of the Earth, or that were planted in the Garden of God, might be ſtanding when the Deluge came, and ſee, from firſt to laſt, the entire courſe and period of a World. *Ezek.* 31. 8.

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Civ. Dei lib 15. c. 9.

We might add here, with S. *Austin*, another observation, both concerning Men and other living Creatures in the first World, that They were greater, as well as longer-liv'd, than they are at present. This seems to be a very reasonable conjecture, for the state of every thing that hath life, is divided into the time of its growth, its consistency, and its decay; and when the whole duration is longer, every one of these parts, though not always in like proportions, will be longer. We must suppose then, that the growth both in Men and other Animals lasted longer in that World than it doth now, and consequently carried their Bodies both to a greater height and bulk. And in like manner, their Trees would be both taller, and every way bigger than ours; neither were they in any danger there to be blown down by Winds and Storms, or struck with Thunder, though they had been as high as the *Ægyptian* Pyramids; and whatsoever their height was, if they had Roots and Trunks proportionable, and were streight and well pois'd, they would stand firm, and with a greater majesty. *The Fowls of Heaven making their Nests in their Boughs, and under their shadow the Beasts of the Field bringing forth their Young.* When things are fairly possible in their causes, and possible in several degrees, higher or lower, 'tis weakness of Spirit in us, to think there is nothing in Nature, but in that one way, or in that one degree, that we are us'd to. And whosoever believes those accounts given us, both by the Ancients * and Moderns ‖, of the *Indian* Trees, will not think it strange that those of the first Earth, should much exceed any that we now see in this World. That Allegorical description of the glory of *Assyria* in *Ezekiel Chap.* 31. by allusion to Trees, and particularly to the Trees of *Paradise*, was chiefly for the greatness and stateliness of them; and there is all fairness of reason to believe, that in that first Earth, both the Birds of the Air, and the Beasts of the Field, and the Trees and their Fruit, were all, in their several kinds more large and goodly than Nature produces any now.

* *Plin. l. 7. c. 2. Strab. l. 17.*
‖ *Hort. Malabar. vol. 3.*

So much in short concerning the Natural World, Inanimate or Animate; We should now take a prospect of the Moral World of that time, or of the Civil and Artificial World; what the Order and Oeconomy of these was, what the manner of living, and how the Scenes of humane life were different from ours at present. The Ancients, especially the Poets, in their description of the Golden Age, exhibit to us an Order of things, and a Form of Life, very remote from any thing we see in our days; but they are not to be trusted in all particulars, many times they exaggerate matters on purpose, that they may seem more strange, or more great, and by that means move and please us more. A *Moral* or *Philosophick History* of the World well writ, would certainly be a very useful work, to observe and relate how the Scenes of Humane Life have chang'd in several Ages, the modes and Forms of living, in what simplicity Men begun at first, and by what degrees they came out of that way, by luxury, ambition, improvement, or changes in Nature; then what new forms and modifications were superadded by the invention of Arts, what by Religion, what by Superstition. This would be a view of things more instructive, and more satisfactory,

factory, than to know what Kings Reign'd in such an Age, and what Battles were fought; which common History teacheth, and teacheth little more. Such affairs are but the little under-plots in the Tragi comedy of the World; the main design is of another nature, and of far greater extent and consequence. But to return to the subject;

As the Animate World depends upon the Inanimate, so the Civil World depends upon them both, and takes its measures from them; Nature is the foundation still, and the affairs of Mankind are a superstructure that will be always proportion'd to it. Therefore we must look back upon the model or picture of their Natural World, which we have drawn before, to make our conjectures or judgment of the Civil and Artificial that were to accompany it. We observ'd from their perpetual Æquinox, and the smoothness of the Earth, that the Air would be always calm, and the Heavens fair, no cold or violent Winds, Rains, or Storms, no extremity of weather in any kind, and therefore they would need little protection from the injuries of the Air in that state; whereas now one great part of the affairs of life, is to preserve our selves from those inconveniences, by building and cloathing. How many Hands, and how many Trades are imploy'd about these two things, which then were in a manner needless, or at least in such plainness and simplicity, that every man might be his own workman. Tents and Bowers would keep them from all incommodities of the Air and weather, better than Stone-walls, and strong Roofs defend us now; and Men are apt to take the easiest ways of living, till necessity or vice put them upon others that are more laborious, and more artificial. We also observ'd and prov'd, that they had no Sea in the Primitive and Ante-diluvian World, which makes a vast difference 'twixt us and them; This takes up half of our Globe, and a good part of Mankind is busied with Sea-affairs and Navigation. They had little need of Merchandizing then. Nature suppli'd them at home with all necessaries, which were few, and they were not so greedy of superfluities as we are. We may add to these what concern'd their Food and Diet; Antiquity doth generally suppose that Men were not Carnivorous in those Ages of the World, or did not feed upon Flesh, but only upon Fruit and Herbs. And this seems to be plainly confirm'd by Scripture; for after the Deluge God Almighty gives *Noah* and his Posterity a Licence to eat Flesh, (*Gen.* 9. 2, 3.) *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you.* Whereas before in the new-made Earth God had prescrib'd them Herbs and Fruit for their Diet, *Gen.* 1. 29. *Behold, I have given you every Herb bearing Seed, which is upon the face of all the Earth; and every Tree, in the which is the Fruit of a Tree yielding Seed, to you it shall be for meat.* And of this Natural Diet they would be provided to their hands, without further preparation, as the Birds and the Beasts are.

Upon these general grounds we may infer and conclude, that the Civil World then, as well as the Natural, had a very different face and aspect from what it hath now; for of these Heads, Food and Cloathing, Building and Traffick, with that train of Arts, Trades and Manufactures that attend them, the Civil Order of things is in a great

great measure constituted and compounded: These make the businesse of life, the several occupations of Men, the noise and hurry of the World; These fill our Cities, and our Fairs, and our Havens and Ports; yet all these fine things are but the effects of indigency and necessitousness, and were, for the most part, needless and unknown in that first state of Nature. The Ancients have told us the same things in effect, but telling us them without their grounds, which they themselves did not know, they lookt like Poetical stories, and pleasant fictions, and with most Men past for no better. We have shewn them in another light, with their Reasons and Causes, deduc'd from the state of the Natural World, which is the Basis upon which they stand; and this doth not only give them a just and full credibility, but also lays a foundation for after-thoughts, and further deductions, when they meet with minds dispos'd to pursue Speculations of this Nature.

As for Laws, Government, natural Religion, Military and Judicial affairs, with all their Equipage, which make all higher order of things in the Civil and Moral World, to calculate these upon the grounds given, would be more difficult, and more uncertain; neither do they at all belong to the present Theory. But from what we have already observ'd, we may be able to make a better judgment of those Traditional accounts which the Ancients have left us concerning these things, in the early Ages of the World, and the Primitive state of Nature. No doubt in these, as in all other particulars, there was a great easinesse and simplicity in comparison of what is now, we are in a more pompous, forc'd, and artificial method, which partly the change of Nature, and partly the Vices and Vanities of Men have introduc'd and establisht. But these things, with many more, ought to be the subject of a *Philosophick History* of the World, which we mention'd before.

This is a short and general Scheme of the Primæval World, compar'd with the Modern; yet these things did not equally run through all the parts and Ages of it, there was a declension and degeneracy, both Natural and Moral, by degrees, and especially towards the latter end; but the principal form of Nature remaining till the Deluge and the dissolution of that Heavens and Earth, till then also this Civil frame of things would stand in a great measure. And though such a state of Nature, and of Mankind, when 'tis propos'd crudely, and without its grounds, appear fabulous or imaginary, yet 'tis really in it self a state, not only possible, but more easie and natural, than what the World is in at present. And if one of the old Ante-diluvian Patriarchs should rise from the dead, he would be more surpris'd to see our World in that posture it is, than we can be by the story and description of his. As an *Indian* hath more reason to wonder at the *European* modes, than we have to wonder at their plain manner of living. 'Tis we that have left the tract of Nature, that are wrought and screw'd up into artifices, that have disguis'd our selves; and 'tis in our World that the Scenes are chang'd, and become more strange and Fantastical.

I will conclude this Discourse with an easie remark, and without any particular Application of it. 'Tis a strange power that custom hath

hath upon weak and little Spirits; whose thoughts reach no further than their Senses; and what they have seen and been us'd to, they make the Standard and Measure of Nature, of Reason, and of all *Decorum*. Neither are there any sort of Men more positive and tenacious of their petty opinions, than they are; nor more censorious, even to bitternesse and malice. And 'tis generally so, that those that have the least evidence for the truth of their beloved opinions, are most peevish and impatient in the defence of them. This sort of Men are the last that will be made Wise Men, if ever they be; for they have the worst of diseases that accompany ignorance, and do not so much as know themselves to be sick.

CHAP. VII.

The place of Paradise *cannot be determin'd from the Theory only, nor from Scripture only. What the sence of Antiquity was concerning it, both as to the Jews and Heathens, and especially as to the Christian Fathers. That they generally plac'd it out of this Continent, in the Southern Hemisphere.*

WE have now prepar'd our work for the last finishing stroaks; describ'd the first Earth, and compar'd it with the present; and not only the two Earths, but in a good measure the whole State and Oeconomy of those two Worlds. It remains only to determine the place of *Paradise* in that Primæval Earth; I say, in that Primæval Earth, for we have driven the point so far already, that the seat of it could not be in the present Earth, whose Form, Site, and Air are so dispos'd, as could not consist with the first and most indispensable properties of *Paradise*: And accordingly, we see with what ill success our modern Authors have rang'd over the Earth, to find a fit spot of ground to plant *Paradise* in; some would set it on the top of an high Mountain, that it might have good Air and fair weather, as being above the Clouds, and the middle Region; but then they were at a loss for Water, which made a great part of the pleasure and beauty of that place. Others therefore would seat it in a Plain, or in a River-Island, that they might have Water enough, but then it would be subject to the injuries of the Air, and foul weather at the seasons of the Year, from which, both Reason and all Authority have exempted *Paradise*. 'Tis like seeking a perfect beauty in a mortal Body, there are so many things requir'd to it, as to complexion, Features, Proportions and Air, that they never meet all together in one person; neither can all the properties of a Terrestrial *Paradise* ever meet together in one place, though never so well chosen, in this present Earth.

But in the Primæval Earth, which we have deſcrib'd, 'tis eaſie to find a Seat that had all thoſe beauties and conveniences. We have every where through the temperate Climates, a clear and conſtant Air, a fruitful Soil, pleaſant Waters, and all the general characters of *Paradiſe*; ſo that the trouble will be rather in that competition, what part or Region to pitch upon in particular. But to come as near it as we can, we muſt remember in the firſt place, how that Earth was divided into two Hemiſpheres, diſtant and ſeparated from one another, not by an imaginary line, but by a real boundary that could not be paſt; ſo as the firſt inquiry will be, in whether of theſe Hemiſpheres was the Seat of *Paradiſe*. To anſwer this only according to our Theory, I confeſs, I ſee no natural reaſon or occaſion to place it in one Hemiſphere more than in another; I ſee no ground of difference or pre-eminence, that one had above the other; and I am apt to think, that depended rather upon the will of God, and the Series of Providence that was to follow in this Earth, than upon any natural incapacity in one of theſe two Regions more than in the other, for planting in it the Garden of God. Neither doth Scripture determine, with any certainty, either Hemiſphere for the place of it; for when 'tis ſaid to be in *Eden*, or to be the Garden of *Eden*, 'tis no more than the Garden of *pleaſure* or *delight*, as the word ſignifies: And even the *Septuagint*, who render this word *Eden*, as a proper name twice, (*Gen.* 2. *ver.* 8, & 10.) do in the ſame ſtory render it twice as a common name, ſignifying τρυφὴ, *pleaſure*, (*Chap.* 2. 15. and *Chap.* 3. 24.) and ſo they do accordingly render it in *Ezekiel* (*Chap.* 31. 9. 16, 18.) where this Garden of *Eden* is ſpoken of again. Some have thought that the word *Mekiddim* (*Gen.* 2. 8.) was to be render'd *in the Eaſt*, or *Eaſtward*, as we read it, and therefore determin'd the ſite of *Paradiſe*; but 'tis only the *Septuagint* Tranſlate it ſo, all the other *Greek* Verſions, and S. *Jerome*, the *Vulgate*, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, and the *Syriack* render it *from the beginning*, or *in the beginning*, or to that effect. And we that do not believe the *Septuagint* to have been infallible, or inſpir'd, have no reaſon to prefer their ſingle authority above all the reſt. Some alſo think the place of *Paradiſe* may be determin'd by the four Rivers that are named as belonging to it, and the Countries they ran thorough; but the names of thoſe Rivers are to me uncertain, and two of them altogether unintelligible. Where are there four Rivers in our Continent that come from one Head, as theſe are ſaid to have done, either at the entrance or iſſue of the Garden? 'Tis true, if you admit our *Hypotheſis*, concerning the fraction and diſruption of the Earth at the Deluge, then we cannot expect to find Rivers now as they were before, the general Source is chang'd, and their Chanels are all broke up; but if you do not admit ſuch a diſſolution of the Earth, but ſuppoſe the Deluge to have been only like a ſtanding Pool, after it had once cover'd the ſurface of the Earth, I do not ſee why it ſhould make any great havock or confuſion in it; and they that go that way, are therefore the more oblig'd to ſhow us ſtill the Rivers of *Paradiſe*. Several of the Ancients, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter, ſuppos'd theſe four Rivers to have their Heads in the other Hemiſphere, and if ſo, the Seat of *Paradiſe* might be there too. But let them firſt agree amongſt themſelves,

concerning

concerning theſe Rivers, and the Countries they run thorough, and we will undertake to ſhow, that there cannot be any ſuch in this Continent.

Seeing then neither the Theory doth determine, nor Scripture, where the place of *Paradiſe* was, nor in whether Hemiſphere, we muſt appeal to Antiquity, or the opinions of the Ancients; for I know no other Guide, but one of theſe three, Scripture, Reaſon, and Ancient Tradition; and where the two former are ſilent, it ſeems very reaſonable to conſult the third. And that our Inquiries may be comprehenſive enough, we will conſider what the *Jews*, what the *Heathens*, and what the *Chriſtian* Fathers have ſaid or determin'd concerning the Seat of *Paradiſe*. The *Jews* and *Hebrew* Doctors place it in neither Hemiſphere, but betwixt both, under the Æquinoctial, as you may ſee plainly in *Abravanel*, *Manaſſes Ben-Iſrael*, *Maimonides*, *Aben Ezra*, and others But the reaſon why they carried it no further than the Line, is becauſe they ſuppos'd it certain, as *Aben Ezra* tells us, that the days and nights were always equal in *Paradiſe*, and they did not know how that could be, unleſs it ſtood under the Æquinoctial. But we have ſhown another method, wherein that perpetual Æquinox came to paſs, and how it was common to all the parts and Climates of that Earth, which if they had been aware of, and that the Torrid Zone at that time was utterly uninhabitable, having remov'd their *Paradiſe* thus far from home, they would probably have remov'd it a little further, into the temperate Climates of the other Hemiſphere.

The Ancient Heathens, Poets and Philoſophers, had the notion of *Paradiſe*, or rather of ſeveral *Paradiſes* in the Earth; and 'tis remarkable, that they plac'd them generally, if not all of them, out of this Continent; in the Ocean, or beyond it, or in another Orb or Hemiſphere. The Garden of the *Heſperides*, the Fortunate *Iſlands*, the *Elyſian Fields*, *Ogygia* and *Toprabane*, as it is deſcrib'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, with others ſuch like; which as they were all characteriz'd like ſo many *Paradiſes*, ſo they were all ſeated out of our Continent by their Geography and deſcriptions of them.

Thus far Antiquity ſeems to incline to the other Hemiſphere, or to ſome place beyond the bounds of our Continent for the Seat of *Paradiſe*: But that which we are moſt to depend upon in this affair, is Chriſtian Antiquity, the Judgment and Tradition of the Fathers upon this Argument. And we may ſafely ſay in the firſt place, negatively, that none of the Chriſtian Fathers, *Latin* or *Greek*, ever plac'd *Paradiſe* in *Meſopotamia*; that is a conceit and invention of ſome Modern Authors, which hath been much encouraged of late, becauſe it gave Men eaſe and reſt as to further inquiries, in an argument they could not well manage. Secondly, We may affirm, that none of the Chriſtian Fathers have plac'd *Paradiſe* in any determinate Region of our Continent, *Aſia*, *Africk* or *Europe*. I have read of one or two Authors, I think, that fanſied *Paradiſe* to have been at *Jeruſalem*, but 'twas a meer fanſie, that no body regarded or purſu'd. The controverſie amongſt the Fathers concerning *Paradiſe*, was quite another thing from what it is now of late: They diſputed and controverted, whether *Paradiſe* was Corporeal or Intellectual

only,

only, and Allegorical; This was the grand point amongſt them. Then of thoſe that thought it Corporeal, ſome plac'd it high in the Air, ſome inacceſſible by Deſarts or Mountains, and many beyond the Ocean, or in another World; And in theſe chiefly conſiſted the differences and diverſity of opinions amongſt them; nor do we find that they nam'd any particular place or Country in the known parts of the Earth for the Seat of *Paradiſe*, or that one conteſted for one ſpot of ground, and another for another, which is the vain temerity of modern Authors; as if they could tell to an Acre of Land where *Paradiſe* ſtood, or could ſet their foot upon the Centre of the Garden. Theſe have corrupted and miſrepreſented the notion of our *Paradiſe*, juſt as ſome modern Poets have the notion of the *Elyſian fields*, which *Homer* and the Ancients plac'd remote on the extremities of the Earth, and theſe would make a little green Meadow in *Campania Felix* to be the fam'd *Elyſium*.

Thus much concerning the Fathers, negatively; but to diſcover as far as we can, what their poſitive Aſſertions were in this Argument, we may obſerve, that though their opinions be differently expreſt, they generally concenter in this, that the *Southern Hemiſphere* was the Seat of *Paradiſe*. This, I ſay, ſeems manifeſtly to be the ſence of Chriſtian Antiquity and Tradition, ſo far as there is any thing definitive in the remains we have upon that ſubject. Some of the Fathers did not believe *Paradiſe* to be Corporeal and Local, and thoſe are to be laid aſide in the firſt place, as to this point; Others that thought it Local, did not determine any thing (as moſt of them indeed did not) concerning the particular place of it; But the reſt that did, though they have expreſt themſelves in various ways, and under various forms, yet, upon a due interpretation, they all meet in one common and general concluſion, That *Paradiſe* was ſeated beyond the Æquinoctial, or in the other Hemiſphere.

And to underſtand this aright, we muſt reflect, in the firſt place, upon the form of the Primæval Earth, and of the two Hemiſpheres of which it conſiſted, altogether incommunicable one with another, by reaſon of the Torrid Zone betwixt them; ſo as thoſe two Hemiſpheres were then as two diſtinct Worlds, or diſtinct Earths, that had no commerce with one another. And this Notion or Tradition we find among Heathen Authors, as well as Chriſtian, this Oppoſite Earth being call'd by them *Antichthon*, and its Inhabitants *Antichthones*: For thoſe words comprehend both the *Antipodes* and *Antœci*, or all beyond the Line, as is manifeſt from their beſt Authors, as *Achilles Tatius*, and *Cæſar Germanicus* upon *Aratus*, *Probus Grammaticus*, *Cenſorinus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Pliny*. And theſe were call'd another World, and lookt upon as another ſtock and race of Mankind, as appears from *Cicero* and *Macrobius*: But as the latter part was their miſtake, ſo the former is acknowledg'd by Chriſtian Authors, as well as others; and particularly S. *Clement*, in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, mentions a *World*, or *Worlds beyond the Ocean, ſubject to Divine Providence, and the great Lord of Nature, as well as ours*. This paſſage of S. *Clement* is alſo cited by S. *Jerom*, in his Commentary upon *Epheſ.* 2. 2. and by *Origen Periarchon*, where the Inhabitants of that other World are call'd *Antichthones*.

Somn. Scip.

Lib. 2. c. 3.

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I make this remark in the firſt place, that we may underſtand the true ſence and importance of thoſe phraſes and expreſſions amongſt the Ancients, when they ſay *Paradiſe* was in *another World*. Which are not to be ſo underſtood, as if they thought *Paradiſe* was in the Moon, or in *Jupiter*, or hung above like a Cloud or a Meteor, they were not ſo extravagant; but that *Paradiſe* was in another Hemiſphere, which was call'd *Antichthon*, another *Earth*, or another *World* from Ours; and juſtly reputed ſo, becauſe of an impoſſibility of commerce or intercourſe betwixt their reſpective Inhabitants. And this remark being premis'd, we will now diſtribute the Chriſtian Authors and Fathers that have deliver'd their opinion concerning the place of *Paradiſe*, into three or four ranks or orders; and though they expreſs themſelves differently, you will ſee, when duly examin'd and expounded, they all conſpire and concur in the forementioned concluſion, *That* the Seat of *Paradiſe* was in the other Hemiſphere.

In the firſt rank then we will place and reckon thoſe that have ſet *Paradiſe* in another *World*, or in another *Earth*; ſeeing, according to the foregoing Explication, that is the ſame thing, as to affirm it ſeated beyond the Torrid Zone in the other Hemiſphere. In this number are *Ephrem Syrus*, *Moſes Bar Cepha*, *Tatianus*, and of later date *Jacobus de Valentia*. To theſe are to be added again ſuch Authors as ſay, that *Adam*, when he was turn'd out of *Paradiſe*, was brought into *our Earth*, or into our Region of the Earth; for this is tantamount with the former; And this ſeems to be the ſence of S. *Jerom* in ſeveral places againſt *Jovinian*, as alſo of *Conſtantine*, in his *Oration* in *Euſebius*, and is poſitively aſſerted by *Sulpitius Severus*. And laſtly, Thoſe Authors that repreſent *Paradiſe* as remote from our World, and inacceſſible, ſo S. *Auſtin*, *Procopius Gazeus*, *Beda*, *Strabus Fuldenſis*, *Hiſtoria Scholiaſtica*, and others, theſe I ſay, purſue the ſame notion of Antiquity; for what is remote from our World (that is, from our Continent, as we before explain'd it) is to be underſtood to be that *Antichthon*, or Anti-hemiſphere which the Ancients oppos'd to ours. *Οἰκουμένη.*

Another ſett of Authors that interpret the *Flaming Sword* that guarded *Paradiſe* to be the *Torrid Zone*, do plainly intimate, that *Paradiſe* in their opinion lay beyond the Torrid Zone, or in the Anti-hemiſphere; And thus *Tertullian* interprets the Flaming Sword, and in ſuch words as fully confirm our ſence: *Paradiſe*, He ſays, *by the Torrid Zone, as by a wall of Fire, was ſever'd from the communication and knowledge of our World.* It lay then on the other ſide of this Zone. And S. *Cyprian*, or the ancient Author that paſſeth under his name, in his Comment upon *Geneſis*, expreſſeth himſelf to the ſame effect; ſo alſo S. *Auſtin* and *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis* are thought to interpret it: And *Aquinas* who makes *Paradiſe* inacceſſible, gives this reaſon for it, *Propter vehementiam æſtûs in locis intermediis ex propinquitate Solis, & hoc ſignificatur per Flammeum Gladium: Becauſe of that vehement heat in the parts betwixt us and that, ariſing from the nearneſs of the Sun, and this is ſignified by the Flaming Sword.* And this interpretation of the *Flaming Sword* receives a remarkable force and Emphaſis from our Theory and deſcription of the Primæval Earth, for there

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the Torrid Zone was as a wall of Fire indeed, or a Region of flame which none could paſs or ſubſiſt in, no more than in a Furnace.

There is another form of expreſſion amongſt the Ancients concerning *Paradiſe*, which, if decyphered, is of the ſame force and ſignification with this we have already inſtanc'd in; They ſay ſometimes *Paradiſe* was *beyond the Ocean*, or that the Rivers of *Paradiſe* came from beyond the Ocean. This is of the ſame import with the former Head, and points ſtill at the other Hemiſphere; for, as we noted before, ſome of them fixt their *Antichthon* and *Antichthones* beyond the Ocean; that is, ſince there was an Ocean, Since the form of the Earth was chang'd, and the Torrid Zone become habitable, and conſequently could not be a boundary or ſeparation betwixt the two Worlds. Wherefore, as ſome run ſtill upon the old diviſion by the Torrid Zone, others took the new diviſion by the Ocean. Which Ocean they ſuppos'd to lie from Eaſt to Weſt betwixt the Tropicks; as may be ſeen in Ancient Authors, *Geminus*, *Herodotus*, *Cicero de republicâ*, and *Clemens Romanus*, whom we cited before. S. *Auſtin* alſo ſpeaks upon the ſame ſuppoſition, when he would confute the doctrine of the *Antipodes*, or *Antichthones*; and *Macrobius*, I remember, makes it an argument of Providence, that the Sun and the Planets, in what part of their courſe ſoever they are betwixt the two Tropicks, have ſtill the Ocean under them, that they may be cool'd and nouriſht by its moiſture. They thought the Sea like a Girdle, went round the Earth, and the temperate Zones on either ſide were the habitable Regions, whereof this was call'd the *Oicouméne*, and the other *Antichthon*.

De Civ. Dei lib. 16. c. 9.

This being obſerv'd, 'tis not material, whether their Notion was true or falſe, it ſhews us what their meaning was, and what part of the Earth they deſign'd, when they ſpoke of any thing beyond the Ocean; namely, that they meant beyond the Line, in the other Hemiſphere, or in the *Antichthon*; and accordingly, when they ſay *Paradiſe*, or the Fountains of its Rivers were beyond the Ocean, they ſay the ſame thing in other terms with the reſt of thoſe Authors we have cited. In *Moſes Bar Cepha* above mention'd, we find a Chapter upon this ſubject, *Quemodo trajecerint Mortales inde ex Paradiſi terrâ in hanc Terram? How Mankind paſt out of that Earth or Continent where* Paradiſe *was, into that where we are?* Namely, how they paſt the Ocean, *that lay betwixt them*, as the anſwer there given explains it. And ſo *Ephrem Syrus* is cited often in that Treatiſe, placing *Paradiſe* beyond the Ocean. The *Eſſenes* alſo, who were the moſt Philoſophick Sect of the *Jews*, plac'd *Paradiſe*, according to *Joſephus*, beyond the Ocean, under a perfect temperature of Air. And that paſſage in *Euſebius*, in the Oration of *Conſtantine*, being corrected and reſtor'd to the true reading, repreſents *Paradiſe*, in like manner, as in another Continent, from whence *Adam* was brought, after his tranſgreſſion, into this. And laſtly, there are ſome Authors, whoſe teſtimony and authority may deſerve to be conſider'd, not for their own Antiquity, but becauſe they are profeſs'dly tranſcribers of Antiquity and Traditions, ſuch as *Strabus*, *Comeſtor*, and the like, who are known to give this account or report of *Paradiſe* from the Ancients, that it was *interpoſito*

ſito Oceano ab Orbe noſtro vel à Zonâ noſtrâ habitabili ſecretus, Separated from our Orb or Hemiſphere by the interpoſition of the Ocean.

It is alſo obſervable, that many of the Ancients that took *Tigris*, *Euphrates*, *Nile* and *Ganges* for the Rivers of *Paradiſe*, ſaid that thoſe Heads or Fountains of them which we have in our Continent, are but their *Capita ſecunda*, their ſecond Sources, and that their firſt Sources were in another Orb where *Paradiſe* was; and thus *Hugo de Sancto Victore* ſays, *Sanctos communiter ſenſiſſe*, That the Holy Men of old were generally of that opinion. To this ſence alſo *Moſes Bar Cepha* often expreſſeth himſelf; as alſo *Epiphanius*, *Procopius Gazæus*, and *Severianus in Catenâ*. Which notion amongſt the Ancients, concerning the trajection or paſſage of the Paradiſiacal Rivers under-ground, or under-Sea, from one Continent into another, is to me, I confeſs, unintelligible, either in the firſt or ſecond Earth; but however it diſcovers their ſence and opinion of the Seat of *Paradiſe*, that it was not to be ſought for in *Aſia* or in *Africk*, where thoſe Rivers riſe to us, but in ſome remoter parts of the World, where they ſuppos'd their firſt Sources to be.

This is a ſhort account of what the Chriſtian Fathers have left us, concerning the Seat of *Paradiſe*; and the truth is, 'tis but a ſhort and broken account; yet 'tis no wonder it ſhould be ſo, if we conſider, as we noted before, that ſeveral of them did not believe *Paradiſe* to be Local and Corporeal; Others that did believe it ſo, yet did not offer to determine the place of it, but left that matter wholly untoucht and undecided; and the reſt that did ſpeak to that point; did it commonly both in general terms, and in expreſſions that were diſguis'd, and needed interpretation; but all theſe differences and obſcurities of expreſſion, you ſee, when duly ſtated and expounded, may ſignifie one and the ſame thing, and terminate all in this common Concluſion, *That Paradiſe* was without our Continent, accord ng to the general opinion and Tradition of Antiquity. And I do not doubt but the Tradition would have been both more expreſs and more univerſal, if the Ancients had underſtood Geography better; for thoſe of the Ancients that did not admit or believe that there were *Antipodes* or *Antichthones*, as *Lactantius*, S. *Auſtin*, and ſome others, theſe could not joyn in the common opinion about the place of *Paradiſe*, becauſe they thought there was no Land, nor any thing habitable ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης, or beſides this Continent. And yet S. *Auſtin* was ſo cautious, that as he was bounded on the one hand by his falſe *Idea* of the Earth, that he could not joyn with Antiquity as to the place of *Paradiſe*; ſo on the other hand he had that reſpect for it, that he would not ſay any thing to the contrary; therefore being to give his opinion, he ſays only, *Terreſtrem eſſe Paradiſum, & locum ejus ab hominum cognitione eſſe remotiſſimum: That it is ſomewhere upon the Earth, but the place of it very remote from the knowledge of Men.*

And as their ignorance of the Globe of the Earth was one reaſon, why the doctrine of *Paradiſe* was ſo broken and obſcure, ſo another reaſon why it is much more ſo at preſent is, becauſe the chief ancient Books writ upon that ſubject, are loſt; *Ephrem Syrus*, who liv'd in the Fourth Century, writ a Commentary *in Geneſin*

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sive de Ortu rerum, concerning the Origin of the Earth; and by those remains that are cited from it, we have reason to believe, that it contain'd many things remarkable concerning the first Earth, and concerning *Paradise*. *Tertullian* also writ a Book *de Paradiso*, which is wholly lost; and we see to what effect it would have been, by his making the Torrid Zone to be the *Flaming Sword*, and the partition betwixt this Earth and *Paradise*; which two Earths he more than once distinguisheth as very different from one another. The most ancient Author that I know upon this subject, at least of those that writ of it literally, is *Moses Bar Cepha*, a *Syrian* Bishop, who liv'd about seven hundred years since, and his Book is translated into *Latin*, by that Learned and Judicious Man, *Andreas Masius*. *Bar Cepha* writes upon the same Views of *Paradise* that we have here presented, that it was beyond the Ocean, in another tract of Land, or another Continent from that which we inhabit: As appears from the very Titles of his Eighth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Chapters. But we must allow him for his mistaken Notions about the form of the Earth; for he seems to have fansied the Earth plain, (not only as oppos'd to rough and Mountainous, for so it was plain; but as oppos'd to Spherical) and the Ocean to have divided it in two parts, an Interiour, and an Exteriour, and in that Exteriour part was *Paradise*. Such allowances must often be made for Geographical mistakes, in examining and understanding the writings of the Ancients. The rest of the *Syrian* Fathers, as well as *Ephrem* and *Bar Cepha*, incline to the same doctrine of *Paradise*, and seem to have retain'd more of the ancient notions concerning it, than the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers have; and yet there is in all some fragments of this doctrine, and but fragments in the best.

Cont. Marc. lib. 2. c. 2. c. 5.

We might add in the last place, that as the most ancient Treatises concerning *Paradise* are lost, so also the ancient *Glosses* and *Catenæ* upon Scripture, where we might have found the Traditions and Opinions of the Ancients upon this subject, are many of them either lost or unpublisht; And upon this consideration we did not think it improper to cite some Authors of small Antiquity, but such as have transcrib'd several things out of ancient Manuscript-glosses into their Commentaries. They living however before Printing was invented, or Learning well restor'd, and before the Reformation. I add that also *before the Reformation*, for since that time the Protestant Authors having lessen'd the Authority of Traditions, the Pontificial Doctors content themselves to insist only upon such as they thought were useful or necessary, lest by multiplying others that were but matter of curiosity, they should bring the first into question, and render the whole doctrine of Traditions more dubious and exceptionable; And upon this account, there are some Authors that writ an Age or two before the Reformation, that have with more freedom told us the Tenets and Traditions of the Ancients in these Speculations, that are but collateral to Religion, than any have done since. And I must confess, I am apt to think that what remains concerning the doctrine of *Paradise*, and the Primæval Earth, is in a good measure Traditional; for one may observe, that those that treat upon these subjects, quote the true Opinions, and tell you some of the Ancients held

held so and so, as That *Paradise* was in another Earth, or higher than this Earth, That there were no Mountains before the Flood, nor any Rain, and such like: yet they do not name those ancient Authors that held these Opinions; which makes me apt to believe, either that they were convey'd by a Traditional communication from one to another, or that there were other Books extant upon those subjects, or other Glosses, than what are now known.

Finally, To conclude this Discourse concerning the Seat of *Paradise*, we must mind you again upon what Basis it stands. We declar'd freely, that we could not by our Theory alone determine the particular place of it, only by that we are assur'd that it was in the Primæval Earth, and not in the present; but in what Region, or in whether Hemisphere of that Earth it was seated, we cannot define from Speculation only. 'Tis true, if we hold fast to that Scripture-conclusion, That all Mankind rise from one Head, and from one and the same Stock and Lineage, (which doth not seem to be according to the sentiments of the Heathens) we must suppose they were born in one Hemisphere, and after some time translated into the other, or a Colony of them: But this still doth not determine, in whether of the two they begun, and were first seated before their translation; and I am apt to think that depended rather, as we noted before, upon the Divine Pleasure, and the train of affairs that was to succeed, than upon Natural causes and differences. Some of the Ancients, I know, made both the Soil and the Stars more noble in the Southern Hemisphere, than in ours, but I do not see any proof or warrant for it; wherefore laying aside all natural Topicks, we are willing, in this particular, to refer our selves wholly to the report and majority of Votes amongst the Ancients; who yet do not seem to me to lay much stress upon the notion of a particular and Topical Paradise, and therefore use general and remote expressions concerning it. And finding no place for it in this Continent, they are willing to quit their hands of it, by placing it in a Region some-where far off, and inaccessible. This, together with the old Tradition, that Paradise was in another Earth, seems to me to give an account of most of their Opinions concerning the Seat of Paradise: and that they were generally very uncertain where to fix it.

CHAP. VIII.

The uſes of this Theory for the illuſtration of Antiquity; The ancient Chaos explain'd; The inhabitability of the Torrid Zone; The change of the Poles of the World; The doctrine of the Mundane Egg; How America *was firſt peopled; How* Paradiſe *within the Circle of the* Moon.

WE have now diſpatch'd the Theory of the Primæval Earth, and reviv'd a forgotten World. 'Tis pity the firſt and faireſt works of Nature ſhould be loſt out of the memory of Man, and that we ſhould ſo much dote upon the Ruines, as never to think upon the Original Structure. As the modern Artiſts from ſome broken pieces of an ancient Statue, make out all the other parts and proportions; ſo from the broken and ſcatter'd limbs of the firſt World we have ſhown you how to raiſe the whole Fabrick again; and renew the proſpect of thoſe pleaſant Scenes that firſt ſee the light, and firſt entertain'd Man, when he came to act upon this new-erected Stage.

We have drawn this Theory chiefly to give an account of the Univerſal Deluge, and of *Paradiſe*; but as when one lights a Candle to look for one or two things which they want, the light will not confine it ſelf to thoſe two objects, but ſhows all the other in the room; ſo, methinks, we have unexpectedly caſt a light upon all Antiquity, in ſeeking after theſe two things, or in retrieving the Notion and Doctrine of the Primæval Earth, upon which they depended. For in ancient Learning there are many Diſcourſes, and many Concluſions deliver'd to us, that are ſo obſcure and confus'd, and ſo remote from the preſent ſtate of things, that one cannot well diſtinguiſh, whether they are fictions or realities: and there is no way to diſtinguiſh with certainty, but by a clear Theory upon the ſame ſubjects; which ſhowing us the truth directly, and independently upon them, ſhows us alſo by reflection, how far they are true or falſe, and in what ſence they are to be interpreted and underſtood. And the preſent Theory being of great extent, we ſhall find it ſerviceable in many things, for the illuſtration of ſuch dubious and obſcure doctrines in Antiquity.

To begin with their Ancient CHAOS, what a dark ſtory have they made of it, both their Philoſophers and Poets; and how fabulous in appearance? 'Tis deliver'd as confus'dly as the Maſs it ſelf could be, and hath not been reduc'd to order, nor indeed made intelligible by any. They tell us of *moral* principles in the Chaos inſtead of *natural*, of *ſtrife*, and *diſcord*, and *diviſion* on the one hand, and *Love*, *Friendſhip*, and *Venus* on the other; and, after a long conteſt, Love got the better of Diſcord, and united the diſagreeing principles: This

This is one part of their ſtory. Then they make the forming of the World out of the Chaos a kind of *Genealogie* or Pedigree; *Chaos* was the common Parent of all, and from Chaos ſprung, firſt, *Night*, and *Tartarus*, or *Oceanus*; Night was a teeming Mother, and of her were born *Æther* and the *Earth*; The Earth conceiv'd by the influences of Æther, and brought forth Man and all Animals.

This ſeems to be a Poetical fiction rather than Philoſophy; yet when 'tis ſet in a true light, and compar'd with our Theory of the Chaos, 'twill appear a pretty regular account, how the World was form'd at firſt, or how the Chaos divided it ſelf ſucceſſively into ſeveral Regions, riſing one after another, and propagated one from another, as Children and Poſterity from a common Parent. We ſhow'd in the firſt Book, *Chap.* 5. how the Chaos, from an uniform maſs, wrought it ſelf into ſeveral Regions or Elements; the groſſeſt part ſinking to the Center, upon this lay the maſs of Water, and over the Water was a Region of dark, impure, caliginous Air; This impure, caliginous Air is that which the Ancients call *Night*, and the maſs of Water *Oceanus* or *Tartarus*, for thoſe two terms with them are often of the like force, *Tartarus* being *Oceanus* inclos'd and lock'd up: Thus we have the firſt off-ſpring of the Chaos, or its firſt-born twins, *Nox* and *Oceanus*. Now this turbid Air purifying it ſelf by degrees, as the more ſubtle parts flew upwards, and compos'd the Æther; ſo the earthy parts that were mixt with it dropt down upon the ſurface of the Water, or the liquid maſs; and that maſs on the other hand ſending up its lighter and more oily parts towards its ſurface, theſe two incorporate there, and by their mixture and union compoſe a body of Earth quite round the maſs of Waters: And this was the firſt habitable Earth, which as it was, you ſee, the Daughter of *Nox* and *Oceanus*, ſo it was the Mother of all other things, and all living Creatures, which at the beginning of the World ſprung out of its fruitful womb.

This doctrine of the Chaos, for the greater pomp of the buſineſs, the Ancients call'd their *Theogonia*, or the Genealogy of the Gods; for they gave their Gods, at leaſt their Terreſtrial Gods, an original and beginning; and all the Elements and greater portions of Nature they made Gods and Goddeſſes, or their Deities preſided over them in ſuch a manner, that the names were us'd promiſcuouſly for one another. We alſo mention'd before ſome moral principles, which they plac'd in the Chaos, *Eris* and *Eros*; Strife, diſcord, and diſaffection which prevail'd at firſt, and afterward *Love*, kindneſs and union got the upper hand, and in ſpite of thoſe factious and dividing principles gather'd together the ſeparated Elements, and united them into an habitable World. This is all eaſily underſtood, if we do but look upon the Schemes of the riſing World, as we have ſet them down in that fifth Chapter; for in the firſt commotion of the Chaos, after an inteſtine ſtruggle of all the parts, the Elements ſeparated from one another into ſo many diſtinct bodies or maſſes; and in this ſtate and poſture things continued a good while, which the Ancients, after their Poetick or Moral way, call'd the Reign of *Eris* or Contention, of hatred, ſlight and diſaffection; and if things had always continued in that Syſtem, we ſhould never have

have had an habitable World. But Love and good Nature conquer'd at length, *Venus* riſe out of the Sea, and receiv'd into her boſom, and intangled into her imbraces the falling Æther, *viz.* The parts of lighter earth, which were mixt with the Air in that firſt ſeparation, and gave it the name of *Night*; Theſe, I ſay, fell down upon the oily parts of the Sea-maſs, which lay floating upon the ſurface of it, and by that union and conjunction, a new Body, and a new World was produc'd, which was the firſt habitable Earth. This is the interpretation of their myſtical Philoſophy of the Chaos, and the reſolution of it into plain natural Hiſtory: Which you may *Lib. 2. c. 7.* ſee more fully diſcuſs'd in the *Latin* Treatiſe.

In conſequence of this, We have already explain'd, in ſeveral places the *Golden Age* of the Ancients, and laid down ſuch grounds as will enable us to diſcern what is real, and what Poetical, in the reports and characters that Antiquity hath given of thoſe firſt Ages of the World. And if there be any thing amongſt the Ancients that refers to another Earth, as *Plato*'s *Atlantis*, which he ſays, was abſorpt by an Earthquake, and an inundation, as the primæval Earth was; or his *Æthereal* Earth mention'd in his *Phædo*, which he oppoſeth to this broken hollow Earth; makes it to have long-liv'd inhabitants, and to be without Rains and Storms, as that firſt Earth was alſo; or the pendulous *Gardens* of *Alcinous*, or ſuch like, to which nothing anſwers in preſent Nature, by reflecting upon the ſtate of the firſt Earth, we find an eaſie explication of them. We have alſo explain'd what the *Antichthon* and *Antichthones* of the Ancients were, and what the true ground of that diſtinction was. But nothing ſeems more remarkable than the *inhabitability of the Torrid Zone*, if we conſider what a general fame and belief it had amongſt the Ancients, and yet in the preſent form of the Earth we find no ſuch thing, nor any foundation for it. I cannot believe that this was ſo univerſally receiv'd upon a ſlight preſumption only, becauſe it lay under the courſe of the Sun, if the Sun had then the ſame latitude from the Æquator in his courſe and motion that he hath now, and made the ſame variety of ſeaſons; whereby even the hotteſt parts of the Earth have a Winter, or ſomething equivalent to it. But if we apply this to the Primæval Earth, whoſe poſture was direct to the Sun, ſtanding always fixt in its Equinoctial, we ſhall eaſily believe that the Torrid Zone was then uninhabitable by extremity of heat, there being no difference of ſeaſons, nor any change of weather, the Sun hanging always over head at the ſame diſtance, and in the ſame direction. Beſides this, the deſcent of the Rivers in that firſt Earth was ſuch, that they could never reach the Equinoctial parts, as we have ſhown before; by which means, and the want of Rain, that Region muſt neceſſarily be turn'd into a dry Deſart. Now this being really the ſtate of the firſt Earth, the fame and general belief that the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable had this true Original, and continued ſtill with poſterity after the Deluge, though the cauſes then were taken away; for they being ignorant of the change that was made in Nature at that time, kept up ſtill the ſame Tradition and opinion currant, till obſervation and experience taught later Ages to correct it. As the true miracles that were in

in the Chriſtian Church at firſt, occaſion'd a fame and belief of their continuance long after they had really ceaſt.

This gives an eaſie account, and, I think, the true cauſe, of that opinion, amongſt the Ancients generally receiv'd, *That the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable.* I ſay, generally receiv'd, for not only the Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, but their Philoſophers, Aſtronomers and Geographers, had the ſame notion, and deliver'd the ſame doctrine; as *Ariſtotle, Cleomedes, Achilles Tatius, Ptolomy, Cicero, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Macrobius, &c.* And to ſpeak truth, the whole doctrine of the Zones is calculated more properly for the firſt Earth, than for the preſent; for the diviſions and bounds of them now, are but arbitrary, being habitable all over, and having no viſible diſtinction; whereas they were then determin'd by Nature, and the Globe of the Earth was really divided into ſo many Regions of a very different aſpect and quality; which would have appear'd at a diſtance, if they had been lookt upon from the Clouds, or from the Moon, as *Jupiter*'s Belts, or as ſo many Girdles or Swathing-bands about the body of the Earth; And ſo the word imports, and ſo the Ancients uſe to call them *Cinguli* and *Faſciæ*. But in the preſent form of the Earth, if it was ſeen at a diſtance, no ſuch diſtinction would appear in the parts of it, nor ſcarce any other but that of Land and Water, and of Mountains and Valleys, which are nothing to the purpoſe of Zones. And to add this note further, When the Earth lay in this regular form, divided into Regions or Walks, if I may ſo call them, as this gave occaſion of its diſtinction, by Zones, ſo if we might conſider all that Earth as a *Paradiſe*, and *Paradiſe* as a Garden; (for it is always call'd ſo in Scripture, and in *Jewiſh* Authors) And as this Torrid Zone, bare of Graſs and Trees, made a kind of Gravel-walk in the middle: ſo there was a green Walk on either hand of it, made by the temperate Zones; and beyond thoſe lay a Canal, which water'd the Garden from either ſide. *See Fig. 3. c. 5.*

But to return to Antiquity; We may add under this Head another obſervation or doctrine amongſt the Ancients, ſtrange enough in appearance, which yet receives an eaſie explication from the preceding Theory; They ſay, *The Poles* of the World did once change their ſituation, and were at firſt in another poſture from what they are in now, till that inclination happen'd; This the ancient Philoſophers often make mention of, as *Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus*; as may be ſeen in *Laertius*, and in *Plutarch*; and the Stars, they ſay, at firſt were carried about the Earth in a more uniform manner. This is no more than what we have obſerv'd and told you in other words, namely, That the Earth chang'd its poſture at the Deluge, and thereby made theſe ſeeming changes in the Heavens; its Poles before pointed to the Poles of the Ecliptick, which now point to the Poles of the Æquator, and its Axis is become paralled with that Axis; and this is the myſtery and interpretation of what they ſay in other terms; this makes the different aſpect of the Heavens, and of its Poles: And I am apt to think, that thoſe changes in the courſe of the Stars, which the Ancients ſometimes ſpeak of, and eſpecially the *Ægyptians*, if they did not proceed from defects in their Calendar, had no other Phyſical account than this. *See the Lat. Treat. lib. 2. c. 10.*

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And

And as they ſay the Poles of the World were in another ſituation at firſt, ſo at firſt they ſay, there was no variety of ſeaſons in the Year, as in their Golden Age. Which is very coherent with all the reſt, and ſtill runs along with the Theory. And you may obſerve, that all theſe things we have inſtanc'd in hitherto, are but links of the ſame chain, in connexion and dependance upon one another. When the Primæval Earth was made out of the Chaos, its form and poſture was ſuch, as, of courſe, brought on all thoſe Scenes which Antiquity hath kept the remembrance of: though now in another ſtate of Nature they ſeem very ſtrange; eſpecially being diſguis'd, as ſome of them are, by their odd manner of repreſenting them. *That* the Poles of the World ſtood once in another poſture; That the Year had no diverſity of Seaſons; That the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable; That the two Hemiſpheres had no poſſibility of intercourſe, and ſuch like; Theſe all hang upon the ſame ſtring; or lean one upon another as Stones in the ſame Building; whereof we have, by this Theory, laid the very foundation bare, that you may ſee what they all ſtand upon, and in what order.

There is ſtill one remarkable Notion or Doctrine amongſt the Ancients which we have not ſpoken to; 'tis partly Symbolical, and the propriety of the Symbol, or of the Application of it, hath been little underſtood; 'Tis their doctrine of the *Mundane Egg*, or their comparing the World to an Egg, and eſpecially in the Original compoſition of it. This ſeems to be a mean compariſon, the World and an Egg, what proportion, or what reſemblance betwixt theſe two things? And yet I do not know any Symbolical doctrine, or concluſion, that hath been ſo univerſally entertain'd by the *Myſtæ*, or Wiſe and Learned, of all Nations; as hath been noted before in the fifth Chapter of the First Book; and at large in the *Latin* Treatiſe. 'Tis certain, that by the World in this ſimilitude, they do not mean the Great Univerſe, for that hath neither Figure, nor any determinate form of compoſition, and it would be a great vanity and raſhneſs in any one to compare this to an Egg; The works of God are immenſe, as his nature is infinite, and we cannot make any image or reſemblance of either of them; but this compariſon is to be underſtood of the *Sublunary World*, or of the *Earth*; And for a general key to Antiquity upon this Argument, we may lay this down as a Maxim or Canon, *That what the Ancients have ſaid concerning the form and figure of the World, or concerning the Original of it from a Chaos, or about its periods and diſſolution are never to be underſtood of the Great Univerſe, but of our Earth, or of this Sublunary and Terreſtrial World.* And this obſervation being made, do but reflect upon our Theory of the Earth, the manner of its compoſition at firſt, and the figure of it, being compleated, and you will need no other interpreter to underſtand this myſteny. We have ſhow'd there, that the figure of it, when finiſht, was Oval, and the inward form of it was a frame of four Regions encompaſſing one another, where that of Fire lay in the middle like the Yolk, and a ſhell of Earth inclos'd them all. This gives a ſolution ſo eaſie and natural, and ſhows ſuch an aptneſs and elegancy in the repreſentation, that one cannot doubt,

Lib. 2. c. 10.

Book 1. c. 5.

upon

upon a view and compare of circumſtances, but that we have truly found out the Riddle of the Mundane Egg.

Amongſt other difficulties ariſing from the Form of this preſent Earth, That is one, How *America* could be peopled, or any other Continent, or Iſland remote from all Continents, the Sea interpoſing. This difficulty does not hold in our Theory of the First Earth, where there was no Sea. And after the Flood, when the Earth was broken and the Sea laid open, the ſame race of Men might continue there, if ſetled there before. For I do not ſee any neceſſity of deducing all Mankind from *Noah* after the Flood. If *America* was peopled before, it might continue ſo; not but that the Flood was univerſal. But when the great frame of the Earth broke at the Deluge, Providence fore-ſaw into how many Continents it would be divided after the ceaſing of the Flood, and accordingly, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, made proviſion to ſave a remnant in every Continent, that the race of Mankind might not be quite extinct in any of them. What proviſion he made in our Continent we know from Sacred Hiſtory, but as that takes notice of no other Continent but ours, ſo neither could it take notice of any method that was us'd there for ſaving of a remnant of Men; but 'twere great preſumption, methinks, to imagine that Providence had a care of none but us, or could not find out ways of preſervation in other places, as well as in that where our habitations were to be. *Aſia*, *Africk* and *Europe* were repeopled by the Sons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, but we read nothing of their going over into *America*, or ſending any Colonies thither; and that World which is near as big as ours, muſt have ſtood long without people, or any thing of Humane race in it, after the Flood, if it ſtood ſo, till this was full, or till men Navigated the Ocean, and by chance diſcover'd it; it ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there was a ſtock providentially reſerv'd there, as well as here, out of which they ſprung again; but we do not pretend in an Argument of this nature to define or determine any thing poſitively. To conclude, As this is but a ſecondary difficulty, and of no great force, ſo neither is it any thing peculiar to us, or to our *Hypotheſis*, but alike common to both; and if they can propoſe any reaſonable way, whereby the Sons of *Noah* might be tranſplanted into *America*, with all my heart; but all the ways that I have met with hitherto, have ſeem'd to me meer fictions, or meer preſumptions. Beſides, finding Birds and Beaſts there, which are no where upon our Continent, nor would live in our Countries if brought hither, 'tis a fair conjecture that they were not carried from us, but originally bred and preſerv'd there.

Thus much for the illuſtration of Antiquity in ſome points of Humane literature, by our Theory of the Primæval Earth; There is alſo in *Chriſtian Antiquity* a Tradition or Doctrine, that appears as obſcure and as much a Paradox as any of theſe, and better deſerves an illuſtration, becauſe it relates more cloſely and expreſly to our preſent ſubject: 'Tis that Notion or Opinion amongſt the Ancients concerning *Paradiſe*, that it was ſeated as high as the Sphere of the Moon, or *within the Lunar Circle*. This looks very ſtrange, and indeed extravagantly, at firſt ſight, but the wonder will ceaſe, if we

underſtand

understand this not of *Paradiſe* taken apart from the reſt of the Earth, but of the whole Primæval Earth, wherein the Seat of *Paradiſe* was; That was really ſeated much higher than the preſent Earth, and may be reaſonably ſuppos'd to have been as much elevated as the tops of our Mountains are now. And that phraſe of reaching to *the Sphere of the Moon*, ſignifies no more than thoſe other expreſſions of *reaching to Heaven*, or *reaching above the Clouds*, which are phraſes commonly us'd to expreſs the height of Buildings, or of Mountains, and ſuch like things: So the Builders of *Babel* ſaid, they would make a Tower ſhould reach to Heaven; *Olympus* and *Parnaſſus* are ſaid by the Poets to reach to Heaven, or to riſe above the Clouds; And *Pliny* and *Solinus* uſe this very expreſſion of the *Lunar Circle*, when they deſcribe the height of Mount *Atlas*, *Eductus in vicinium Lunaris Circuli*. The Ancients, I believe, aim'd particularly by this phraſe, to expreſs an height above the middle Region, or above our Atmoſphere, that *Paradiſe* might be ſerene; and where our Atmoſphere ended, they reckon'd the Sphere of the Moon begun, and therefore ſaid it reacht to the Sphere of the Moon. Many of the Chriſtian Fathers expreſt their opinion concerning the high ſituation of *Paradiſe* in plain and formal terms, as S. *Baſil*, *Damaſcen*, *Moſes Bar Cepha*, *&c.* but this phraſe of reaching to the *Lunar Circle* is repeated by ſeveral of them, and ſaid to be of great Antiquity. *Aquinas*, *Albertus*, and others, aſcribe it to *Bede*, but many to S. *Auſtin*; and therefore *Ambroſius Catharinus* is angry with their great Schoolman, that he ſhould derive it from *Bede*, ſeeing S. *Auſtin* writing to *Oroſius*, deliver'd this doctrine, which ſurely, ſays he, S. *Auſtin neither feign'd nor dream'd only, but had receiv'd it from Antiquity*: And from ſo great Antiquity, that it was no leſs than Apoſtolical, if we credit *Albertus Magnus*, and the ancient Books he appeals to; for He ſays this Tradition was deriv'd as high as from S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle. His words are theſe, after he had deliver'd his own opinion, *Hoc tamen dico*, *&c.* *But this I ſay, without prejudice to the better opinion, for I have found it in ſome moſt ancient Books, that* Thomas *the Apoſtle was the Author of that opinion, which is uſually attributed to* Bede *and* Strabus, *namely, That* Paradiſe *was ſo high as to reach to the* Lunar Circle. But thus much concerning this Opinion, and concerning Antiquity.

Solin. c. 17.

Com. in Gen. c. 2.

Sum. Theol. par. 2. tract. 13. q. 79

To conclude all, we ſee this Theory, which was drawn only by a thred of Reaſon, and the Laws of Nature, abſtractly from all Antiquity, notwithſtanding caſts a light upon many paſſages there, which were otherwiſe accounted fictions, or unintelligible truths; and though we do not alledge theſe as proofs of the Theory, for it carries its own light and proof with it, yet whether we will or no, they do mutually confirm, as well as illuſtrate, one another; And 'tis a pleaſure alſo, when one hath wrought out truth by meer dint of thinking, and examination of cauſes, and propos'd it plainly and openly, to meet with it again amongſt the Ancients, diſguis'd, and in an old faſhion'd dreſs: ſcarce to be known or diſcover'd, but by thoſe that before-hand knew it very well. And it would be a further pleaſure and ſatisfaction, to have render'd thoſe Doctrines and Notions, for the future, intelligible and uſeful to others, as well as delightful to our ſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A general objection againſt this Theory, viz. *That if there had been ſuch a* Primitive Earth, *as we pretend, the fame of it would have ſounded throughout all Antiquity. The Eaſtern and Weſtern Learning conſider'd. The moſt conſiderable Records of both are loſt. What footſteps remain relating to this ſubject. The* Jewiſh *and* Chriſtian *Learning conſider'd; how far loſt as to this Argument, and what Notes or Traditions remain. Laſtly, How far the Sacred Writings bear witneſs to it. The Providential conduct of Knowledge in the World. A recapitulation and ſtate of the Theory.*

HAving gone through the two Firſt Parts, and the two Firſt Books of this Theory, that concern the Primitive World, the Univerſal Deluge, and the ſtate of *Paradiſe*, We have leiſure now to reflect a little, and conſider what may probably be objected againſt a Theory of this nature. I do not mean ſingle objections againſt ſingle parts, for thoſe may be many, and ſuch as I cannot fore-ſee; but what may be ſaid againſt the body and ſubſtance of the Theory, and the credibility of it, appearing new and ſurpriſing, and yet of great extent and importance. This, I fancy, will induce many to ſay, ſurely this cannot be a reality; for if there had been ſuch a Primitive Earth, and ſuch a Primitive World as is here repreſented, and ſo remarkably different from the preſent, it could not have been ſo utterly forgotten, or lain hid for ſo many Ages; all Antiquity would have rung of it; the memory of it would have been kept freſh by Books or Traditions. Can we imagine, that it ſhould lie buried for ſome thouſands of years in deep ſilence and oblivion? and now only when the ſecond World is drawing to an end, we begin to diſcover that there was a firſt, and that of another make and order from this.

To ſatisfie this objection, or ſurmiſe rather, it will be convenient to take a good large ſcope and compaſs in our Diſcourſe; We muſt not ſuppoſe, that this Primitive World hath been wholly loſt out of the memory of Man, or out of Hiſtory, for we have ſome Hiſtory and Chronology of it preſerv'd by *Moſes*, and likewiſe in the Monuments of the Ancients, more or leſs; for they all ſuppos'd a World before the Deluge. But 'tis the Philoſophy of this Primitive World that hath been loſt in a great meaſure; what the ſtate of Nature was then, and wherein it differ'd from the preſent or Poſtdiluvian order of things. This, I confeſs, hath been little taken notice of; it hath been generally thought or preſum'd, that the World before the Flood was of the ſame form and conſtitution

with the preſent World: This we do not deny, but rather think it deſign'd and Providential, that there ſhould not remain a clear and full knowledge of that firſt ſtate of things; and we may eaſily ſuppoſe how it might decay and periſh, if we conſider how little of the remote Antiquities of the World have ever been brought down to our knowledge.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* divided the Ages of the World into three periods or intervals, whereof they call'd the firſt the *Obſcure* Period, the ſecond the *Fabulous*, and the third *Hiſtorical*. The dark and obſcure Period was from the beginning of the World to the Deluge; what paſs'd then, either in Nature or amongſt Men, they have no Records, no account, by their own confeſſion; all that ſpace of time was cover'd with darkneſs and oblivion; ſo that we ought rather to wonder at thoſe remains they have, and thoſe broken notions of the Golden Age, and the conditions of it, how they were ſav'd out of the common ſhipwrack, than to expect from them the Philoſophy of that World, and all its differences from the preſent. And as for the other Nations that pretend to greater Antiquities, to more ancient Hiſtory and Chronology, from what is left of their Monuments, many will allow only this difference, that their fabulous Age begun more high, or that they had more ancient Fables.

But beſides that our expectations cannot be great from the learning of the *Gentiles*, we have not the means or opportunity to inform our ſelves well what Notions they did leave us concerning the Primitive World; for their Books and Monuments are generally loſt, or lie hid unknown to us. The Learning of the World may be divided into the Eaſtern Learning and the Weſtern; and I look upon the Eaſtern as far more conſiderable for Philoſophical Antiquities, and Philoſophical Concluſions; I ſay *Concluſions*, for I do not believe either of them had any conſiderable Theory, or Contexture of Principles and Concluſions together: But 'tis certain, that in the Eaſt, from what Source ſoever it came, Humane or Divine, they had ſome extraordinary Doctrines and Notions diſperſt amongſt them. Now as by the Weſtern Learning we underſtand that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; ſo by the Eaſtern, that which was amongſt the *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Chaldæans*, *Aſſyrians*, *Indians*, *Æthiopians*, and *Perſians*; and of the Learning of theſe Nations, how little have we now left? except ſome Fragments and Citations in *Greek* Authors, what do we know of them? The modern *Bracmans*, and the *Perſées* or *Pagan Perſians*, have ſome broken remains of Traditions relating to the Origin and Changes of the World: But if we had, not only thoſe Books intire, whereof we have now the gleanings and reverſions only, but all that have periſht beſides, eſpecially in that famous Library at *Alexandria*; if theſe, I ſay, were all reſtor'd to the World again, we might promiſe our ſelves the ſatisfaction of ſeeing more of the Antiquities, and Natural Hiſtory of the firſt World, than we have now left, or can reaſonably expect. That Library we ſpeak of, at *Alexandria*, was a Collection, beſides *Greek* Books, of *Ægyptian*, *Chaldæan*, and all the Eaſtern Learning; and *Cedrenus* makes it to conſiſt of an hundred thouſand Volumes: But *Joſephus* ſaith, when the Tranſlation of the Bible by the

the *Septuagint* was to be added to it, *Demetrius Phalerius* (who was Keeper or Governour of it) told the King then, that he had already two hundred thouſand Volumes, and that he hop'd to make them five hundred thouſand; and he was better than his word, or his Succeſſors for him, for *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other Authors, report them to have increas'd to ſeven hundred thouſand. This Library was unfortunately burnt in the ſacking of *Alexandria* by *Cæſar*, and conſidering that all theſe were ancient Books, and generally of the Eaſtern Wiſdom, 'twas an ineſtimable and irreparable loſs to the Commonwealth of Learning. In like manner we are told of a vaſt Library of Books of all Arts and Sciences, in *China*, burnt by the command or caprice of one of their Kings. Wherein, the *Chineſes*, according to their vanity, were us'd to ſay, greater riches were loſt, than will be in the laſt Conflagration.

We are told alſo of the *Abyſſine* or *Æthiopick* Library as ſomething very extraordinary. 'Twas formerly in great reputation, but is now, I ſuppoſe, embezil'd and loſt. But I was extremely ſurpriz'd by a Treatiſe brought to me ſome few months ſince, wherein are mention'd ſome *Æthiopick* Antiquities relating to the Primæval Earth and the Deluge: To both which they give ſuch characters and properties, as are in effect the very ſame with thoſe aſſign'd them in this Theory. They ſay the Firſt Earth was much greater than the preſent, higher and more advanc'd into the Air: That it was ſmooth and regular in its ſurface, without Mountains or Valleys, but hollow within: and was ſpontaneouſly fruitful, without plowing or ſowing. This was its firſt ſtate, but when Mankind became degenerate and outragious with Pride and Violence, The angry Gods, as they ſay, by Earthquakes and Concuſſions, broke the habitable Orb of the Earth, and thereupon the Subterraneous Waters guſhing out, drown'd it in a Deluge, and deſtroy'd Mankind. Upon this fraction, it came into another Form, with a Sea, Lakes and Rivers, as we now have. And thoſe parts of the broken Earth, that ſtood above the Waters, became Mountains, Rocks, Iſlands, and ſo much of the Land as we now inhabit. This account is given us by *Barnardinus Ramazzinus*, (in his Treatiſe *De Fontium Mutinenſium Scaturigine* *.) Taken from a Book Writ by *Franciſco Patricio*, to whom this wonderful Tradition was deliver'd by perſons of credit, from an *Æthiopian* Philoſopher then in *Spain*. I have not yet had the good fortune to ſee that Book of *Franciſco Patricio*, 'tis writ in *Italian*, with this Title, *Della Retorica degli Antichi*: Printed at *Venice*, 1562. This ſtory indeed, deſerves to be enquired after, for we do not any where, amongſt the Ancients, meet with ſuch a full and explicit narration of the ſtate of the Firſt and Second Earth. That which comes neareſt to it are thoſe accounts we find in *Plato*, from the *Ægyptian*

* Pag. 41. *Franciſcus Patricius, Vir eruditione ſat clarus, in quodam libello ſuo de Antiquorum Rhetoricâ, Italico idiomate conſcripto, ac Venetiis impreſſo per Franciſcum Senenſem, Dialogo primo ſatis lepidam narrationem habet, quam refert Julium Strozzam a Comite Balthaſare Caſtilioneo audiviſſe, Illum verò à Philoſopho quodam Abyſſino in Hiſpania accepiſſe. Narrabat ergo Sapiens Ille Abyſſinus in antiquiſſimis Æthiopiæ Annalibus deſcriptam eſſe hiſtoriam perditionis humani generis & diſtractionis totius Terræ. In Mundi ſcilicet primordiis fuiſſe Terram multo ampliorem quàm nunc eſt, ac Cœlo proximiorem, perfectè rotundam, ſine Montibus, ac Vallibus, totam tamen intùs cavernoſam ad inſtar ſpongiæ, hominesque in illâ habitantes, ac æthere purißimo gaudentes, ſæcundum ævum duxiſſe, Terrâ inarată optimas fruges, & fructus ferente. Cùm autem poſt diuturnum ſæculorum fluxum homines ſuperbiâ elati à priſcâ illâ bonitate deſciviſſent, Deos iratos Terram adeo validè concuſſiſſe, ut major illius pars intra proprias cavernas deciderit, atque hoc pacto Aquam in Latebroſis, receſſibus ante conclusam, expreſſam violenter fuiſſe, atque ita Fontes, Flumina, Lacus*

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& Mare ipſum ortum dixiſſe. Eam vero Terræ portionem quæ intra has cavernas non decidiſſet, ſed reliquâ elatior ſteriſſet, Montium formam exhibuiſſe. Inſulas porrò & ſcopulos in medio mari nil aliud eſſe niſi ſegmenta Terræ cavernoſæ ab illo totius terrenæ molis præcipiti caſu ſuperſtitis.

tian Antiquities, in his *Timæus*, *Politicus*, and *Phædo*, of another Earth and another ſtate of Nature and Mankind. But none of them are ſo full and diſtinct as this *Æthiopian* Doctrine.

As for the Weſtern Learning, we may remember what the *Ægyptian* Prieſt ſays to *Solon* in *Plato's Timæus*, *You Greeks are always children*, and know nothing of Antiquity; And if the *Greeks* were ſo, much more the *Romans*, who came after them in time, and for ſo great a People, and ſo much civiliz'd, never any had leſs Philoſophy, and leſs of the Sciences amongſt them than the *Romans* had; They ſtudied only the Art of Speaking, of Governing, and of Fighting: and left the reſt to the *Greeks* and Eaſtern Nations, as unprofitable. Yet we have reaſon to believe, that the beſt Philoſophical Antiquities that the *Romans* had, periſht with the Books of *Varro*, of *Numa Pompilius*, and of the ancient *Sibyls*. *Varro* writ, as S. *Auſtin* tells us a multitude of Volumes, and of various ſorts, and I had rather retrieve his works, than the works of any other *Roman* Author; not his Etymologies and Criticiſms, where we ſee nothing admirable, but his *Theologia Phyſica*, and his *Antiquitates*; which in all probability would have given us more light into remote times, and the Natural Hiſtory of the paſt World, than all the *Latin* Authors beſides have done. He has left the foremention'd diſtinction of three Periods of time; He had the doctrine of the *Mundane Egg*, as we ſee in *Probus Grammaticus*; and he gave us that obſervation of the Star *Venus*, concerning the great change ſhe ſuffer'd about the time of our Deluge.

De Civ. Dei lib. 6. Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. 4.

Numa Pompilius was doubtleſs a contemplative Man, and 'tis thought that he underſtood the true Syſtem of the World, and repreſented the Sun by his *Veſtal Fire*; though, methinks, *Veſta* does not ſo properly refer to the Sun, as to the Earth, which hath a Sacred fire too, that is not to be extinguiſht. He order'd his Books to be buried with him, which were found in a Stone Cheſt by him, four hundred years after his death; They were in all Twenty-four, whereof Twelve contain'd Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and the other Twelve the Philoſophy and Wiſdom of the *Greeks*; The *Romans* gave them to the *Prætor Petilius* to peruſe; and to make his report to the Senate, whether they were fit to be publiſht or no: The *Prætor* made a wiſe politick report, that the Contents of them might be of dangerous conſequence to the eſtabliſht Laws and Religion; and thereupon they were condemn'd to be burnt, and Poſterity was depriv'd of that ancient Treaſure, whatſoever it was. What the Nine Books of the *Sibyl* contain'd, that were offer'd to King *Tarquin*, we little know; She valued them high, and the higher ſtill, the more they ſeem'd to ſlight or neglect them; which is a piece of very natural indignation or contempt, when one is ſatisfied of the worth of what they offer. 'Tis likely they reſpected, beſides the fate of *Rome*, the fate and ſeveral periods of the World, both paſt and to come, and the moſt myſtical paſſages of them. And in theſe Authors and Monuments are loſt the greateſt hopes of Natural and Philoſophick Antiquities, that we could have had from the *Romans*.

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And as to the *Greeks*, their beſt and Sacred Learning was not originally their own; they enricht themſelves with the ſpoils of the Eaſt, and the remains we have of that Eaſtern Learning, is what we pick out of the *Greeks*; whoſe works, I believe, if they were intirely extant, we ſhould not need to go any further for witneſſes to confirm all the principal parts of this Theory. With what regret does one read in *Laertius*, *Suidas*, and others, the promiſing titles of Books writ by the *Greek* Philoſophers, hundreds or thouſands, whereof there is not one now extant; and thoſe that are extant are generally but fragments: Thoſe Authors alſo that have writ their Lives, or collected their Opinions, have done it confuſedly and injudiciouſly. I ſhould hope for as much light and inſtruction, as to the Original of the World, from *Orpheus* alone, if his Works had been preſerv'd, as from all that is extant now of the other *Greek* Philoſophers. We may ſee from what remains of him, that he underſtood in a good meaſure, how the Earth roſe from a Chaos, what was its external Figure, and what the form of its inward ſtructure; The opinion of the *Oval* Figure of the Earth is aſcrib'd to *Orpheus* and his Diſciples; and the doctrine of the *Mundane Egg* is ſo peculiarly his, that 'tis call'd by *Proclus*, The *Orphick Egg*; not that he was the firſt Author of that doctrine, but the firſt that brought it into *Greece*.

Thus much concerning the Heathen Learning, Eaſtern and Weſtern, and the ſmall remains of it in things Philoſophical; 'tis no wonder then if the account we have left us from them of the Primitive Earth, and the Antiquities of the Natural World be very imperfect. And yet we have trac'd (in the precedent Chapter, and more largely in our *Latin* Treatiſe) the foot-ſteps of ſeveral parts of this Theory amongſt the Writings and Traditions of the Ancients: and even of thoſe parts that ſeem the moſt ſtrange and ſingular, and that are the Baſis upon which the reſt ſtand. We have ſhown there, that their account of the Chaos, though it ſeem'd to many but a Poetical Rhapſody, contain'd the true myſtery of the formation of the Primitive Earth. We have alſo ſhown upon the ſame occaſion, that both the External Figure and Internal Form of that Earth was compriz'd and ſignified in their ancient doctrine of the Mundane Egg, which hath been propagated through all the Learned Nations. And laſtly, As to the ſituation of that Earth, and the change of its poſture ſince, that the memory of that has been kept up; we have brought ſeveral teſtimonies and indications from the *Greek* Philoſophers. And theſe were the three great and fundamental properties of the Primitive Earth, upon which all the other depend, and all its differences from the preſent Order of Nature. You ſee then, though Providence hath ſuffer'd the ancient Heathen Learning and their Monuments, in a great part, to periſh, yet we are not left wholly without witneſſes amongſt them, in a ſpeculation of this great importance.

Tell. Theor. lib. 2. c. 7.

Ibid. Cap. 10.

Ibid.

You will ſay, it may be, though this account, as to the Books and Learning of the Heathen, may be lookt upon as reaſonable, yet we might expect however, from the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Authors, a more full and ſatisfactory account of that Primitive Earth, and of

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the Old World. First, as to the *Jews*, 'tis well known that they have no ancient Learning, unless by way of Tradition, amongst them. There is not a Book extant in their Language, excepting the Canon of the Old Testament, that hath not been writ since our Saviour's time. They are very bad Masters of Antiquity, and they may in some measure be excus'd, because of their several captivities, dispersions, and desolations. In the *Babylonish* captivity their Temple was ransack'd, and they did not preserve, as is thought, so much as the Autograph or original Manuscript of the Law, nor the Books of those of their Prophets that were then extant, and kept in the Temple. And at their return from the Captivity after seventy years, they seem to have had forgot their Native Language so much, that the Law was to be interpreted to them in *Chaldee*, after it was read in *Hebrew*; for so I understand that interpretation in *Nehemiah*. 'Twas a great Providence, methinks, that they should any way preserve their Law, and other Books of Scripture, in the Captivity, for so long a time; for 'tis likely they had not the liberty of using them in any publick worship, seeing they return'd so ignorant of their own Language, and, as 'tis thought, of their Alphabet and Character too. And if their Sacred Books were hardly preserv'd, we may easily believe all others perish'd in that publick desolation.

c. 8. 7, 8.

Yet there was another destruction of that Nation, and their Temple, greater than this, by the *Romans*; and if there were any remains of Learning preserv'd in the former ruine, or any recruits made since that time, this second desolation would sweep them all away. And accordingly we see they have nothing left in their Tongue, besides the Bible, so ancient as the destruction of *Jerusalem*. These, and other publick calamities of the *Jewish* Nation, may reasonably be thought to have wasted their Records of ancient Learning, *if they had any*; for, to speak truth, the *Jews* are a people of little curiosity, as to Sciences and Philosophical enquiries: They were very tenacious of their own customs, and careful of those Traditions that did respect them, but were not remarkable, that I know of, or thought great Proficients in any other sort of Learning. There has been a great fame, 'tis true, of the *Jewish Cabala*, and of great mysteries contain'd in it; and, I believe, there was once a Traditional doctrine amongst some of them, that had extraordinary Notions and Conclusions: But where is this now to be found? The *Essenes* were the likeliest Sect, one would think, to retain such doctrines, but 'tis probable they are now so mixt with things fabulous and fantastical, that what one should alledge from thence would be of little or no authority. One Head in this *Cabala* was the doctrine of the *Sephiroth*, and though the explication of them be uncertain, the Inferiour *Sephiroth* in the Corporeal World cannot so well be appli'd to any thing, as to those several Orbs and Regions, infolding one another, whereof the Primigenial Earth was compos'd. Yet such conjectures and applications, I know, are of no validity, but in consort with better Arguments. I have often thought also, that their first and second Temple represented the first and second Earth or World; and that of *Ezekiel*'s, which is the third,

Vid. Men. ben Isr. de Creat. probl. 28.

third, is still to be erected, the most beautiful of all, when this second Temple of the World shall be burnt down. If the Prophecies of *Enoch* had been preserv'd, and taken into the Canon by *Ezra*, after their return from *Babylon*, when the Collection of their Sacred Books is suppos'd to have been made, we might probably have had a considerable account there, both of times past and to come, of Antiquities and futurities; for those Prophecies are generally suppos'd to have contain'd both the first and second fate of this Earth, and all the periods of it. But as this Book is lost to us, so I look upon all others that pretend to be Ante-Mosaical or Patriarchal, as Spurious and Fabulous.

Thus much concerning the *Jews*. As for *Christian* Authors, their knowledge must be from some of these foremention'd, *Jews* or *Heathens*; or else by Apostolical Tradition: For the *Christian* Fathers were not very speculative, so as to raise a Theory from their own thoughts and contemplations, concerning the Origin of the Earth. We have instanc'd, in the last Chapter, in a *Christian* Tradition concerning *Paradise*, and the high situation of it, which is fully coniorant to the site of the Primitive Earth, where *Paradise* stood, and doth seem plainly to refer to it, being unintelligible upon any other supposition. And 'twas, I believe, this elevation of *Paradise*, and the pensile structure of that *Paradisiacal* Earth, that gave occasion to *Celsus*, as we see by *Origen*'s answer, to say, that the *Christian Paradise* was taken from the pensile Gardens of *Alcinous*: But we may see now what was the ground of such expressions or Traditions amongst the Ancients, which Providence left to keep mens minds awake; not fully to instruct them, but to confirm them in the truth, when it should come to be made known in other methods. We have noted also above, that the ancient Books and Authors amongst the *Christians*, that were most likely to inform us in this Argument, have perisht, and are lost out of the World, such as *Ephrem Syrus de ortu rerum*, and *Tertullian de Paradiso*; and that piece which is extant, of *Moses Bar Cepha*'s upon this subject, receives more light from our *Hypothesis*, than from any other I know; for, correcting some mistakes about the Figure of the Earth, which the Ancients were often guilty of, the obscurity or confusion of that Discourse in other things, may be easily rectifi'd, if compar'd with this Theory.

Of this nature also is that Tradition that is common both to *Jews* and *Christians*, and which we have often mention'd before, that there was a perpetual serenity, and perpetual Equinox in *Paradise*; which cannot be upon this Earth, not so much as under the Equinoctial; for they have a sort of Winter and Summer there, a course of Rains at certain times of the Year, and great inequalities of the Air, as to heat and cold, moisture and drought. They had also Traditions amongst them, *That there was no Rain from the beginning of the World till the Deluge*, and that *there were no Mountains till the Flood*, and such like; These, you see, point directly at such an Earth, as we have describ'd. And I call these *Traditions*, because we cannot find the Original Authors of them; The ancient *ordinary Gloss* (upon *Genesis*) which some make Eight hundred years old,

Lat. Treat. Lib. 2. c. 10.

mentions both these Opinions; so does *Historia Scholastica*, *Alcuinus*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Lyranus*, and such Collectors of Antiquity. *Bede* also relates that of the *plainness* or smoothness of the *Antediluvian* Earth. Yet these are reported Traditionally, as it were, naming no Authors or Books from whence they were taken; Nor can it be imagin'd that they feign'd them themselves; to what end or purpose? it serv'd no interest; or upon what ground? Seeing they had no Theory that could lead them to such Notions as these, or that could be strengthen'd and confirm'd by them. Those opinions also of the Fathers which we recited in the seventh Chapter, placing *Paradise* beyond the Torrid Zone, and making it therefore inaccessible, suit very well to the form, qualities, and bipartition of the Primæval Earth, and seem to be grounded upon them.

Thus much may serve for a short Survey of the ancient Learning, to give us a reasonable account, why the memory and knowledge of the Primitive Earth should be so much lost out of the World; and what we retain of it still; which would be far more, I do not doubt, if all Manuscripts were brought to light, that are yet extant in publick or private Libraries. The Truth is, one cannot judge with certainty, neither what things have been recorded and preserv'd in the monuments of Learning, nor what are still; not what have been, because so many of those Monuments are lost: The *Alexandrian* Library, which we spoke of before, seems to have been the greatest Collection that ever was made before Christianity, and the *Constantinopolitan* (begun by *Constantine*, and destroy'd in the Fifth Century, when it was rais'd to the number, as is said, of one hundred twenty thousand Volumes) the most valuable that was ever since, and both these have been permitted by Providence to perish in the mercileſs Flames. Besides those devastations of Books and Libraries that have been made in Christendom, by the *Northern* barbarous Nations overflowing *Europe*, and the *Saracens* and *Turks* great parts of *Asia* and *Africk*. It is hard therefore to pronounce what knowledge hath been in the World, or what accounts of Antiquity; Neither can we well judge what remain, or of what things the memory may be still latently conserv'd; for besides those Manuscripts that are yet unexamin'd in these parts of Christendom, there are many, doubtless, of good value in other parts; Besides those that lie hid in the unchristianiz'd dominions. The Library of *Fez* is said to contain thirty two thousand Volumes in *Arabick*; and though the *Arabick* Learning was most what *Western*, and therefore of less account, yet they did deal in *Eastern* Learning too; for *Avicenna* writ a Book with that Title, *Philosophia Orientalis*. There may be also in the *East* thousands of Manuscripts unknown to us, of greater value than most Books we have: And as to those subjects we are treating of, I should promise my self more light and confirmation from the *Syriack* Authors than from any others. These things being consider'd, we can make but a very imperfect estimate, what evidences are left us, and what accounts of the Primitive Earth, and if these deductions and defalcations be made, both for what Books are wholly lost, and for what lie asleep or dead in Libraries, we have reason to be satisfied in a Theory of this nature.

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to find so good attestations as we have produc'd for the several parts of it; which we purpose to enlarge upon considerably at another time and occasion.

But to carry this Objection as far as may be, let us suppose it to be urg'd still in the last place, that though these Humane Writings have perisht, or be imperfect, yet in the Divine Writings at least, we might expect, that the memory of the Old World, and of the Primitive Earth should have been preserv'd. To this I answer in short, That we could not expect in the Scriptures any Natural Theory of that Earth, nor any account of it, but what was general; and this we have, both by the *Tehom-Rabba* of *Moses*, and the description of the same Abyss in other places of Scripture, as we have shown at large in the First Book, *Chap.* 7. And also by the description which S. *Peter* hath given of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth, and their different constitution from the present: which is also prov'd by the Rainbow, not seen in the first World. You will say, it may be, that that place of S. *Peter* is capable of another interpretation; so are most places of Scripture, if you speak of a bare capacity; they are capable of more than one interpretation; but that which is most natural, proper and congruous, and suitable to the words, suitable to the Argument, and suitable to the Context, wherein is nothing superfluous or impertinent, That we prefer and accept of as the most reasonable interpretation. Besides, in such Texts as relate to the Natural World, if of two interpretations propos'd, one agrees better with the Theory of Nature than the other, *cæteris paribus*, that ought to be prefer'd. And by these two rules we are willing to be try'd, in the exposition of that remarkable Discourse of S. *Peter*'s, and to stand to that sence which is found most agreeable to them. 2 *Pet.* 3. 5, 6, *&c.*

Give me leave to conclude the whole Discourse with this general Consideration; 'Tis reasonable to suppose, that there is a Providence in the conduct of *Knowledge*, as well as of other affairs on the Earth; and that it was not design'd that all the mysteries of Nature and Providence should be plainly and clearly understood throughout all the Ages of the World; but that there is an Order establisht for this, as for other things, and certain Periods and Seasons; And what was made known to the Ancients only by broken Conclusions and Traditions, will be known (in the latter Ages of the World) in a more perfect way, by Principles and Theories. The increase of Knowledge being that which changeth so much the face of the World, and the state of Humane affairs, I do not doubt but there is a particular care and superintendency for the conduct of it; by what steps and degrees it should come to light, at what Seasons and in what Ages; what evidence should be left, either in Scripture, Reason, or Tradition, for the grounds of it; how clear or obscure, how dispers't or united; all these things were weigh'd and consider'd, and such measures taken as best suit the designs of Providence, and the general project and method propos'd in the government of the World. And I make no question but the state both of the Old World, and of that which is to come, is exhibited to us in Scripture in such a measure and proportion, as is fit for this fore-mentioned purpose; not as the

Articles of our Faith, or the precepts of a good Life, which he that runs may read: but to the attentive and reflexive, to those that are unprejudic'd, and to those that are inquisitive, and have their minds open and prepar'd for the discernment of mysteries of such a nature.

Thus much in answer to that general Objection which might be made against this Theory, *That* it is not founded in Antiquity. I do not doubt but there may be many particular Objections against Parts and Sections of it, and the exposing it thus in our own Tongue may excite some or other, it may be, to make them; but if any be so minded, I desire (if they be Scholars) that it may rather be in *Latin*, as being more proper for a subject of this nature; and also that they would keep themselves close to the substance of the Theory, and wound that as much as they can; but to make excursions upon things accidental or collateral, that do not destroy the *Hypothesis*, is but to trouble the World with impertinencies. Now the substance of the Theory is this, THAT there was a *Primitive Earth* of another form from the present, and inhabited by Mankind till the Deluge; That it had those properties and conditions that we have ascrib'd to it, namely, a perpetual Equinox or Spring, by reason of its *right* situation to the Sun; Was of an Oval Figure, and the exteriour face of it smooth and uniform, without Mountains or a Sea. That in this Earth stood *Paradise*; the doctrine whereof cannot be understood but upon supposition of this Primitive Earth, and its properties. Then that the disruption and fall of this Earth into the Abyss, which lay under it, was that which made the Universal Deluge, and the destruction of the Old World; And that neither *Noah*'s Flood, nor the present form of the Earth can be explain'd in any other method that is rational, nor by any other Causes that are intelligible: at least that have been hitherto propos'd to the World. These are the Vitals of the Theory, and the primary Assertions, whereof I do freely profess my full belief: and whosoever by solid reasons will show me in an Errour, and undeceive me, I shall be very much oblig'd to him. There are other lesser Conclusions which flow from these, and may be call'd Secondary, as that the Longævity of the Ante-diluvians depended upon their perpetual Equinox, and the perpetual equality and serenity of the Air; That the Torrid Zone in the Primitive Earth was uninhabitable; And that all their Rivers flow'd from the extreme parts of the Earth towards the Equinoctial; there being neither Rain, nor Rainbow, in the temperate and habitable Regions of it; And lastly, That the place of *Paradise*, according to the opinion of Antiquity, (for I determine no place by the Theory) was in the Southern Hemisphere. These, I think, are all truly deduc'd and prov'd in their several ways, though they be not such essential parts of the Theory, as the former. There are also besides, many particular Explications that are to be consider'd with more liberty and latitude, and may be perhaps upon better thoughts, or better observations, corrected, without any prejudice to the General Theory. Those places of Scripture, which we have cited, I think, are all truly apply'd; and I have not mention'd *Moses*'s *Cosmopœia*, because I thought it

it deliver'd by him as a Lawgiver, not as a Philosopher; which I intend to show at large in another Treatise, not thinking that discussion proper for the Vulgar Tongue. Upon the whole, we are to remember; that some allowances are to be made for every *Hypothesis* that is new propos'd and untry'd: and that we ought not out of levity of wit, or any private design, discountenance free and fair Essays: nor from any other motive, but the only love and concern of Truth.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Author of Nature.

SEeing the Theory which we have propos'd in this Work is of that extent and comprehension, that it begins with the first foundation of this World, and is to reach to the last Period of it, in one continued Series or chain of Nature; It will not be improper, before we conclude, to make some reflections and remarks what *Nature* is, and upon what superiour Causes she depends in all her Motions and Operations: And this will lead us to the discovery of the *Author* of Nature, and to the true Notion and state of *Natural Providence*, which seems to have been hitherto very much neglected, or little understood in the World. And 'tis the more reasonable and fitting, that we should explain these Notions before we shut up this Treatise, lest those Natural Explications which we have given of the Deluge, and other things, should be mistaken or misapply'd; Seeing some are apt to run away with pieces of a Discourse, which they think applicable to their purpose, or which they can maliciously represent, without attending to the scope or just limitations of what is spoken.

By *Nature* in general is understood All the Powers of Finite Beings, with the Laws establisht for their action and conduct according to the ordinary course of things. And this extends both to Intellectual Beings and Corporeal; but seeing 'tis only the Material World that hath been the subject of our Discourse, Nature, as to that, may be defin'd, the Powers of *Matter*, with the Laws establisht for their action and conduct. Seeing also Matter hath no action, whether from it self, or impress upon it, but Motion, as to the Corporeal World Nature is no more than the powers and capacities of Matter, with the Laws that govern the Motions of it. And this definition is so plain and easie, that, I believe, all parties will agree in it; There will also be no great controversie what these Laws are, As that one part of Matter cannot penetrate another, nor be in several places at once; That the greater Body overcomes the less, and the swifter the slower; That all motion is in a right line, till something obstruct it or divert it; which are points little disputed as to the matter of fact; but the points concerning which the contro-

versie

verſie ariſeth, and which are to lead us to the Author of Nature, are theſe, *Who* or *what* is the Author of theſe *Laws?* of this *Motion*) and even of *Matter* it ſelf; and of all thoſe modes and forms of it which we ſee in Nature?

The Queſtion uſeth chiefly to be put concerning *Motion*, how it came into the World; what the firſt Source of it is, or how Matter came at firſt to be mov'd? For the ſimple notion of Matter, not divided into parts, nor diverſified, doth not imply Motion, but Extenſion only; 'Tis true, from Extenſion there neceſſarily follows *mobility*, or a capacity of being mov'd by an External Power, but not actual or neceſſary Motion ſpringing from it ſelf. For dimenſions, or length, breadth, and depth, which is the *Idea* of Matter, or of a Body, do no way include local Motion, or tranſlation of parts; on the contrary, we do more eaſily and naturally conceive ſimple Extenſion as a thing ſteddy and fixt, and if we conceive Motion in it, or in its parts, we muſt ſuperadd ſomething to our firſt thought, and ſomething that does not flow from Extenſion. As when we conceive a Figure, a Triangle, Square, or any other, we naturally conceive it fixt or quieſcent, and if afterwards we imagine it in Motion, that is purely accidental to the Figure; in like manner it is accidental to Matter, that there ſhould be Motion in it, it hath no inward principle from whence that can flow, and its Nature is compleat without it; Wherefore if we find Motion and Action in Matter, which is of it ſelf a dead in-active Maſs, this ſhould lead us immediately to the Author of Nature, or to ſome External Power diſtinct from Matter, which is the Cauſe of all Motion in the World.

In ſingle Bodies, and ſingle parts of Matter, we readily believe and conclude, that they do not move, unleſs ſomething move them, and why ſhould we not conclude the ſame thing of the whole maſs? If a Rock or Mountain cannot move it ſelf, nor divide it ſelf, either into great gobbets, or into ſmall powder, why ſhould it not be as impoſſible for the whole maſs of Matter to do ſo? 'Tis true, Matter is capable both of motion and reſt, yet to conceive it undivided, undiverſified and unmov'd, is certainly a more ſimple Notion, than to conceive it divided and mov'd; and this being firſt in order of Nature, and an adequate conception too, we ought to enquire and give our ſelves an account how it came out of this ſtate, and by what Cauſes, or, as we ſaid before, how *Motion came firſt into the World.*

In the ſecond place, That diverſity which we ſee in Nature, both as to the qualities of Matter, and the compoſitions of it, being one ſtep further than bare Motion, ought alſo to be a further indication of the Author of Nature, and to put us upon enquiry into the Cauſes of this diverſity. There is nothing more uniform than ſimple Extenſion, nothing more the ſame throughout, all of a piece, and all of a ſort, ſimilar, and like to it ſelf every where, yet we find the matter of the Univerſe diverſified a thouſand ways, into Heavens and Earth, Air and Water, Stars, Meteors, Light, Darkneſs, Stones, Wood, Animals, and all Terreſtrial Bodies; Theſe diverſifications are ſtill further removes from the natural unity and identity of Matter, and a further argument of ſome external and ſuperiour power that hath given theſe different forms to the ſeveral portions of Matter by the intervention

intervention of Motion. For if you exclude the Author of Nature, and ſuppoſe nothing but Matter in the World, take whether *Hypotheſis* you will, either that Matter is without Motion of it ſelf, or that it is of it ſelf in Motion, there could not ariſe this diverſity, and theſe compoſitions in it. If it was without Motion, then the caſe is plain, for it would be nothing but an hard inflexible lump of impenetrable extenſion, without any diverſity at all. And if you ſuppoſe it mov'd of it ſelf, or to have an innate Motion, that would certainly hinder all ſort of natural concretions and compoſitions, and in effect deſtroy all Continuity. For Motion, if it be eſſential to Matter, it is eſſential to every Atome of it, and equally diffus'd throughout all its parts; and all thoſe parts or Atomes would be equal to one another, and as little as poſſible; for if Matter was divided into parts by its own innate Motion, that would melt it down into parts as little as poſſible, and conſequently all equal to one another, there being no reaſon why you ſhould ſtop thoſe diviſions, or the effect of this innate *impetus* in any one part ſooner than in another, or in any part indeed till it was divided as much as was poſſible; Wherefore upon this principle, or in this method, all the Matter of the Univerſe would be one liquid or volatile maſs, ſmaller than pin duſt, nay, than Air or Æther: And there would be no diverſity of forms, only another ſort of identity from the former, when we ſuppos'd it wholly without motion. And ſo, upon the whole, you ſee, that Matter, whether we allow it Motion, or no Motion, could not come into that variety of tempers and compoſitions in which we find it in the World, without the influence and direction of a Superiour External Cauſe, which we call the Author of Nature.

But there is ſtill a further and ſtronger Argument from this Head, if we conſider not only the diverſity of Bodies, that the maſs of Matter is cut into, but alſo that that diverſity is *regular*, and in ſome parts of it admirably artful and ingenious. This will not only lead us to an Author of Nature, but to ſuch an Author as hath Wiſdom as well as Power. Matter is a brute Being, ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, and though we ſhould ſuppoſe it to have a force to move it ſelf, yet that it ſhould be able to meditate and conſult, and take its meaſures how to frame a World, a regular and beautiful ſtructure, conſiſting of ſuch and ſuch parts and Regions, and adapted to ſuch and ſuch purpoſes, this would be too extravagant to imagine; to allow it not only Motion from it ſelf, but Wit and Judgment too; and that before it came into any Organical or Animate compoſition.

You'll ſay, it may be, The Frame of the World was not the reſult of counſel and conſultation, but of *neceſſity*; Matter being once in Motion under the conduct of thoſe Laws that are eſſential to it, it wrought it ſelf by degrees from one ſtate into another, till at length it came into the preſent form which we call the World. Theſe are words thrown out at random, without any pretence of ground, only to ſee if they can be confuted; And ſo they may eaſily be, for we have ſhown already, that if Matter had innate Motion, it would be ſo far from running into the orderly and well

diſpos'd

diſpos'd frame of the World, that it would run into no frame at all, into no forms, or compoſitions, or diverſity of Bodies; but would either be all fluid, or all ſolid; either every ſingle particle in a ſeparate Motion, or all in one continued maſs with an univerſal tremor, or inclination to move without actual ſeparation; and either of theſe two ſtates is far from the form of a World. Secondly, As to the Laws of Motion, as ſome of them are eſſential to Matter, ſo others are not demonſtrable, but upon ſuppoſition of an Author of Nature. And thirdly, Though all the Laws of Motion be admitted, they cannot bring Matter into the form of a World, unleſs ſome meaſures be taken at firſt by an intelligent Being; I ſay ſome meaſures be taken to determine the primary Motions upon which the reſt depend, and to put them in a way that leads to the formation of a World. The maſs muſt be divided into Regions, and Centers fixt, and Motions appropriated to them; and it muſt be conſider'd of what magnitude the firſt Bodies, or the firſt diviſions of Matter ſhould be, and how mov'd: Beſides, there muſt be a determinate proportion, and certain degree of motion impreſt upon the Univerſal Matter, to qualifie it for the production of a World; if the doſe was either too ſtrong or too weak, the work would miſcarry; and nothing but infinite Wiſdom could ſee thorough the effects of every proportion, or every new degree of Motion, and diſcern which was beſt for the beginning, progreſs, and perfection of a World. So you ſee the Author of Nature is no way excluded, or made uſeleſs by the Laws of Motion; nor if Matter was promiſcuouſly mov'd would theſe be ſufficient cauſes of themſelves to produce a World, or that regular diverſity of Bodies that compoſe it.

But 'tis hard to ſatisfie Men againſt their inclinations, or their intereſt: And as the regularity of the Univerſe was always a great ſtumbling-ſtone to the *Epicuræans*; ſo they have endeavour'd to make ſhifts of all ſorts to give an account and anſwer to it, without recourſe to an Intelligent Principle; and for their laſt refuge, they ſay, That Chance might bring that to paſs, which Nature and Neceſſity could not do; The Atoms might hit upon a lucky ſett of Motions, which though it were caſual and fortuitous, might happily lead them to the forming of a World. A lucky hit indeed, for Chance to frame a World: But this is a meer ſhuffle and colluſion; for if there was nothing in Nature but Matter, there could be no ſuch thing as *Chance*, all would be pure *Mechanical Neceſſity*; and ſo this anſwer, though it ſeem very different, is the ſame in effect with the former, and *Epicurus* with his Atomiſts are oblig'd to give a juſt mechanical account, how all the parts of Nature, the moſt compound and elaborate parts not excepted, riſe from their Atoms by pure neceſſity: There could be no accidental concourſe or coalition of them, every ſtep, every motion, every compoſition was fatal and neceſſary, and therefore 'tis nonſence for an *Epicuræan* to talk of Chance, as Chance is oppos'd to Neceſſity; and if they oppoſe it to *Counſel* and *Wiſdom*, 'tis little better than non-ſence, to ſay the World and all its furniture riſe by Chance, in that notion of it. But it will deſerve our patience a little

little to give a more full and diſtinct anſwer to this, ſeeing it reacheth all their pleas and evaſions at once.

What proof or demonſtration of Wiſdom and Counſel can be given, or can be deſir'd, that is not found in ſome part of the World, Animate or Inanimate? We know but a little portion of the Univerſe, a meer point in compariſon, and a broken point too, and yet in this broken point, or ſome ſmall parcels of it, there is more of Art, Counſel and Wiſdom ſhown, than in all the works of Men taken together, or than in all our *Artificial* World. In the conſtruction of the Body of an Animal, there is more of thought and contrivance, more of exquiſite invention, and fit diſpoſition of parts, than is in all the Temples, Palaces, Ships, Theaters, or any other pieces of Architecture the World ever yet ſee: And not Architecture only, but all other Mechaniſm whatſoever, Engines, Clock-work, or any other, is not comparable to the Body of a living Creature. Seeing then we acknowledge theſe artificial works, whereſoever we meet with them, to be the effects of Wit, Underſtanding and Reaſon, is it not manifeſt partiality, or ſtupidity rather, to deny the Works of Nature, which excel theſe in all degrees, to proceed from an Intelligent Principle? Let them take any piece of Humane Art, or any Machine fram'd by the Wit of Man, and compare it with the Body of an Animal, either for diverſity and multiplicity of Workmanſhip, or curioſity in the minute parts, or juſt connexion and dependance of one thing upon another, or fit ſubſerviency to the ends propos'd, of life, motion, uſe and ornament to the Creature, and if in all theſe reſpects they find it ſuperiour to any work of Humane production, (as they certainly muſt do,) why ſhould it be thought to proceed from inferiour and ſenceleſs Cauſes; ought we not in this, as well as in other things, to proportion the Cauſes to the Effect? and to ſpeak truth, and bring in an honeſt Verdict for Nature as well as Art?

In the compoſition of a perfect Animal, there are four ſeveral frames or compages joyn'd together, The Natural, Vital, Animal, and Genital; Let them examine any one of theſe apart, and try if they can find any thing defective or ſuperfluous, or any way inept, for matter or form. Let them view the whole Compages of the Bones, and eſpecially the admirable conſtruction, texture, and diſpoſition of the Muſcles, which are joyn'd with them for moving the Body, or its parts. Let them take an account of the little Pipes and Conduits for the Juices and the Liquors, of their form and diſtribution; Or let them take any ſingle Organ to examine, as the Eye, or the Ear, the Hand or the Heart; In each of theſe they may diſcover ſuch arguments of Wiſdom, and of Art, as will either convince them, or confound them; though ſtill they muſt leave greater undiſcover'd. We know little the inſenſible form and contexture of the parts of the Body, nor the juſt method of their Action; We know not yet the manner, order and cauſes of the Motion of the Heart, which is the chief Spring of the whole Machine: and with how little exactneſs do we underſtand the Brain, and the parts belonging to it? Why of that temper and of that form?

form? How Motions are propagated there, and how conserv'd? How they answer the several operations of the Mind? Why such little discomposures of it disturb our Senses, and upon what little differences in this the great differences of Wits and Genius's depend. Yet seeing in all these Organs, whose make and manner of action we cannot discover, we see however by the Effects, that they are truly fitted for those offices to which Nature hath design'd them, we ought in reason to admire that Art which we cannot penetrate. At least we cannot but judge it a thing absurd, that what we have not wit enough to find out or comprehend, we should not allow to be an argument of wit and understanding in the Author, or Inventor of it. This would be against all Logick, common Sense, and common *Decorum*. Neither do I think it possible to the mind of Man, while we attend to evidence, to believe that these, and such like works of Nature came by *Chance*, as they call it, or without Providence, forecast and Wisdom, either in the first Causes, or in the proximate; in the design, or in the execution; in the preparation to them, or in the finishing of them.

Wherefore, in my judgment, if any be of this perswasion, it cannot be so much the effect of their understanding, as of their disposition and inclination; and in moral things, mens opinions do as often spring from the one, as from the other. For my part, I do generally distinguish of two sorts of opinions in all men, *Inclination-opinions*, and *Reason'd-opinions*; Opinions that grow upon Mens Complexions, and Opinions that are the results of their Reason; and I meet with very few that are of a temperament so equal, or a constitution so even pois'd, but that they incline to one sett of Opinions rather than another, antecedently to all proofs of Reason: And when they have espous'd their opinions from that secret sympathy, then they find out as good Reasons as they can to maintain them, and say, nay think sometimes, that 'twas for the sake of those Reasons that they first imbrac'd them. We may commonly distinguish these Inclination-opinions from the Rational, because we find them accompanied with more Heat than Light, a great deal of eagerness and impatience in defending of them, and but slender arguments. One might give instances of this, both in Sects of Religion and Philosophy, in *Platonists*, *Stoicks*, and *Epicureans*, that are so by their temper more than their reason, but to our purpose it will be sufficient to instance in one hearty *Epicurean*, *Lucretius*, who is manifestly such, more from his inclination, and the bent of his Spirit, than from the force of Argument. For though his suppositions be very precarious, and his reasonings all along very slight, he will many times strut and triumph, as if he had wrested the Thunder out of *Jove*'s right hand; and a Mathematician is not more confident of his demonstration, than he seems to be of the truth of his shallow Philosophy. From such a principle of natural Complexion as this, I allow a man may be Atheistical, but never from the calm dictate of his Reason; yet he may be as confident, and as tenacious of his Conclusion, as if he had a clear and distinct evidence for it. For I take it to be a true Maxim in Humane

mane Nature, that *A strong inclination, with a little evidence is equivalent to a strong evidence.* And therefore we are not to be surpris'd if we find Men confident in their opinions many times far beyond the degree of their evidence, seeing there are other things, besides evidence, that incline the Will to one Conclusion rather than another. And as I have instanc'd in Natural Complexion, so *Interest* hath the same effect upon Humane Nature, because it always begets an inclination to those opinions that favour our interest, and a disinclination to the contrary; And this principle may be another ingredient, and secret perswasive to Atheism; for when men have run themselves so deep into Vice and Immorality, that they expect no benefit from a God, 'tis in a manner necessary to their quiet, and the ease of their mind, that they should fansie there is none; for they are afraid, if there be a God, that he will not stand neuter, and let them alone in another World. This, I say, is necessary to the quiet of their mind, unless they can attain that great Art, which many labour after, of *non-reflection*, or an *unthinking faculty*, as to God and a World to come, but to return to our Argument, after this short digression------

And as that regular diversity which we see in the forms of Nature, and especially in the Bodies of Animals, could not be from any blind principle, either of Necessity or of Chance; So, in the last place, that *Subordination* which we see in the parts of Nature, and subserviency to one another, the less Noble to the more Noble, the Inanimate to the Animate, and all things upon Earth unto Man, must needs have been the effect of some Being higher than Matter; that did wisely dispose all things so at first, and doth still conserve them in the same order. If Man had been born into the World, and a numerous host of Creatures, without any provision or accommodation made for their subsistence and conveniences, we might have suspected that they had come by Chance, and therefore were so ill provided for: but which of them can complain? through their various Kinds and Orders, what is there awanting? They are all fitted to their several Elements, and their ways of living, Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, both by the form and shape of their Bodies the manner of their covering, and the quality of their food. Besides, They are instructed in little Arts and Instincts for their conservation; and not only for their proper conservation, but also to find a way to make and bring up young ones, and leave behind them a Posterity; And all this in so fit a method, and by such a pretty train of actions, as is really admirable.

Man is the Master of all, and of him a double care is taken; that he should neither want what Nature can afford, nor what Art can supply. He could not be provided of all conveniences by Nature only, especially to secure him against the injuries of the Air; but in recompence, Nature hath provided materials for all those Arts which she see would be needful in Humane Life, as Building, Cloathing, Navigation, Agriculture, *&c.* That so Mankind might have both wherewithal to answer their occasions, and also to imploy their time, and exercise their ingenuity. This Oeconomy of

Nature, as I may call it, or well ordering of the great Family of living Creatures, is an argument both of Goodneſs and of Wiſdom, and is every way far above the powers of brute Matter. All regular adminiſtration we aſcribe to conduct and judgment; If an Army of Men be well provided for in things neceſſary both for Food, Cloaths, Arms, Lodging, Security and Defence, ſo as nothing is awanting in ſo great a multitude, we ſuppoſe it the effect of care and forecaſt in thoſe perſons that had the charge of it; they took their meaſures at firſt, computed and proportion'd one thing to another, made good regulations, and gave orders for convenient ſupplies. And can we ſuppoſe the great Army of Creatures upon Earth manag'd and provided for with leſs fore-thought and Providence, nay, with none at all, by meer Chance? This is to recede from all rules and analogy of Reaſon, only to ſerve a turn, and gratifie an unreaſonable humour.

To conclude this Argument; There are two general Heads of things, if I recollect aright, which we make the marks and characters of Wiſdom and Reaſon, Works of Art, and the Conduct of affairs or direction of means to an end; and whereſoever we meet, either with regular material works, or a regular ordination of affairs, we think we have a good title and warrant to derive them from an intelligent Author; Now theſe two being found in the Natural World, and that in an eminent degree, the one in the Frame of it, and the other in the Oeconomy of it, we have all the evidence and ground that can be in arguing from things viſible to things inviſible, that there is an Author of Nature, Superiour both to Humane Power and Humane Wiſdom.

Before we proceed to give any further proofs or diſcoveries of the Author of Nature, let us reflect a little upon thoſe we have already inſiſted upon; which have been taken wholly from the Material World, and from the common courſe of Nature. The very exiſtence of Matter is a proof of a Deity, for the *Idea* of it hath no connexion with exiſtence, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter; however we will take leave now to ſet it down with the reſt, in order as they follow one another.

1. *The exiſtence of Matter.*
2. *The Motion of Matter.*
3. *The juſt quantity and degree of that Motion.*
4. *The firſt form of the Univerſe upon Motion impreſt; both as to the Diviſions of Matter, and the Leading Motions.*
5. *The Laws for communication and regulation of that Motion.*
6. *The regular effects of it, eſpecially in the Animate World.*
7. *The Oeconomy of Nature, and fit Subordination of one part of the World to another.*

The five firſt of theſe Heads are prerequiſites, and preparatives to the formation of a World, and the two laſt are as the image and character of its Maker, of his Power, Goodneſs and Wiſdom, impreſt upon it. Every one of them might well deſerve a Chapter to it ſelf, if the ſubject was to be treated on at large; but this is only an

an occaſional diſſertation, to ſtate the Powers of Matter, leſt they ſhould be thought boundleſs, and the Author of Nature unneceſſary, as the *Epicuræans* pretend; but notwithſtanding their vain confidence and credulity, I defie them, or any man elſe, to make ſence of the Material World, without placing a God at the Center of it.

To theſe conſiderations taken wholly from the Corporeal World, give me leave to add one of a mixt nature, concerning the *Union of our Soul and Body.* This ſtrange effect, if rightly underſtood, doth us truly diſcover the Author of Nature, as many Effects that are accounted more Supernatural. The Incarnation, as I may ſo ſay, of a Spiritual Subſtance, is to me a kind of ſtanding miracle; That there ſhould be ſuch an union and connexion reciprocally betwixt the motions of the Body, and the actions and paſſions of the Soul: betwixt a ſubſtance Intellectual, and a parcel of organiz'd Matter: can be no effect of either of thoſe ſubſtances; being wholly diſtinct in themſelves, and remote in their natures from one another. For inſtance, When my Finger is cut, or when 'tis burnt, that my Soul thereupon ſhould feel ſuch a ſmart and violent pain, is no conſequence of Nature, or does not follow from any connexion there is betwixt the Motion or Diviſion of that piece of Matter, I call my Finger, and the paſſion of that Spirit I call my Soul; for theſe are two diſtinct Eſſences, and in themſelves independent upon one another, as much as the Sun and my Body are independent; and there is no more reaſon in ſtrict Nature, or in the eſſential chain of Cauſes and Effects, that my Soul ſhould ſuffer, or be affected with this Motion in the Finger, than that the Sun ſhould be affected with it; nay, there is leſs reaſon, if leſs can be, for the Sun being Corporeal, as the finger is, there is ſome remote poſſibility that there might be communication of Motion betwixt them; but Motion cannot beget a thought, or a paſſion, by its own force; Motion can beget nothing but Motion, and if it ſhould produce a thought, the Effect would be more noble than the Cauſe. Wherefore this Union is not by any neceſſity of Nature, but only from a poſitive Inſtitution, or Decree eſtabliſht by the Author of Nature, that there ſhould be ſuch a communication betwixt theſe two ſubſtances for a time, *viz.* during the Vitality of the Body.

'Tis true indeed, if Thought, Apprehenſion, and Reaſon, was nothing but Corporeal Motion, this Argument would be of no force; but to ſuppoſe this, is to admit an abſurdity to cure a difficulty; to make a Thought out of a local Motion; is like making a God out of a Stock, or a Stone; for theſe two are as remote in their Nature, and have as different *Idea*'s in the Mind, as any two diſparate things we can propoſe or conceive; Number and Colour, a Triangle and Vertue, Free-will and a Pyramid are not more unlike, more diſtant, or of more different forms, than Thought and local Motion. Motion is nothing but a Bodies changing its place and ſituation amongſt other Bodies, and what affinity or reſemblance hath that to a *Thought*? How is that like to Pain, or to a

doubt

doubt of the Mind? to Hope or to Desire? to the *Idea* of God? to any act of the Will or Understanding, as judging, consenting, reasoning, remembring, or any other? These are things of several orders that have no similitude, nor any mixture of one another. And as this is the nature of Motion, so, on the other hand, in a *Thought* there are two things, *Consciousness*, and a *Representation*; Consciousness is in all Thoughts indifferently, whether distinct or confus'd, for no Man thinks but he is conscious that he thinks, nor perceives any thing but he is conscious that he perceives it; there is also in a Thought, especially if it be distinct, a representation; 'tis the image of that we think upon, and makes its Object present to the Mind. Now what hath local Motion to do with either of these two, Consciousness, or Representativeness? How doth it include either of them, or hold them any way affixt to its Nature? I think one may with as good sence and reason ask of what colour a Thought is, green or scarlet, as what sort of Motion it is; for Motion of what sort soever, can never be conscious, nor represent things as our Thoughts do. I have noted thus much in general, only to show the different nature of Motion and Cogitation, that we may be the more sensible that they have no mutual connexion in us, nor in any other Creature, from their essence or essential properties, but by a supervenient power from the Author of Nature, who hath thus united the Soul and the Body in their operations.

We have hitherto only consider'd the ordinary course of Nature, and what indications and proofs of its Author, that affords us; There is another remarkable Head of Arguments from effects extraordinary and supernatural, such as Miracles, Prophecies, Inspirations, Prodigies, Apparitions, Witchcraft, Sorceries, *&c.* These, at one step, lead us to something above Nature, and this is the shortest way, and the most popular; several Arguments are suited to several tempers, and God hath not left himself without a proper witness to every temper that is not wilfully blind. Of these witnesses we now speak of, the most considerable are Miracles, and the most considerable Records of them are the Books of Scripture; which if we consider only as an History, and as having nothing Sacred in them more than other good Histories, that is, truth in matter of fact, we cannot doubt but there have been Miracles in the World; That *Moses* and the Prophets, our Saviour and his Apostles, wrought Miracles, I can no more question, than that *Cæsar* and *Alexander* fought Battles, and took Cities. So also that there were true Prophecies and Inspirations, we know from Scripture, only consider'd as a true History. But as for other supernatural effects that are not recorded there, we have reason to examine them more strictly before we receive them, at least as to particular instances; for I am apt to think they are like Lotteries, where there are ten or twenty Blanks for one Prize; but yet if there were no Prizes at all, the Lottery would not have credit to subsist, and would be cry'd down as a perfect Cheat; So if amongst those

those many stories of Prodigies, Apparitions, and Witchcrafts, there were not some true, the very fame and thought of them would die from amongst Men, and the first broachers of them would be hooted at as Cheats. As a false Religion that hath nothing true and solid mixt with it, can scarce be fixt upon Mankind; but where there is a mixture of true and false, the strength of the one supports the weakness of the other. As for Sorcery, the instances and examples of it are undeniable; not so much those few scatter'd instances that happen now and then amongst us, but such as are more constant, and in a manner National, in some Countries, and amongst barbarous people. Besides, the Oracles, and the Magick that was so frequent amongst the Ancients, show us that there have been always some Powers more than Humane tampering with the affairs of Mankind. But this Topick from effects Extraordinary and Supernatural, being in a great measure Historical, and respecting evil Spirits as well as the Author of Nature, is not so proper for this place.

There is a third Sett or Head of Arguments, that to some tempers are more cogent and convictive than any of these, namely, Arguments *abstract* and *Metaphysical*; And these do not only lead us to an Author of Nature in general, but show us more of his properties and perfections; represent him to us as a supream Deity, infinitely perfect, the fountain of all Being, and the steddy Center of all things. But reasons of this order, being of a finer thred, require more attention, and some preparation of Mind to make us discern them well, and be duly sensible of them. When a Man hath withdrawn himself from the noise of this busie World, lock'd up his Senses and his Passions, and every thing that would unite him with it: commanded a general silence in the Soul, and suffers not a Thought to stir, but what looks inwards; Let him then reflect seriously, and ask himself, *What am I*, and *How came I into Being?* If I was Author and Original to my self, surely I ought to feel that mighty Power, and enjoy the pleasure of it; but, alas, I am conscious of no such force or Vertue, nor of any thing in my Nature, that should give me necessary existence; It hath no connexion with any part of me, nor any faculty in me, that I can discern. And now that I do exist, from what Causes soever, *Can I secure my self in Being?* now that I am in possession, am I sure to keep it? am I certain that three minutes hence I shall still exist? I may or I may not, for ought I see; Either seems possible in it self, and either is contingent as to me; I find nothing in my Nature that can warrant my subsistence for one day, for one hour, for one moment longer. I am nothing but Thoughts, fleeting Thoughts, that chase and extinguish one another; and my Being, for ought I know, is successive, and as dying as they are, and renew'd to me every moment. This I am sure of, that so far as I know my self, and am conscious what I am, there is no principle of immutability, or of necessary and indefectible existence in my Nature; and therefore I ought in reason to believe, that I stand or fall at the mercy of other Causes, and not by my own will, or my own sufficiency.

Besides,

Beſides, I am very ſenſible, and in this I cannot be miſtaken, that my Nature is in ſeveral reſpects, weak and imperfect; both as to Will and Underſtanding. I *Will* many things in vain, and without effect, and I Wiſh often what I have no ability to execute or obtain. And as to my Underſtanding, how defective is it? how little or nothing do I know in compariſon of what I am ignorant of? Almoſt all the Intellectual World is ſhut up to me, and the far greateſt part of the Corporeal; And in thoſe things that fall under my cognizance, how often am I miſtaken? I am confin'd to a narrow ſphere, and yet within that ſphere I often erre; my conceptions of things are obſcure and confus'd, my reaſon ſhort-ſighted; I am forc'd often to correct my ſelf, to acknowledge that I have judg'd falſe, and conſented to an errour. In ſumm, all my powers I find are limited, and I can eaſily conceive the ſame kind of perfections in higher degrees than I poſſeſs them, and conſequently there are Beings, or may be, greater and more excellent than my ſelf, and more able to ſubſiſt by their own power. Why ſhould I not therefore believe that my Original is from thoſe Beings rather than from my ſelf? For every Nature, the more great and perfect it is, the nearer it approacheth to neceſſity of exiſtence, and to a power of producing other things. Yet, the truth is, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that ſo long as the perfections of thoſe other Beings are limited and finite, though they be far ſuperiour to us, there is no neceſſity ariſeth from their Nature that they ſhould exiſt; and the ſame Arguments that we have us'd againſt our ſelves, they may, in proportion, uſe againſt themſelves; and therefore we muſt ſtill advance higher to find a ſelf originated Being, whoſe exiſtence muſt flow immediately from his eſſence, or have a neceſſary connexion with it.

Τὸ τέλειον πρότερον τῇ φύσει ἢ ἀτελές. Ariſt.

And indeed all theſe different degrees of higher and higher perfections lead us directly to an higheſt, or Supream degree, which is infinite and unlimited Perfection. As ſubordinate cauſes lead to the firſt, ſo Natures more perfect one than another lead us to a Nature infinitely perfect, which is the Fountain of them all. Thither we muſt go, if we will follow the courſe of Reaſon, which cannot ſtop at one more than another, till it arrive there; And being arriv'd there, at that Soveraign and Original Perfection, it finds a firm and immoveable ground to ſtand upon; the ſteddy Center of all Being, wherein the Mind reſts and is ſatisfied. All the ſcruples or objections that we mov'd againſt our ſelves, or other Creatures, take no place here; This Being is conſcious of an All-ſufficiency in it ſelf, and of immutability as to any thing elſe, including in it all the cauſes of exiſtence, or, to ſpeak more properly, all neceſſity of exiſtence. Beſides, that *we exiſt our ſelves*, notwithſtanding the imperfection and inſufficiency of our Nature, is a juſt, collateral proof of the exiſtence of this Supream Being; for ſuch an effect as this cannot be without its Cauſe, and it can have no other competent Cauſe but that we mention. And as this Being is its own Origin, ſo it muſt needs be capable of producing all Creatures;

Creatures; for whatſoever is poſſible, muſt be poſſible to it; and that Creatures or finite Beings are poſſible, we both ſee by experience, and may alſo diſcern by Reaſon; for thoſe ſeveral degrees of perfection, or limitations of it, which we mention'd before, are all conſiſtent Notions, and conſequently make conſiſtent Natures, and ſuch as may exiſt; but contingently indeed, and in dependance upon the firſt Cauſe.

Thus we are come at length to a fair reſolution of that great Queſtion, *Whence we are*, and *how* we continue in Being? And this hath led us by an eaſie aſcent to the Supreme Author of Nature, and the Firſt Cauſe of all things; and preſents us alſo with ſuch a Scheme and Draught of the Univerſe, as is clear and rational; every thing in its order, and in its place, according to the dignity of its Nature, and the ſtrength of its principles. When the Mind hath rais'd it ſelf into this view of a Being infinitely perfect, 'tis in a Region of Light, hath a free proſpect every way, and ſees all things from top to bottom, as pervious and tranſparent. Whereas without God and a Firſt Cauſe, there is nothing but darkneſs and confuſion in the Mind, and in Nature; broken views of things, ſhort interrupted glimpſes of Light, nothing certain or demonſtrative, no Baſis of Truth, no extent of Thought, no Science, no Contemplation.

You will ſay, it may be, 'Tis true, ſomething muſt be *Eternal*, and of *neceſſary exiſtence*, but why may not *Matter* be this Eternal neceſſary Being? Then our Souls and all other Intellectual things muſt be parts and parcels of Matter; and what pretenſions can Matter have to thoſe properties and perfections that we find in our Souls, how limited ſoever? much leſs to *neceſſary exiſtence*, and thoſe perfections that are the foundation of it? What exiſts Eternally, and from it ſelf, its exiſtence muſt flow immediately from its eſſence, as its cauſe, reaſon or ground; for as Exiſtence hath always ſomething antecedent to it in order of Nature, ſo that which is antecedent to it muſt infer it by a neceſſary connexion, and ſo may be call'd the cauſe, ground, or reaſon of it. And nothing can be ſuch a ground, but what is a perfection; nor every perfection neither, it muſt be Sovereign and Infinite perfection; for from what elſe can neceſſary exiſtence flow, or be inferr'd? Beſides, if that Being was not infinitely perfect, there might be another Being more powerful than it, and conſequently able to oppoſe and hinder its Exiſtence; and what may be hinder'd is contingent and arbitrary. Now *Matter* is ſo far from being a Nature infinitely perfect, that it hath no perfection at all, but that of bare *ſubſtance*; neither Life, Senſe, Will or Underſtanding; nor ſo much as Motion, from it ſelf; as we have ſhow'd before. And therefore this brute inactive maſs, which is but, as it were, the Drudge of Nature, can have no right or title to that Sovereign prerogative of Self exiſtence.

We noted before, as a thing agreed upon, *That ſomething or other muſt needs be Eternal.* For if ever there was a time or ſtate, when

there was no Being, there never could be any. Seeing *Nothing* could not produce *Something*. Therefore 'tis undeniably true on all hands, That there was ſome Being from Eternity. Now, according to our underſtandings, *Truth* is *Eternal*: therefore, ſay we, ſome intellect or Intelligent Being. So alſo the reaſons of *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice* appear to us Eternal, and therefore ſome Good and Juſt Being is Eternal. Thus much is plain, that theſe perfections which bear the ſignatures of Eternity upon them, are things that have no relation to *Matter*, but relate immediately to an Intellectual Being: therefore ſome ſuch Being, to whom they originally belong, muſt be that *Eternal*. Beſides, We cannot poſſibly but judge ſuch a Being more perfect than Matter; Now every Nature, the more perfect it is, the more remote it is from *Nothing*: and the more remote it is from Nothing, the more it approaches to neceſſity of exiſtence, and conſequently to Eternal Exiſtence.

Thus we have made a ſhort Survey, ſo far as the bounds of a Chapter would permit, of thoſe evidences and aſſurances which we have, from abſtract Reaſon, and the External World, that there is an Author of Nature; and That, a Being infinitely perfect, which we call *God*. We may add to theſe, in the laſt place, that univerſal conſent of Mankind, or natural inſtinct of Religion, which we ſee, more or leſs, throughout all Nations, Barbarous or Civil. For though this Argument, 'tis true, be more diſputable than the reſt, yet having ſet down juſt grounds already from whence this Natural Judgment or perſwaſion might ſpring, we have more reaſon to impute it to ſome of thoſe, and their inſenſible influence upon the Mind, than to the artifices of Men, or to make it a weakneſs, prejudice, or errour of our Nature. That there is ſuch a propenſion in Humane Nature, ſeems to be very plain; at leaſt ſo far as to move us to implore, and have recourſe to inviſible Powers in our extremities. Prayer is natural in certain caſes, and we do at the meer motion of our natural Spirit, and indeliberately, invoke God and Heaven, either in caſe of extreme danger, to help and aſſiſt us; or in caſe of injuſtice and oppreſſion, to relieve or avenge us; or in caſe of falſe accuſation, to vindicate our innocency; and generally in all caſes deſperate and remedileſs as to Humane Power, we ſeem to appeal, and addreſs our ſelves to ſomething higher. And this we do by a ſudden impulſe of Nature, without reflexion or deliberation. Beſides, as witneſſes of our Faith and Veracity, we uſe to invoke the Gods, or Superiour Powers, by way of imprecation upon our ſelves, if we be falſe and perjur'd; and this hath been us'd in moſt Nations and Ages, if not in all. Theſe things alſo argue, that there is a Natural Conſcience in Man, and a diſtinction of moral *Good* and *Evil*; and that we look upon thoſe inviſible Powers as the Guardians of Vertue and Honeſty. There are alſo few or no People upon the Earth but have ſomething of External Religion, true or falſe; and either of them is an argument of this natural anticipation, or that they have an opinion that there is ſomething above them, and above viſible Nature; though

though what that *ſomething* was, they ſeldom were able to make a good judgment. But to purſue this Argument particularly, would require an Hiſtorical deduction of Times and Places, which is not ſuitable to our preſent deſign.

To conclude this Chapter and this Subject; If we ſet Religion apart, and conſider the Deiſt and Atheiſt only as two Sects in Philoſophy, or their doctrine as two different *Hypotheſes* propos'd for the explication of Nature, and in competition with one another, whether ſhould give the more rational account of the Univerſe, of its Origin and *Phænomena*; I ſay, if we conſider them only thus, and make an impartial eſtimate, whether Syſtem is more reaſonable, more clear, and more ſatisfactory, to me there ſeems to be no more compariſon, than betwixt light and darkneſs. The *Hypotheſis* of the Deiſt reacheth from top to bottom, both thorough the Intellectual and Material World, with a clear and diſtinct light every where, is genuine, comprehenſive, and ſatisfactory, hath nothing forc'd, nothing confus'd, nothing precarious; whereas the *Hypotheſis* of the Atheiſt is ſtrain'd and broken, dark and uneaſie to the Mind, commonly precarious, often incongruous and irrational, and ſometimes plainly ridiculous. And this judgment I ſhould make of them abſtractly from the intereſt of Religion, conſidering them only as matter of Reaſon and Philoſophy; *And* I dare affirm with aſſurance, if the faculties of our Souls be true, that no Man can have a Syſtem of Thoughts reaching thorough Nature, coherent and conſiſtent in every part, without a Deity for the Baſis of it.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning

NATURAL PROVIDENCE.

Several incroachments upon Natural Providence, or misrepresentations of it, and false methods of Contemplation; A true method propos'd, and a true representation of the Universe. The Mundane Idea, and the Universal System of Providence; Several subordinate Systems, That of our Earth and Sublunary World; The Course and Periods of it; How much of this is already treated of, and what remains. The Conclusion.

WE have set bounds to Nature in the foregoing Chapter, and plac'd her Author and Governour upon his Throne, to give Laws to her Motions, and to direct and limit her Power in such ways and methods as are most for his honour. Let us now consider Nature under the conduct of Providence, or consider *Natural Providence*, and the extent of it; And as we were cautious before not to give too much power or greatness to Nature, consider'd apart from Providence, so we must be careful now, under this second consideration, not to contract her bounds too much; lest we should by too mean and narrow thoughts of the Creation, Eclipse the glory of its Author, whom we have so lately own'd as a Being infinitely perfect.

And to use no further Introduction, In the *first place*, we must not by any means admit or imagine, that all Nature, and this great Universe, was made only for the sake of Man, the meanest of all Intelligent Creatures that we know of; Nor that this little Planet where we sojourn for a few days, is the only habitable part of the Universe; These are Thoughts so groundless and unreasonable in themselves, and also so derogatory to the Infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of the First Cause, that as they are absurd in Reason, so they deserve far better to be mark'd and censur'd for Heresies in Religion, than many Opinions that have been censur'd for such, in former Ages. How is it possible that it should enter into the thoughts of vain Man, to believe himself the principal part of God's Creation: or that all the rest was ordain'd for him, for his service or pleasure? Man, whose follies we laugh at every day, or else complain of them; whose pleasures are vanity, and his Passions stronger than his Reason; Who sees himself every way weak and impotent, hath no power over external Nature, little

little over himself; cannot execute so much as his own good resolutions; mutable, irregular, prone to evil. Surely, if we made the least reflection upon our selves with impartiality, we should be asham'd of such an arrogant Thought. How few of these Sons of Men, for whom, they say, all things were made, are the Sons of Wisdom? How few find the paths of Life? They spend a few days in folly and sin, and then go down to the Regions of death and misery. And is it possible to believe, that all Nature, and all Providence, are only, or principally for their sake? Is it not a more reasonable character or conclusion which the Prophet hath made, *Surely every Man is vanity?* Man that comes into the World at the pleasure of another, and goes out by an hundred accidents; His Birth and Education generally determine his fate here, and neither of those are in his own power; His wit also is as uncertain as his fortune; He hath not the moulding of his own Brain, however a knock on the Head makes him a Fool, stupid as the Beasts of the Field; and a little excess of passion or melancholy makes him worse, Mad and Frantick. In his best Senses, he is shallow, and of little understanding: and in nothing more blind and ignorant than in things Sacred and Divine; He falls down before a stock or a stone, and says, Thou art my God; He can believe non-sence and contradictions, and make it his Religion to do so. And is this the great Creature which God hath made *by the might of his Power, and for the honour of his Majesty?* Upon whom all things must wait, to whom all things must be subservient? Methinks we have noted weaknesses and follies enough in the Nature of Man; this need not be added as the top and accomplishment, *That with all these he is so Vain, as to think that all the rest of the World was made for his sake.*

And as due humility and the consideration of our own meanness, ought to secure us from any such vain opinion of our selves, so the perfection of other Beings ought to give us more respect and honour for them. With what face can we pretend, that Creatures far superiour to us, and more excellent both in Nature and condition, should be made for our sake and service? How preposterous would it be to ascribe such a thing to our Maker, and how intolerable a vanity in us to affect it? We that are next to the Brutes that perish by a sacrilegious attempt, would make our selves more considerable than the highest Dignities. It is thought to have been the crime of *Lucifer*, who was thrown down from Heaven to Hell, that he affected an equality with the Almighty; and to affect to be next to the Almighty is a crime next to that. We have no reason to believe, but that there are, at least, as many orders of Beings above us, as there are ranks of Creatures below us; there is a greater distance sure betwixt us and God Almighty, than there is betwixt us and the meanest Worm: and yet we should take it very ill, if the Worms of the Earth should pretend that we were made for them. But to pass from the invisible World to the visible and Corporeal,----

Was

Was that made only for our ſake? King *David* was more wiſe, and more juſt both to God and Man, in his 8*th* Pſalm; where he ſays, He wonders, when he conſiders the Heavens, that the Maker of them could think on Man. He truly ſuppoſes the Celeſtial Bodies and the Inhabitants of them, much more conſiderable than we are, and reckons up only Terreſtrial things as put in ſubjection to Man. Can we then be ſo fond as to imagine all the Corporeal Univerſe made for our uſe? 'Tis not the Millioneth part of it that is known to us, much leſs uſeful; We can neither reach with our Eye, nor our imagination, thoſe Armies of Stars that lie far and deep in the boundleſs Heavens. If we take a good Glaſs, we diſcover innumerably more Stars in the Firmament than we can with our ſingle Eye; and yet if you take a ſecond Glaſs, better than the firſt, that carries the ſight to a greater diſtance, you ſee more ſtill lying beyond the other; and a third Glaſs that pierceth further, ſtill makes new diſcoveries of Stars; and ſo forwards, indefinitely and inexhauſtedly for any thing we know, according to the immenſity of the Divine Nature and Power. Who can reckon up the Stars of the Galaxy, or direct us in the uſe of them? And can we believe that thoſe and all the reſt were made for us? Of thoſe few Stars that we enjoy, or that are viſible to the Eye, there is not a tenth part that is really uſeful to Man; and no doubt if the principal end of them had been our pleaſure or conveniency, they would have been put in ſome better order in reſpect of the Earth? They lie careleſly ſcatter'd, as if they had been ſown in the Heaven, like Seed, by handfuls; and not by a skilful hand neither. What a beautiful Hemiſphere they would have made, if they had been plac'd in rank and order, if they had been all diſpos'd into regular figures, and the little ones ſet with due regard to the greater, then all finiſht and made up into one fair piece or great Compoſition, according to the rules of Art and Symmetry. What a ſurprizing beauty this would have been to the Inhabitants of the Earth? What a lovely Roof to our little World? This indeed might have given one ſome Temptation to have thought that they had been all made for us; but leſt any ſuch vain imagination ſhould now enter into our thoughts, Providence (beſides more important Reaſons) ſeems on purpoſe to have left them under that negligence or diſorder which they appear in to us.

The ſecond part of this opinion ſuppoſeth this Planet, where we live, to be the only habitable part of the Univerſe; and this is a natural conſequence of the former; If all things were made to ſerve us, why ſhould any more be made than what is uſeful to us. But 'tis only our ignorance of the Syſtem of the World, and of the grandeur of the Works of God, that betrays us to ſuch narrow thoughts. If we do but conſider what this Earth is, both for littleneſs and deformity, and what its Inhabitants are, we ſhall not be apt to think that this miſerable Atome hath ingroſs'd and exhauſted all the Divine Favours, and all the riches of his goodneſs, and of his Providence. But we will not inlarge upon this part of the opinion, leſt it ſhould carry us too far from the ſubject, and it will fall, of its own accord,

See the Lat. Treat. lib. 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 108, 109, *&c.*

accord, with the former. Upon the whole we may conclude, that it was only the Sublunary World that was made for the ſake of Man, and not the Great Creation, either Material or Intellectual; and we cannot admit or affirm any more, without manifeſt injury, depreſſion, and miſrepreſentation of Providence, as we may be eaſily convinc'd from theſe four Heads; *The* Meanneſs of Man and of this Earth, *The* Excellency of other Beings, *The* Immenſity of the Univerſe, and *The* infinite perfection of the firſt Cauſe. Which I leave to your further Meditation, and paſs on to the ſecond rule, concerning Natural Providence.

In the ſecond place then, if we would have a fair view and right apprehenſions of Natural Providence, we muſt not cut the chains of it too ſhort, by having recourſe, without neceſſity, either to the Firſt Cauſe, in explaining the Origins of things: or to Miracles, in explaining particular effects. This, I ſay, breaks the chains of Natural Providence, when it is done without neceſſity, that is, when things are otherwiſe intelligible from Second Cauſes. Neither is any thing gain'd by it to God Almighty; for 'tis but, as the Proverb ſays, to rob *Peter* to pay *Paul*, to take ſo much from his ordinary Providence, and place it to his extraordinary. When a new Religion is brought into the World, 'tis very reaſonable and decorous that it ſhould be uſher'd in with Miracles, as both the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* were; but afterwards things return into their Chanel, and do not change or overflow again, but upon extraordinary occaſions or revolutions. The power *Extraordinary* of God is to be accounted very Sacred, not to be touch'd or expos'd for our pleaſure or conveniency; but I am afraid we often make uſe of it only to conceal our own ignorance, or to ſave us the trouble of inquiring into Natural Cauſes. Men are generally unwilling to appear ignorant, eſpecially thoſe that make profeſſion of knowledge, and when they have not skill enough to explain ſome particular effect in a way of Reaſon, they throw it upon the Firſt Cauſe, as able to bear all; and ſo placing it to that account, they excuſe themſelves, and ſave their credit; for all Men are equally wiſe, if you take away Second Cauſes; as we are all of the ſame colour, if you take away the Light.

But to ſtate this matter, and ſee the ground of this rule more diſtinctly, we muſt obſerve and conſider, that *The Courſe of Nature is truly the Will of God*; and, as I may ſo ſay, his firſt Will; from which we are not to recede, but upon clear evidence and neceſſity. And as in matter of Religion, we are to follow the known reveal'd Will of God, and not to truſt to every impulſe or motion of Enthuſiaſm, as coming from the Divine Spirit, unleſs there be evident marks that it is Supernatural, and cannot come from our own; So neither are we, without neceſſity, to quit the known and ordinary Will and Power of God eſtabliſht in the courſe of Nature, and fly to Supernatural Cauſes, or his extraordinary Will; for this is a kind of Enthuſiaſm or Fanaticiſm, as well as the other: And no doubt that great prodigality and waſte of Miracles which ſome make, is no way to the honour of God or Religion. 'Tis true, the other

See Book I. *c.* 8. *at the end.*

other extream is worse than this, for to deny all Miracles, is in effect to deny all reveal'd Religion; therefore due measures are to be taken betwixt these two, so as neither to make the Divine Power too mean and cheap, nor the Power of Nature illimited and all-sufficient.

In the Third place, To make the Scenes of Natural Providence considerable, and the knowledge of them satisfactory to the Mind; we must take a true Philosophy, or the true principles that govern Nature, which are Geometrical and Mechanical. By these you discover the footsteps of the Divine Art and Wisdom, and trace the progress of Nature step by step, as distinctly as in Artificial things, where we see how the Motions depend upon one another, in what order and by what necessity. God made all things in *Number*, *Weight* and *Measure*, which are Geometrical and Mechanical Principles; He is not said to have made things by *Forms* and *Qualities*, or any combination of Qualities, but by these three principles, which may be conceiv'd to express the subject of three Mathematical Sciences, Number, of *Arithmetick*; Weight, of *Staticks*; and *Measure* and Proportion, of *Geometry*; If then all things were made according to these principles, to understand the manner of their construction and composition, we must proceed in the search of them by the same principles, and resolve them into these again. Besides, The nature of the subject does direct us sufficiently; for when we contemplate or treat of Bodies, and the Material World, we must proceed by the modes of Bodies, and their real properties, such as can be represented, either to Sense or Imagination, for these faculties are made for Corporeal Things; but Logical Notions, when appli'd to particular Bodies, are meer shadows of them, without light or substance. No Man can raise a Theory upon such grounds, nor calculate any revolutions of Nature; nor render any service, or invent any thing useful in Humane Life: And accordingly we see, that for these many Ages, that this dry Philosophy hath govern'd Christendom, it hath brought forth no fruit, produc'd nothing good, to God or Man, to Religion or Humane Society.

To these True Principles of Philosophy, we must joyn also the True System of the World. That gives scope to our thoughts, and rational grounds to work upon; but the Vulgar System, or that which *Aristotle* and others have propos'd, affords no matter of contemplation. All above the Moon, according to him, is firm as Adamant, and as immutable; no change or variation in the Universe, but in those little removes that happen here below, one quality or form shifting into another; there would therefore be no great exercise of Reason or Meditation in such a World; no long Series's of Providence; The Regions above being made of a kind of immutable Matter, they would always remain in the same form, structure, and qualities: So as we might lock up that part of the Universe as to any further Inquiries, and we should find it ten thousand years hence in the same form and state wherein we left it. Then in this Sublunary World there would be but very small doings

doings neither, things would lie in a narrow compass, no great revolution of Nature, no new Form of the Earth, but a few anniversary *Corruptions* and *Generations*, and that would be the short and the long of Nature, and of Providence, according to *Aristotle*. But if we consider the Earth, as one of those many Planets that move about the Sun, and the Sun as one of those innumerable fixt Stars that adorn the Universe, and are the Centers of its greatest Motions; and all this subject to fate and change, to corruptions and renovations; This opens a large Field for our Thoughts, and gives a large subject for the exercise and expansion of the Divine Wisdom and Power, and for the glory of his Providence.

In the last place, Having thus prepar'd your Mind, and the subject, for the Contemplation of *Natural Providence*, do not content your self to consider only the present face of Nature, but look back into the first *Sources* of things, into their more simple and original states; and observe the progress of Nature from one form to another, through various modes and compositions. For there is no single Effect, nor any single state of Nature, how perfect soever, that can be such an argument and demonstration of Providence, as a Period of Nature, or a revolution of several states consequential to one another; and in such an order and dependance, that as they flow and succeed, they shall still be adjusted to the periods of the Moral World; so as to be ready always to be Ministers of the Divine Justice or beneficence to Mankind. This shows the manifold riches of the Wisdom and Power of God in Nature. And this may give us just occasion to reflect again upon *Aristotle*'s System and method, which destroys Natural Providence in this respect also; for he takes the World as it is now, both for Matter and Form, and supposeth it to have been in this posture from all Eternity, and that it will continue to Eternity in the same; so as all the great turns of Nature, and the principal scenes of Providence in the Natural World are quite struck out; and we have but this one Scene for all, and a pitiful one too, if compar'd with the Infinite Wisdom of God, and the depths of Providence. We must take things in their full extent, and from their Origins, to comprehend them well, and to discover the Mysteries of Providence, both in the Causes and in the Conduct of them. That method which *David* followed in the Contemplation of the Little World, or in the Body of Man, we should also follow in the Great; take it in its first mass, in its tender principles and rudiments, and observe the progress of it to a compleat form; In these first stroaks of Nature are the secrets of her Art; The Eye must be plac'd in this point to have a right prospect, and see her works in a true light. *David* admires the Wisdom of God in the Origin and formation of his Body; *My Body*, says He, *was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, curiously wrought in the lower parts of the Earth; Thine eyes did see my substance being yet unperfect, and in thy Book all my members were written; which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them*; or being at first in no form. *How precious are thy Thoughts to me, O God*, &c. This was the subject of *David*'s Meditations, how his Body was wrought from a shapeless mass into Psal. 139. 15. 16.

that marvellous compoſition which it had when fully fram'd; and this, he ſays, was under the Eye of God all along, and the model of it, as it were, was deſign'd and delineated in the Book of Providence, according to which it was by degrees faſhion'd and wrought to perfection. *Thine eyes did ſee my ſubſtance yet being imperfect, in thy Book all my members were drawn, &c.* *Job* alſo hath aptly expreſt thoſe firſt rudiments of the Body, or that little Chaos out of which it riſeth, *Haſt thou not poured me out as Milk, and crudled me like Cheeſe? Thou haſt cloathed me with Skin and Fleſh, and fenced me with Bones and Sinews.* Where he notes the firſt Matter and the laſt Form of his Body, its compleat and moſt incompleat ſtate. *Job* 10.10,11.

According to thoſe examples we muſt likewiſe conſider the Greater Bodies of Nature, The Earth and the Sublunary World; we muſt go to the Origin of them, the Seminal Maſs, the Chaos out of which they riſe; Look upon the World firſt as an Embryo world, without form or ſhape, and then conſider how its Members were faſhion'd, how by degrees it was brought into that diverſity of Parts and Regions, which it conſiſts of, with all their furniture, and with all their ornaments. The *Idea* of all which was beforehand, according to *David*'s expreſſion, written in the Divine Mind; and we partake of that Wiſdom, according to our capacity, in ſeeing and admiring the methods of it.

Theſe ſeem to be neceſſary preparatives or directions to thoſe that would contemplate, with profit, Natural Providence, and the great Works of God in the Viſible Creation. We conſider'd Nature in the precedent Chapter abſtractly, and in her ſelf, and now we conſider her under the Conduct of Providence, which we therefore call Natural Providence; And as we have endeavour'd to remove thoſe falſe Notions and Suppoſitions that lay as Clouds upon her face, ſo we muſt now endeavour to repreſent her in a better light, and in a fuller beauty. By *Natural Providence* therefore we underſtand, *The Form or Courſe of Univerſal Nature, as actuated by the Divine Power: with all the Changes, Periods, and Viciſſitudes that attend it, according to the method and eſtabliſhment made at firſt, by the Author of it.* I ſaid of *Univerſal Nature*, through all the Orders of Beings in the Intellectual World, and all the Regions and Syſtems of Matter in the Corporeal. For, having prov'd in the foregoing Chapter, that there is an Author of Nature, a Being Infinitely Perfect, by whoſe power and influence alone all finite Natures exiſt and act, we have an aſſured ground to conclude, that nothing can come to paſs, throughout the whole Creation, without the preſcience and permiſſion of its Author; and as it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe that there is an *Idea* in the Divine Underſtanding of all the maſs of Beings produc'd or Created, according to the ſeveral ranks and orders wherein they ſtand; ſo there is alſo an *Idea* there, according to which this great Frame moves, and all the parts of it, in beauty and harmony.

And theſe two things, The *Eſſences* of all Beings, and the Series of their *Motions*, compoſe the MUNDANE IDEA, as I may ſo call it; or that great All-comprehenſive Thought in the Divine Underſtanding, which contains the Syſtem of Univerſal Providence,

vidence, and the ſtate of all things, paſt, preſent, or to come. This glorious *Idea* is the expreſs Image of the whole Creation, of all the Works of God, and the diſpoſition of them; here lie the myſteries of Providence, as in their Original; The ſucceſſive Forms of all Nature; and herein as in a Glaſs, may be view'd all the Scenes of Time or Eternity. This is an Abyſs of Sacred Wiſdom, The inexhauſted Treaſure of all Science, The Root of Truth, and Fountain of Intellectual Light; and in the clear and full contemplation of this is perfect happineſs, and a truly Beatifick Viſion.

But what concerns the Intellectual World in this *Idea*, and the Orders or Natures that compoſe it, is not our preſent buſineſs to purſue; We are to ſpeak of the Corporeal Univerſe, whereof we will make now a ſhort and general Survey, as it lies under Providence. The Corporeal Univerſe, how immenſe ſoever it be, and divided into innumerable Regions, may be conſider'd all as one Syſtem, made up of ſeveral ſubordinate Syſtems. And there is alſo one immenſe deſign of Providence co-extended with it, that contains all the fate, and all the revolutions of this great Maſs. This, I ſay, is made up of ſeveral ſubordinate Syſtems, involving one another, and comprehending one another, in greater and greater Orbs and Compoſitions; and the Aggregate of all theſe is that which we call the *Univerſe*. But what the form of theſe Compoſitions is, and what the Deſign of Providence that runs thorough them all, and comprehends them all, this is unſearchable, not only to Humane Underſtanding, but even to Angels and Archangels.

Wherefore leaving thoſe greater Syſtems and Compoſitions of the Univerſe, as matter of our admiration, rather than of our knowledge, There are two or three kinds of leſſer Syſtems that are viſible to us, and bring us nearer to our ſubject, and nearer home. *That* of a Fixt Star, ſingle; *That* of a Fixt Star with its Planets, and *That* of a ſingle Planet, Primary or Secondary. Theſe three Syſtems we ſee and enjoy more or leſs. No doubt there are Fixt Stars ſingle, or that have no Planets about them, as our Sun hath; nay, 'tis probable, that at firſt the whole Univerſe conſiſted only of ſuch; Globes of liquid Fire, with Spheres about them of pure Light and Æther: Earths are but the dirt and skum of the Creation, and all things were pure as they came at firſt out of the hands of God. But becauſe we have nothing particular taught us, either by the light of Nature or Revelation, concerning the Providence that governs theſe ſingle Stars, of what uſe they are to Intellectual Beings, how animated by them, what diverſity there is amongſt thoſe Æthereal Worlds, what Periods they have, what Changes or Viciſſitudes they are capable to undergo; becauſe ſuch Inquiries would ſeem too remote, and carry us too far from our ſubject, we leave theſe Heavenly Syſtems to the enjoyment and contemplation of higher and more noble Creatures.

The Sun, with all the Planets that move about him, and depend upon him, make a good ſort of Syſtem; not conſiderable indeed, if compar'd with the whole Univerſe, or ſome of the greater Compoſitions in it, but in reſpect of us, the Syſtem of the Sun is of vaſt extent; We cannot meaſure the greatneſs of his Kingdom,

and his Dominion is without end. The diſtance from the higheſt Planet to the neareſt Fixt Star in the Firmament is unmeaſurable, and all this belongs to the Empire of the Sun; beſides the ſeveral Planets and their Orbs, which caſt themſelves cloſer about his Body, that they may receive a warmer and ſtronger influence from him; for by him they may be ſaid to *live* and *move*. But thoſe vaſt ſpaces that lie beyond theſe Opake Bodies, are Regions of perpetual light; One Planet may Eclipſe the Sun to another, and one Hemiſphere of a Planet to the other Hemiſphere makes night and darkneſs, but nothing can Eclipſe the Sun, or intercept the courſe of his light to theſe remote Æthereal Regions; They are always luminous, and always pure and ſerene. And if the worſt and Planetary parts of his Dominions be repleniſht with Inhabitants, we cannot ſuppoſe the better to lie as Deſarts, uninjoy'd and uninhabited; his Subjects then muſt be numerous, as well as his Dominions large; and in both reſpects, this Syſtem of a Fixt Star, with its Planets (of which kind we may imagine innumerable in the Univerſe, beſides this of the Sun, which is near and viſible to us) is of a noble Character and Order, being the habitation of Angels and glorified Spirits, as well as of Mortal Men.

A Planetary Syſtem is the laſt and loweſt; and of theſe, no doubt, there is great variety, and great differences; not only of Primary and Secondary, or of the principal Planet, and its Moons or Attendants, but alſo amongſt Planets of the ſame rank; for they may differ both in their original conſtitution, and according to the form and ſtate they are under at preſent; of which ſort of differences we have noted * ſome amongſt our Planets, though they ſeem to be all of much-what the ſame original conſtitution. Beſides, according to external circumſtances, their diſtance, manner of motion, and poſture to the Sun, which is the Heart of the whole Syſtem, they become different in many things. And we may obſerve, that thoſe leading differences, though they ſeem little, draw after them innumerable others, and ſo make a diſtinct face of Nature, and a diſtinct World; which ſtill ſhows the riches and fecundity of Divine Providence, and gives new matter of contemplation to thoſe that take pleaſure in ſtudying the works and ways of God. But leaving all other Planets or Planetary Syſtems to our meditations only, we muſt particularly conſider our own.

* *Book* I. *chap. laſt, p.* 113, *&c.*

Having therefore made this general Survey of the great Univerſe, run thorough the boundleſs Regions of it, and with much ado found our way home to that little Planet where our concerns lie, This Earth or Sublunary World, we muſt reſt here as at the end of our courſe. And having undertaken to give the general Theory of this Earth, to conclude the preſent Treatiſe, we'll reflect upon the whole work, and obſerve what progreſs we have hitherto made in this Theory, and what remains to be treated of hereafter. This Earth, though it be a ſmall part or particle of the Univerſe, hath a diſtinct Syſtem of Providence belonging to it, or an Order eſtabliſht by the Author of Nature for all its *Phænomena* (Natural or Moral) throughout the whole Period of its duration, and every interval of it; for as there is nothing ſo great as to be above

above the Divine care, ſo neither is there any thing ſo little as to be below it. All the Changes of our World are fixt, How, or how often to be deſtroy'd, and how renew'd; What different faces of Nature, and what of Mankind, in every part of its Courſe; What new Scenes to adorn the Stage, and what new parts to be acted; What the Entrance, and what the Conſummation of all. Neither is there any ſort of knowledge more proper, or of more importance to us that are the Inhabitants of this Earth, than to underſtand this its Natural and Sacred Hiſtory, as I may ſo call it, both as to what is paſt, and what is to come. And as thoſe greater Volumes and Compoſitions of the Univerſe are proportion'd to the underſtanding of Angels and Superiour Beings, ſo theſe little Syſtems are *Compendium*'s of the Divine Wiſdom, more fitted to our capacity and comprehenſion.

The Providence of the Earth, as of all other Syſtems conſiſts of two parts, Natural, and Sacred or Theological. I call that Sacred or Theological that reſpects Religion, and the diſpenſations of it; the government of the Rational World, or of Mankind whether under the Light of Nature only, or of a Revelation; the method and terms of their happineſs and unhappineſs in a Future Life; The State, Oeconomy, and Conduct of this, with all the Myſteries contain'd in it, we call Theological Providence; in the head whereof ſtands the Soul of the Bleſſed *Meſſiah*, who is Lord of both Worlds, Intellectual and Material. When we call the other part of Providence *Natural*, we uſe that word in a reſtrain'd ſence, as reſpecting only the Material World; and accordingly this part of Providence orders and ſuperintends the ſtate of the Earth, the great Viciſſitudes and Mutations of it; for we muſt not imagine, but that theſe are under the Eye of Providence, as well as Humane Affairs, or any revolutions of States and Empires. Now ſeeing both in the Intellectual and Corporeal World there are certain Periods, Fulneſſes of Time, and fixt Seaſons, either for ſome great Cataſtrophe, or ſome great Inſtauration, 'Tis Providence that makes a due harmony or Synchroniſm betwixt theſe two, and meaſures out the concurrent fates of both Worlds, ſo as Nature may be always a faithful miniſter of the Divine Pleaſure, whether for rewards or puniſhments, according as the ſtate of Mankind may require. But Theological Providence not being the ſubject of this work, we ſhall only obſerve, as we ſaid before, what account we have hitherto given of the Natural ſtate of the Earth, and what remains to be handled in another Treatiſe, and ſo conclude.

I did not think it neceſſary to carry the ſtory and original of the Earth, higher than the Chaos, as *Zoroaſter* and *Orpheus* ſeem to have done; but taking that for our Foundation, which Antiquity Sacred and Profane doth ſuppoſe, and Natural Reaſon approve and confirm, we have form'd the Earth from it. But when we ſay the Earth riſe from a Fluid Maſs, it is not to be ſo crudely underſtood, as if a rock of Marble, ſuppoſe, was fluid immediately before it became Marble; no, Things had a gradual progreſſion from one form to another, and came at length to thoſe more permanent forms they are now ſetled in. Stone was once Earth, and Earth was once Mud,

and

and Mud was once fluid. And so other things may have another kind of progression from fluidity; but all was once fluid, at least all the exteriour Regions of this Earth. And even those Stones and Rocks of Marble which we speak of, seem to confess they were once soft or liquid, by those mixtures we find in them of Heterogeneous Bodies, and those spots and Veins disperst thorough their substance; for these things could not happen to them after they were hard and impenetrable, in the form of Stone or Marble. And if we can soften Rocks and Stones, and run them down into their first Liquors, as these observations seem to do, we may easily believe that other Bodies also that compose the Earth, were once in a Fluid Mass, which is that we call a Chaos.

We therefore watch'd the motions of that Chaos, and the several transformations of it, while it continued Fluid; and we found at length what its first Concretion would be, and how it setled into the form of an habitable Earth. But that form was very different from the present form of the Earth, which is not immediately deducible from a Chaos, by any known Laws of Nature, or by any Wit of Man; as every one, that will have patience to examine it, may easily be satisfied. That First Earth was of a smooth regular surface, as the Concretions of Liquors are, before they are disturb'd or broken; under that surface lay the Great Abyss, which was ready to swallow up the World that hung over it, and about it, whensoever God should give the command, and the Vault should break; and this constitution of the Primæval Earth gave occasion to the first Catastrophe of this World, when it perisht in a Deluge of Water. For that Vault did break, as we have shown at large, and by the dissolution and fall of it, the Great Deep was thrown out of its bed, forc'd upwards into the Air, and overflow'd, in that impetuous Commotion, the highest tops of the Fragments of the ruin'd Earth, which now we call its Mountains. And as this was the first great and fatal Period of Nature; so upon the issue of this, and the return of the Waters into their Chanels, the second face of Nature appear'd, or the present broken form of the Earth, as it is *Terraqueous*, *Mountainous*, and *Cavernous*. These things we have explain'd fully in the First Book, and have thereby setled two great Points, given a rational account of the *Universal Deluge*, and shown the Causes of the irregular form of the present or *Post-diluvian Earth*. This being done, we have apply'd our selves, in the Second Book, to the description of the *Primæval Earth*, and the examination of its properties; and this hath led us by an easie tract to the discovery of *Paradise*, and of the true Notion and Mystery of it; which is not so much a spot of ground where a fine Garden stood, as a course of Nature, or a peculiar state of the Earth; *Paradisiacal* in many parts, but especially in one Region of it; which place or Region we have also endeavour'd to determine, though not so much from the Theory, as from the suffrages of Antiquity, if you will take their judgment.

THUS much is finisht, and this contains the Natural Theory of the Earth till this present time; for since the Deluge all things have continued in the same state, or without any remarkable change.

We

We are next to enter upon new Matter and new Thoughts, and not only so, but upon a Series of *Things and Times to come*, which is to make the Second Part of this Theory. Dividing the duration of the World into two parts, Past and Future, we have dispatch'd the first and far greater part, and come better half of our way; And if we make a stand here, and look both ways, backwards to the Chaos, and the beginning of the World, and forwards to the End and Consummation of all Things, though the first be a longer prospect, yet there are as many general Changes and Revolutions of Nature in the remaining part as have already happen'd; and in the Evening of this long Day the Scenes will change faster, and be more bright and illustrious. From the Creation to this Age the Earth hath undergone but one Catastrophe, and Nature hath had two different faces. The next Catastrophe is the CONFLAGRATION, to which a new face of Nature will accordingly succeed, *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*, *Paradise* renew'd, and so it is call'd the *Restitution* of things, or *Regeneration* of the World. And that Period of Nature and Providence being expir'd, then follows the *Consummation of all things*, or the General *Apotheosis*; *when Death and Hell shall be swallowed up in victory*; When the great Circle of Time and Fate is run; or according to the language of Scripture, *When the Heavens and the Earth shall pass away, and Time shall be no more.*

Ἀποκατάστασις, Παλιγγενεσία.

MAY we, in the mean time, by a true Love of God above all things, and a contempt of this Vain World which passeth away; By a careful use of the Gifts of God and Nature, the Light of Reason and Revelation, prepare our selves, and the state of things, for the great Coming of our Saviour. To whom be Praise and Honour for evermore.

FINIS.

THE

THEORY OF THE EARTH:

Containing an Account

OF THE

Original of the Earth,

AND OF ALL THE

GENERAL CHANGES

Which it hath already undergone,

OR

IS TO UNDERGO

Till the CONSUMMATION of all Things.

THE TWO LAST BOOKS,

Concerning the BURNING *of the* WORLD,

AND

Concerning the NEW HEAVENS *and* NEW EARTH.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-Head in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1697.

TO THE

QUEEN'S

MOST

Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,

HAVING had the honour to present the first part of this Theory to Your ROYAL UNCLE, *I presume to offer the Second to Your Majesty. This part of the Subject, I hope, will be no less acceptable, for certainly 'tis of no less importance. They both indeed agree in this, That there is a* WORLD *made and destroy'd in either Treatise. But we are more concern'd in what is to come, than what is past. And as the former Books represented to us the Rise and Fall of the First World; so These give an account of the present Frame of Nature labouring under the last Flames, and of the Resurrection of it in the* New Heavens *and* New Earth: *which, according to the Divine Promises, we are to expect.*

Cities that are burnt, are commonly rebuilt more beautiful and regular than they were before. And when this World is demolish'd by the last Fire, He that undertakes to rear it up again, will supply the

defects, if there were any, of the former Fabrick. This Theory ſuppoſes the preſent Earth to be little better than an Heap of Ruines: where yet there is room enough for Sea and Land, for Iſlands and Continents, for ſeveral Countries and Dominions: But when theſe are all melted down, and refin'd in the general Fire, they will be caſt into a better mould, and the Form and Qualities of the Earth will become Paradiſiacal.

But, I fear, it may be thought no very proper addreſs, to ſhew Your Majeſty a World laid in aſhes, where You have ſo great an intereſt Your Self, and ſuch fair Dominions: and then, to recompence the loſs by giving a Reverſion in a Future Earth. But if that future Earth be a ſecond Paradiſe, to be enjoyed for a Thouſand Years; with Peace, Innocency, and conſtant health: An Inheritance there will be an happy exchange for the beſt Crown in this World.

I confeſs, I could never perſwade my ſelf that the Kingdom of Chriſt and of his Saints, which the Scripture ſpeaks of ſo frequently, was deſign'd to be upon this preſent Earth. But however, upon all ſuppoſitions, They that have done ſome eminent Good in this Life, will be ſharers in the happineſs of that State. To humble the Oppreſſors, and reſcue the Oppreſſed, is a work of Generoſity and Charity that cannot want its reward: Yet, MADAM, *They are the greateſt Benefactors to Mankind, that diſpoſe the World to become Vertuous: and by their example, Influence, and Authority, retrieve that* TRUTH *and* JUSTICE, *that have been loſt, amongſt men, for many Ages. The School-Divines tell us, Thoſe that*

that act or ſuffer great things for the Publick Good, are diſtinguiſh'd in Heaven by a Circle of Gold about their Heads. One would not willingly vouch for that: but one may ſafely for what the Prophet ſays, which is far greater: namely, that They ſhall ſhine like Stars in the Firmament, that turn many to Righteouſneſs. *Which is not to be underſtood, ſo much, of the Converſion of ſingle Souls, as of the turning of Nations and People, the turning of the World to Righteouſneſs. They that lead on that great and happy Work, ſhall be diſtinguiſh'd in Glory from the reſt of Mankind.*

We are ſenſible, MADAM, *from Your Great Example, that Piety and Vertue ſeated upon a Throne, draw many to imitation, whom ill Principles, or the courſe of the World, might have led another way. Theſe are the beſt, as well as eaſieſt Victories, that are gain'd without Conteſt. And as Princes are the Vicegerents of God upon Earth, ſo when their Majeſty is in Conjunction with Goodneſs, it hath a double Character of Divinity upon it: and we owe them a double Tribute, of Fear and Love. Which, with conſtant Prayers for Your* MAJESTIES *preſent and future Happineſs, ſhall be always Dutifully paid, by*

Your MAJESTY'S

Moſt Humble and moſt

Obedient Subject,

T. BURNET.

PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

I HAVE not much to say to the Reader in this Preface to the Third Part of the Theory: seeing it treats upon a Subject own'd by all, and out of dispute: *The Conflagration of the World.* The question will be only about the bounds and limits of the Conflagration, the Causes and the Manner of it. These I have fix'd according to the truest measures I could take from Scripture, and from Nature. I differ, I believe from the common Sentiment in this, that, in following S. *Peter's* Philosophy, I suppose, that the burning of the Earth will be a true Liquefaction or dissolution of it, as to the exteriour Region. And that this lays a foundation for *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*; which seems to me as plain a doctrine in Christian Religion, as the Conflagration it self.

I have endeavour'd to propose an intelligible way, whereby the Earth may be consum'd by Fire. But if any one can propose another, more probable and more consistent, I will be the First Man that shall give him thanks for his discovery. He that loves Truth for its own sake, is willing to receive it from any hand: as he that truly loves his Country, is glad of a Victory over the Enemy, whether himself, or any other, has the glory of it. I need not repeat here, what I have already said upon several occasions, That 'tis the substance of this Theory, whether in this part or in other parts, that I mainly regard and depend upon. Being willing to suppose that many single explications and particularities may be rectified, upon further thoughts and clearer light.

light. I know our beſt writings, in this life, are but *Eſſays*, which we leave to Poſterity to review and correct.

As to the Style, I always endeavour to expreſs my ſelf, in a plain and perſpicuous manner: that the Reader may not loſe time, nor wait too long, to know my meaning. To give an Attendant quick diſpatch, is a civility, whether you do his buſineſs or no. I would not willingly give any one the trouble of reading a period twice over, to know the ſence of it: leſt when he comes to know it, he ſhould not think it a recompence for his pains. Whereas, on the contrary, if you are eaſie to your Reader, he will certainly make you an allowance for it, in his cenſure.

You muſt not think it ſtrange however, that the Author ſometimes, in meditating upon this ſubject is warm in his thoughts and expreſſions. For to ſee a World periſhing in Flames, Rocks melting, the Earth trembling, and an Hoſt of Angels in the clouds, one muſt be very much a Stoick, to be a cold and unconcerned Spectator of all this. And when we are mov'd our ſelves, our words will have a tincture of thoſe paſſions which we feel. Beſides, in moral reflections which are deſign'd for uſe, there muſt be ſome heat, as well as dry reaſon, to inſpire this cold clod of clay, this dull body of Earth, which we carry about with us; and you muſt ſoften and pierce that cruſt, before you can come at the Soul. But eſpecially when things future are to be repreſented, you cannot uſe too ſtrong Colours, if you would give them life, and make them appear preſent to the mind. Farewel.

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The Introduction; With the Contents and Order of this Work.

SEEING Providence hath planted in all Men a natural desire and curiosity of knowing things to come; and such things especially as concern our particular Happiness, or the general Fate of Mankind: This Treatise may, in both respects, hope for a favourable reception amongst inquisitive persons; seeing the design of it is, to give an account of the greatest revolutions of Nature that are expected in future Ages: and in the first place, of the *Conflagration of the World.* In which Universal Calamity, when all Nature suffers, every Man's particular concern must needs be involv'd.

We see with what eagerness Men pry into the Stars, to see if they can read there the Death of a King, or the fall of an Empire: 'Tis not the fate of any single Prince or Potentate, that we Calculate, but of all Mankind: Nor of this or that particular Kingdom or Empire, but of the whole Earth. Our enquiries must reach to that great period of Nature, when all things are to be dissolv'd: both humane affairs, and the Stage whereon they are acted. When the Heavens and the Earth will pass away, and the Elements melt with fervent heat. We desire, if possible, to know what will be the face of that Day, that great and terrible Day, when the Regions of the Air will be nothing but mingled Flame and Smoak, and the habitable Earth turn'd into a Sea of molten Fire.

But we muſt not leave the World in this diſorder and confuſion, without examining what will be the Iſſue and conſequences of it. Whether this will be the End of all Things, and Nature by a ſad fate, lie eternally diſſolv'd and deſolate in this manner: or whether we may hope for a Reſtauration: *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*, which the Holy Writings make mention of, more pure and perfect than the former. As if this was but as a *Refiner's fire*, to purge out the droſs and courſer parts, and then caſt the Maſs again into a new and better Mould. Theſe things, with God's aſſiſtance, ſhall be matter of our preſent enquiry; Theſe make the general ſubject of this Treatiſe, and of the remaining parts of this *Theory* of the Earth. Which now, you ſee, begins to be a kind of Prophecy, or Prognoſtication of things to come: as it hath been hitherto an Hiſtory of things paſs'd; of ſuch ſtates and changes as Nature hath already undergone. And if that account which we have given of the Origin of the Earth, its firſt and Paradiſiacal form, and the diſſolution of it at the Univerſal Deluge, appear fair and reaſonable: The ſecond diſſolution by Fire, and the renovation of it out of a Second Chaos, I hope will be deduc'd from as clear grounds and ſuppoſitions. And Scripture it ſelf will be a more viſible Guide to us in theſe following parts of the Theory, than it was in the former. In the mean time, I take occaſion to declare here again, as I have done heretofore, that neither this, nor any other great revolutions of Nature, are brought to paſs, by Cauſes purely Natural, without the conduct of a particular Providence. And 'tis the Sacred Books of Scripture that are the records of this Providence, both as to times paſt, and times to come: as to all the ſignal Changes either of the Natural World, or of Mankind, and the different Oeconomies of Religion. In which reſpects, theſe Books, tho' they did not contain a Moral Law, would notwithſtanding be, as the moſt myſtical, ſo alſo the moſt valuable Books in the World.

This Treatiſe, you ſee, will conſiſt of Two Parts: The former whereof is to give an account of the *Conflagration*; and the latter, of the *New Heavens* and *New Earth* following upon it; together with the ſtate of Mankind in thoſe New Habitations. As to the Conflagration, we firſt enquire, what the Antients thought concerning the preſent frame of this World; whether it was to periſh or no: whether to be deſtroyed, or to ſtand eternally in this poſture. Then in what manner they thought it would be deſtroy'd; by what force or violence; whether by Fire or other ways. And with theſe opinions of the Antients we will compare the doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, to diſcover and confirm the truth of them. In the ſecond place, We will examine what Calculations or Conjectures have been made concerning the time of this great Cataſtrophe; or of the end of this World. Whether that period be defineable or no: and whether by Natural Arguments, or by Prophecies. Thirdly, We will conſider the Signs of the approaching Conflagration: Whether ſuch as will be in Nature, or in the ſtate of Humane Affairs; but eſpecially ſuch as are taken notice of and recorded in Scripture. Fourthly, Which is the principal point, and

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Theſe heads are ſet down more fully in the Argument of each Chapter; and ſeem to be ſufficient for the explication of this whole matter: Taking in ſome additional diſcourſes, which, in purſuing theſe heads, enter of their own accord, and make the work more even and entire. In the Second Part, we reſtore the World that we had deſtroy'd: Build New Heavens and a New Earth, *wherein Righteouſneſs ſhall dwell.* Eſtabliſh that new order of things, which is ſo often celebrated by the Prophets: A Kingdom of Peace and of Juſtice, where the Enemy of Mankind ſhall be bound, and the Prince of Peace ſhall rule. A Paradiſe without a Serpent, and a Tree of Knowledge, not to wound, but to heal the Nations. Where will be neither *curſe*, nor *pain*, nor *death*, nor *diſeaſe*. Where all things are new, all things are more perfect, both the World it ſelf, and its Inhabitants. Where the Firſt-born from the Dead, have the Firſt-fruits of glory.

We dote upon this preſent World, and the enjoyments of it; and 'tis not without pain, and fear, and reluctancy, that we are torn from them; as if our hopes lay all within the compaſs of this life. Yet, I know not by what good fate, my thoughts have been always fixt upon things to come, more than upon things preſent. Theſe I know, by certain experience, to be but trifles; and if there be nothing more conſiderable to come, the whole being of Man is no better than a trifle. But there is room enough before us in that we call *Eternity*, for great and Noble Scenes: and the Mind of Man feels it ſelf leſſen'd and ſtraiten'd in this low and narrow ſtate: wiſhes and waits to ſee ſomething greater. And if it could diſcern another World a coming, on this ſide Eternal Life; a beginning Glory, the beſt that Earth can bear, It would be a kind of Immortality to enjoy that proſpect before-hand; To ſee, when this Theater is diſſolv'd, where we ſhall act next, and what parts. What Saints and Hero's, if I may ſo ſay, will appear upon that Stage; and with what luſter and excellency. How eaſie would it be, under a view of theſe futurities, to deſpiſe the little pomps and honours, and the momentany pleaſures of a Mortal Life. But I proceed to our Subject.

CHAP. II.

The true state of the Question is Propos'd.

'Tis the general doctrine of the Ancients, that the present World, or the present frame of Nature, is mutable and perishable. To which the Sacred Books agree: and Natural Reason can alledge nothing against it.

WHen we speak of the End or destruction of the World, whether by Fire or otherwise, 'Tis not to be imagin'd that we understand this of the *Great Universe*, Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Highest Heavens, as if these were to perish or be destroy'd some few years hence, whether by Fire or any other way. This Question is only to be understood of the *Sublunary World*, of this Earth and its Furniture, which had its original about six thousand years ago, according to the History of *Moses*, and hath once already been destroy'd, when the Exteriour Region of it broke, and the Abyss issuing forth, as out of a womb, overflow'd all the habitable Earth. The next Deluge is that of Fire, which will have the same bounds, and overflow the Surface of the Earth much what in the same manner. But the celestial Regions, where the Stars and Angels inhabit, are not concern'd in this fate: Those are not made of combustible matter; nor, if they were, cou'd our flames reach them. Possibly those Bodies may have changes and revolutions peculiar to themselves, but in ways unknown to us, and after long and unknown periods of time. Therefore when we speak of the Conflagration of the World, These have no concern in the question; nor any other part of the Universe, than the Earth and its dependances. As will evidently appear when we come to explain the Manner and Causes of the Conflagration.

Gen. 7. 11. *Job* 38. 8.

And as this Conflagration can extend no further than to the Earth and its Elements, so neither can it destroy the matter of the Earth; but only the form and fashion of it, as it is an habitable World. Neither Fire, nor any other Natural Agent can destroy Matter, that is, reduce it to nothing: It may alter the modes and qualities of it, but the substance will always remain. And accordingly the Apostle, when he speaks of the mutability of this World, says only, *The figure* or fashion of *this World passes away*. This structure of the Earth and disposition of the Elements: And all the *works* of the Earth, as S. *Peter* says; All its natural productions, and all the works of art or humane industry; these will perish, melted or torn in pieces by the Fire; but without an annihilation of the Matter, any more than in the former Deluge. And this will be further prov'd and illustrated in the beginning of the following Book.

1 *Cor.* 7. 31.

2 *Epist.* 3.

The question being thus stated, we are next to consider the sense of Antiquity upon these two Points: First, Whether this Sublunary

nary World is mutable and perishable. Secondly, By the force and action of what causes, and in what manner it will perish; whether by Fire or otherwise. *Aristotle* is very singular in his Sentiments about the state of the World: He allows it neither beginning nor ending, rise nor fall, but won'd have it eternal and immutable. And this he understands not only of the Great Universe, but of this Sublunary World, this Earth which we inhabit: wherein he will not admit there ever have been or ever will be, either general Deluges or Conflagrations. And as if he was ambitious to be thought singular in his opinion about the Eternity of the World, He says, *All* the *Ancients* before him gave some beginning or origin to the World: But were not indeed so unanimous as to its future fate. Some believing it immutable, or as the Philosophers call it, incorruptible; Others, That it had its fatal times and Periods, as lesser Bodies have, and a term of age prefixt to it by Providence.

But before we examine this Point any further, it will be necessary to reflect upon that which we noted before, an ambiguity in the use of the word *World*, which gives frequent occasion of mistakes in reading the Ancients: when that which they speak of the *great Universe*, we apply to the *Sublunary World*: or on the contrary, what they speak of this Earth, we extend to the whole Universe. And if some of them, besides *Aristotle*, made the World incorruptible, they might mean that of the *Great Universe*, which they thought would never be dissolv'd, or perish as to its Mass and bulk: But single parts and points of it (and our Earth is no more) may be variously transform'd, and made habitable and unhabitable, according to certain periods of time, without any prejudice to their Philosophy. So *Plato*, for instance, thinks this World will have no Dissolution; for, being a work so beautiful and noble, the goodness of God, he says, will always preserve it. It is most reasonable to understand this of the Great Universe; for, in our Earth, *Plato* himself admits such dissolutions, as are made by general Deluges and Conflagrations; and we contend for no other. So likewise in other Authors, if they speak of the immortality of the World, you must observe what World they apply it to, and whether to the Matter or the Form of it; and if you remember that our Discourse proceeds only upon the Sublunary World, and the Dissolution of its form, you will find little in antiquity contrary to this doctrine. I always except *Aristotle*, (who allow'd of no Providence in this inferiour World) and some *Pythagoreans* falsly so call'd, being either fictitious Authors, or Apostates from the doctrine of their Master. These being excepted, upon a view of the rest, you will find very few dissenters from this general doctrine.

Plato's argument against the dissolution of the World, from the goodness and wisdom of God, wou'd not be altogether unreasonable, tho' apply'd to this Earth, if it was so to be dissolv'd, as never to be restor'd again. But we expect *New Heavens* and a *New Earth* upon the dissolution of these: Better in all respects, more commodious and more beautiful. And the several perfections of the Divine Nature, Wisdom, Power, Goodness, Justice, Sanctity, cannot be so well display'd and exemplify'd in any one single state of Nature,

as

as in a ſucceſſion of States: fitted to receive one another according to the diſpoſitions of the Moral World, and the order of Divine Providence. Wherefore *Plato*'s argument from the Divine Attributes, all things conſider'd, doth rather prove a ſucceſſion of Worlds, than that one ſingle World ſhould remain the ſame throughout all ages, without change or variation. Next to the *Platoniſts*, the *Stoicks* were moſt conſiderable in matters relating to Morality and Providence. And their opinion, in this caſe, is well known, they being look'd upon by the Moderns, as the principal authors of the doctrine of the *Conflagration*. Nor is it leſs known that the School of *Democritus* and *Epicurus* made all their Worlds ſubject to diſſolution; and by a new concourſe of Atomes reſtor'd them again. Laſtly, The *Ionick* Philoſophers, who had *Thales* for their Maſter, and were the firſt Naturaliſts amongſt the *Greeks*, taught the ſame doctrine. We have indeed but an imperfect account left us of this Sect, and 'tis great pity; for as it was one of the moſt ancient, ſo it ſeems to have been one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt the *Greeks* for Natural Philoſophy. In thoſe remains which *Diogenes Laertius* hath preſerv'd, of *Anaxagoras*, *Anaximenes*, *Archelaus*, &c. All great men in their time, we find that they treated much of the Origin of the World, and had many extraordinary Notions about it, which come lame and defective to us. The doctrine of their Founder, *Thales*, which made all things to conſiſt of Water, ſeems to have a great reſemblance to the doctrine of *Moſes* and S. *Peter*, about the conſtitution of the Firſt Heavens and Earth. But there is little in *Laertius* what their opinion was about the Diſſolution of the World. Other Authors inform us more of that. *Stobæus* joyns them with *Leucippus* and the *Epicureans*: *Simplicius* with *Heraclitus* and the *Stoicks*, in this doctrine about the corruptibility of the World. So that all the Schools of the Greek Philoſophers, as we noted before, were unanimous in this point, excepting the *Peripateticks*; whoſe Maſter, *Ariſtotle*, had neither modeſty enough to follow the doctrine of his Predeceſſors, nor wit enough to invent any thing better.

Gen. 1. *2 Pet.* 2. 5.

Ecl. Phyſ. l. 1. *c.* 24.

Beſides theſe Sects of Philoſophers, there were Theologers amongſt the *Greeks*, more ancient than theſe Sects, and more myſtical. *Ariſtotle* often diſtinguiſheth the *Naturaliſts* and the *Theologues*. Such were *Orpheus* and his followers, who had more of the Ancient Oriental Learning than the ſucceeding Philoſophers. But they writ their Philoſophy, or Theology rather, Mythologically and Poetically, in Parables and Allegories, that needed an interpretation. All theſe Theologers ſuppoſed the Earth to riſe from a Chaos: and as they ſaid that *Love* was the principle at firſt, that united the looſe and ſevered Elements, and formed them into an Habitable World: So they ſuppoſed that if *Strife* or *Contention* prevail'd, that would again diſſolve and diſunite them, and reduce things into a Chaos: Such as the Earth will be in, upon the Conflagration. And it further appears, that both theſe Orders of the Learned in *Greece* ſuppos'd this preſent frame of Nature might periſh, by their doctrine of *Periodical Revolutions*, or of the Renovation of the World after certain periods of time: which was a doctrine common

Οἱ φυσικοὶ, οἱ θεόλογοι.

common amongſt the learned *Greeks*, and received by them from the ancient Barbarick Nations. As will appear more at large in the following Book, *Ch.* 3. In the mean time we may obſerve that *Origen* in anſwering *Celſus*, about the point of the Reſurrection, tells him, That Doctrine ought not to appear ſo ſtrange or ridiculous to him, ſeeing their own Authors did believe and teach the *Renovation of the World*, after certain Ages or Periods. And the truth is, this Renovation of the World, rightly ſtated, is the ſame thing with the *Firſt Reſurrection* of the Chriſtians. And as to the Second and general Reſurrection, when the Righteous ſhall have Celeſtial Bodies; 'tis well known that the *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans* cloath'd the Soul with a Celeſtial Body, or, in their Language, an Ethereal Vehicle, as her laſt Beatitude or Glorification. So that *Origen* might very juſtly tell his adverſary, he had no reaſon to ridicule the Chriſtian Doctrine of the Reſurrection, ſeeing their own Authors had the main ſtrokes of it in their Traditionary Learning.

Lib. 5.

I will only add one remark more, before we leave this Subject, to prevent a miſtake in the word *Immortal* or *Immortality*, when applyed to the World. As I told you before, the equivocation that was in that term *World*, it being us'd ſometimes for the whole Univerſe, ſometimes for this inferiour part of it where we live; ſo likewiſe we muſt obſerve, that when this Inferiour World is ſaid to be *Immortal*, by the Philoſophers, as ſometimes it is, that commonly is not meant of any ſingle ſtate of Nature, or any ſingle World, but of a ſucceſſion of Worlds, conſequent one upon another. As a family may be ſaid immortal, not in any ſingle perſon, but in a ſucceſſion of Heirs. So as, many times, when the Ancients mention the immortality of the World, they do not thereby exclude the Diſſolution or Renovation of it: but ſuppoſe a viciſſitude, or ſeries of Worlds ſucceeding one another. This obſervation is not mine, but was long ſince made by *Simplicius*, *Stobæus*, and others, who tell us in what ſenſe ſome of thoſe Philoſophers who allowed the World to be periſhable, did yet affirm it to be immortal: namely, by ſucceſſive renovations.

Thus much is ſufficient to ſhew the ſence and judgment of Antiquity, as to the chargeableneſs or perpetuity of the World. But Ancient Learning is like Ancient Medals, more eſteemed for their rarity, than their real uſe; unleſs the Authority of a Prince make them currant. So neither will theſe Teſtimonies be of any great effect, unleſs they be made good and valuable by the Authority of Scripture. We muſt therefore add the Teſtimonies of the Prophets and Apoſtles to theſe of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that the evidence may be full and undeniable. That the Heavens and the Earth will periſh or be chang'd into another form, is, ſometimes, plainly expreſt, ſometimes ſuppos'd and alluded to in Scripture. The Prophet *David*'s teſtimony is expreſs, both for the beginning and ending of the World: in the 102. *Pſalm*, *Of old haſt thou laid the foundation of the Earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou ſhalt endure: yea, all of them ſhall wax old like a garment; as a veſture ſhalt thou change them, and they ſhall be changed. But thou art the ſame, and thy Years ſhall have no end.* *Ver.* 25, 26, 27.

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Ch. 51. 6. The Prophet *Eſay*'s teſtimony is no leſs expreſs, to the ſame purpoſe. *Lift up your Eyes to the heavens, and look upon the Earth beneath: for the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoke, and the Earth ſhall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein ſhall die in like manner.* Theſe Texts are plain and explicite; and in alluſion to this day of the Lord, and this deſtruction of the World, the ſame *Iſa.* 13. 13. *c.* 24. 18, 19. *c.* 34. 4. Prophet often uſeth phraſes that relate to it. As the *Concuſſion of the Heavens and the Earth.* The *ſhaking of the foundations of the World.* The *diſſolution of the Hoſt of Heaven.* And our Sacred Writers have expreſſions of the like force, and relating to the ſame effect. As the *Hills melting like wax, at the preſence of the Lord:* Pſal. 97. 5. Shattering *once more* all the parts of the Creation: *Hagg.* 2. 6. *Overturning the mountains, and making the pillars of the Earth to tremble:* Job 9. 5, 6. If you reflect upon the explication given of the Deluge in the firſt part of this Theory, and attend to the manner of the Conflagration, as it will be explain'd in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe, you will ſee the juſtneſs and fitneſs of theſe expreſſions: That they are not Poetical Hyperboles, or random expreſſions, of great and terrible things in general, but a true account of what hath been, or will be, at that great day of the Lord. 'Tis true, the Prophets ſometimes uſe ſuch-like expreſſions figuratively, for commotions in States and Kingdoms, but that is only by way of Metaphor and accommodation; the true baſis they ſtand upon, is that ruine, overthrow, and diſſolution of the Natural World, which was once at the Deluge, and will be again, after another manner, at the general Conflagration.

As to the New Teſtament, our Saviour ſays, *Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but his words ſhall not paſs away,* Matth. 24. 35. S. *Paul* ſays, the *Scheme of this World*; the faſhion, form, and compoſition of it, *paſſeth away,* 1 *Cor.* 7. 31. And when mention is made of *New Heavens* and a *New Earth,* which both the Prophet *Iſaiah,* and the *Iſa.* 65. 17 & 66. 22. *Rev.* 21. 1. & 2 *Pet.* 3. 13. Apoſtles S. *Peter* and S. *John,* mention, 'tis plainly imply'd that the old ones will be diſſolv'd. The ſame thing is alſo imply'd, when our Saviour ſpeaks of a *Renaſcency* or *Regeneration, Matt.* 19. 28. and S. *Peter,* of a *Reſtitution* of all things, *Act.* 3. 21. For what is now, muſt be aboliſh'd, before any former order of things can be reſtor'd or reduc'd. In a word, If there was nothing in Scripture concerning this ſubject, but that diſcourſe of S. *Peter*'s, in his 2*d.* Epiſtle and 3*d.* Chapter, concerning the triple order and ſucceſſion of the Heavens and the Earth; paſt, preſent, and to come; that alone wou'd be a conviction and demonſtration to me, that this preſent World will be diſſolv'd.

You will ſay, it may be, in the laſt place, we want ſtill the teſtimony of Natural Reaſon and Philoſophy to make the evidence compleat. I anſwer, 'tis enough, if They be ſilent, and have nothing to ſay to the contrary. Here are witneſſes, Humane and Divine, and if none appear againſt them, we have no reaſon to refuſe their teſtimony, or to diſtruſt it. Philoſophy will very readily yield to this Doctrine, that All material compoſitions are diſſolvable: and ſhe will not wonder to ſee that die, which ſhe had ſeen born; I mean, this Terreſtrial World. She ſtood upon the Chaos, and ſee it rowl it ſelf

it ſelf, with difficulty and after many ſtruglings, into the form of an habitable Earth: And that form ſhe ſee broken down again at the Deluge; and can as little hope or expect now, as then, that it ſhould be everlaſting and immutable. There would be nothing great or conſiderable in this Inferiour World, if there were not ſuch revolutions of Nature. The Seaſons of the Year, and the freſh Productions of the Spring, are pretty in their way; But when the *Great Year* comes about, with a new order of all things, in the Heavens and on the Earth, and a new dreſs of Nature throughout all her Regions, far more goodly and beautiful than the faireſt Spring; This gives a new Life to the Creation, and ſhows the greatneſs of its Author. Beſides, Theſe Fatal Cataſtrophes are always a puniſhment to degenerate Mankind, that are overwhelm'd in the ruines of theſe periſhing Worlds. And to make Nature her ſelf execute the Divine Vengeance againſt Rebellious Creatures, argues both the Power and Wiſdom of that Providence that governs all things here below. Theſe things Reaſon and Philoſophy approve of; but if you further require that they ſhould ſhew a *Neceſſity* of this future deſtruction of the World, from *Natural Cauſes,* with the time and all other circumſtances of this effect; your demands are unreaſonable, ſeeing theſe things do not depend ſolely upon Nature. But if you will content your ſelf to know what diſpoſitions there are in Nature towards ſuch a change, how it may begin, proceed, and be conſummate, under the conduct of Providence, be pleaſed to read the following Diſcourſe for your further ſatisfaction. *Annus Magnus.*

CHAP. III.

That the World will be deſtroy'd by Fire, is the doctrine of the Ancients, eſpecially of the* Stoicks. *That the ſame doctrine is more ancient than the* Greeks, *and deriv'd from the Barbarick Philoſophy, and That probably from* Noah; *the Father of all Traditionary Learning. The ſame doctrine expreſly authoriz'd by Revelation, and inroll'd into the Sacred Canon.

THAT the preſent World, or the preſent frame of Nature, will be deſtroy'd, we have already ſhewn. In what manner this deſtruction will be, by what force or what kind of fate, muſt be our next enquiry. The Philoſophers have always ſpoken of *Fire* and *Water,* thoſe two unruly Elements, as the only Cauſes that can deſtroy the World, and work our ruine; and accordingly they ſay, all the great and fatal Revolutions of Nature, either paſt or to come, depend upon the violence of theſe Two; when they get the maſtery, and overwhelm all the reſt and the whole Earth, in a Deluge or Conflagration. But as they make theſe Two the Deſtroying Elements, ſo they alſo make them the Purifying Elements. And accordingly in

their Luſtrations, or their rites and ceremonies for purging ſin, Fire and Water were chiefly made uſe of, both amongſt the *Romans*, *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. And when theſe Elements over-run the World, it is not, they ſay, for a final deſtruction of it, but to purge Mankind and Nature from their impurities. As for purgation by Fire and Water, the ſtile of our Sacred Writings does very much accommodate it ſelf to that ſence; and the Holy Ghoſt, who is the great Purifier of Souls, is compared in his operation upon us, and in our regeneration, to fire or water. And as for the external world, S. *Peter* makes the Flood to have been a kind of *Baptiſing* or renovation of the World. And S. *Paul* and the Prophet *Malachy* make the laſt Fire, to be a purging and refining fire. But to return to the Ancients.

1 *Ep.* 3. 21.

1 *Cor.* 3. 13. *Mal.* 3. 2, 3.

The *Stoicks* eſpecially, of all other Sects amongſt the *Greeks*, have preſerved the doctrine of the Conflagration, and made it a conſiderable part of their Philoſophy, and almoſt a character of their order. This is a thing ſo well known that I need not uſe any Citations to prove it. But they cannot pretend to have been the firſt Authors of it neither. For, beſides that amongſt the *Greeks* themſelves, *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles*, more ancient than *Zeno*, the Maſter of the *Stoicks*, taught this doctrine, 'tis plainly a branch of the Barbarick Philoſophy, and taken from thence by the *Greeks*. For it is well known that the moſt ancient and myſtick Learning amongſt the *Greeks*, was not originally their own, but borrowed of the more Eaſtern Nations, by *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many more: who travel'd thither, and traded with the Prieſts for knowledge and Philoſophy; and when they got a competent ſtock, returned home, and ſet up a School, or a Sect, to inſtruct their Country-men. But before we paſs to the Eaſtern Nations, let us, if you pleaſe, compare the *Roman* Philoſophy upon this ſubject, with that of the *Greeks*.

The *Romans* were a great people, that made a ſhew of Learning, but had little in reality, more than Words and Rhetorick. Their curioſity or emulation in Philoſophical Studies was ſo little, that it did not make different Sects and Schools amongſt them, as amongſt the *Greeks*. I remember no Philoſophers they had but ſuch as *Tully*, *Seneca*, and ſome of their Poets. And of theſe *Lucretius*, *Lucan* and *Ovid*, have ſpoken openly of the Conflagration. *Ovid*'s Verſes are well known,

Eſſe quoque in fatis reminiſcitur, affore tempus,
Quo mare, quo Tellus, correptaque Regia Cœli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operoſa laboret.

A Time decreed by Fate, at length will come,
When Heavens and Earth and Seas ſhall have their doom;
A fiery doom: And Nature's mighty frame
Shall break, and be diſſolv'd into a flame.

We ſee *Tully*'s ſence upon this matter in *Scipio*'s *Dream*. When the old man ſpeaks to his Nephew *Africanus*, and ſhews him from the clouds, this ſpot of Earth, where we live; He tells him, tho' our actions

actions ſhould be great, and fortune favour them with ſucceſs, yet there wou'd be no room for any laſting glory in this World; for the World it ſelf is tranſient and fugitive. And a Deluge or a Conflagration, which neceſſarily happen after certain periods of time, ſweep away all records of humane actions. As for *Seneca*, he being a profeſt *Stoick*, we need not doubt of his opinion in this point. We may add here, if you pleaſe, the *Sibylline verſes*, which were kept with great Religion, in the Capitol at *Rome*, and conſulted with much ceremony upon ſolemn occaſions. Theſe *Sibyls* were the Propheteſſes of the *Gentiles*, and tho' their Writings now have many ſpurious additions, yet none doubt but that the Conflagration of the World was one of their original Prophecies.

Let us now proceed to the Eaſtern Nations. As the *Romans* receiev'd the ſmall skill they had in the Sciences, from the *Greeks*; ſo the *Greeks* receiv'd their chief Myſtick Learning from the *Barbarians*: that is, from the *Ægyptians*, *Perſians*, *Phœnicians*, and other Eaſtern Nations: For 'tis not only the Weſtern or Northern people, that they called *Barbarians*, but indeed all Nations beſides themſelves. For that is commonly the vanity of great Empires, to uncivilize in a manner all the reſt of the World; and to account all thoſe People *Barbarous*, that are not ſubject to their dominion. Theſe however, whom they call'd ſo, were the moſt ancient People, and had the firſt Learning that was ever heard of after the Flood. And amongſt theſe, the *Ægyptians* were as famous as any: whoſe Sentiment in this particular of the Conflagration is well known. For *Plato*, who liv'd amongſt them ſeveral years, tell us in his *Timæus*, that it was the doctrine of their Prieſts, that the fatal Cataſtrophes of the World were by *Fire* and *Water*. In like manner the *Perſians* made their beloved God, *Fire*, at length to conſume all things that are capable of being conſum'd. For that is ſaid to have been the doctrine of *Hydaſpes*, one of their great *Magi* or Wiſe Men. As to the *Phœnicians*, I ſuſpect very much that the Stoicks had their Philoſophy from them, and amongſt other things the Conflagration. We ſhall take notice of that hereafter.

Juſt. Mar. Apol. 2.

But to comprehend the *Arabians* alſo, and *Indians*, give me leave to reflect a little upon the ſtory of the *Phœnix*. A ſtory well known, and related by ſome ancient Authors, and is in ſhort this. The *Phœnix*, they ſay, is a Bird in *Arabia*, *India*, and thoſe Eaſtern parts, ſingle in her kind, never more than one at a time, and very long-liv'd: appearing only at the expiration of the *Great Year*, as they call it: And then ſhe makes her ſelf a Neſt of Spices, which being ſet on fire by the Sun, or ſome other ſecret power, ſhe hovers upon it, and conſumes her ſelf in the flames. But, which is moſt wonderful, out of theſe aſhes riſeth a ſecond *Phœnix*; ſo that it is not ſo much a death as a renovation. I do not doubt but the ſtory is a fable, as to any ſuch kind of Bird, ſingle in her ſpecies, living and dying, and reviving in that manner: But 'tis an Apologue, or a Fable with an interpretation, and was intended as an Emblem of the World: which, after a long age, will be conſum'd in the laſt fire: and from its aſhes or remains will ariſe another World, or a new-form'd Heavens and Earth. This, I think, is the true myſtery of

the *Phœnix*, under which Symbol the Eaſtern Nations preſerv'd the doctrine of the Conflagration and Renovation of the World. They tell ſomewhat a like ſtory of the Eagle, ſoaring a-loft ſo near the Sun, that by his warmth and enlivening rays, ſhe renews her age and becomes young again. To this the *Pſalmiſt* is thought to allude, Pſal. 103.5. *Thy youth ſhall be renew'd like the Eagles:* which the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt renders, *In mundo venturo renovabis, ſicut Aquilæ, juventutem tuam.* Theſe things to me ſeem plainly to be Symbolical, repreſenting that World to come, which the Paraphraſt mentions, and the firing of this. And this is after the manner of the Eaſtern Wiſdom, which always lov'd to go fine, cleath'd in figures and fancies.

And not only the Eaſtern *Barbarians*, but the Northern and Weſtern alſo, had this doctrine of the Conflagration amongſt them. The *Scythians*, in their diſpute with the *Ægyptians* about Antiquity, argue upon both ſuppoſitions, of Fire or Water, deſtroying the Laſt World, or beginning This. And in the Weſt, the *Celtæ*, the moſt Ancient People there, had the ſame Tradition; for the *Druids*, who were their Prieſts and Philoſophers, deriv'd, not from the *Greeks*, but of the old race of Wiſe Men, that had their Learning traditionally, and, as it were, hereditary from the Firſt Ages: Theſe, as *Strabo* tells us, gave the World a kind of Immortality by repeated renovations; and the principle that deſtroy'd it, according to them, was always Fire or Water. I had forgot to mention in this Liſt, the *Chaldeans*: whoſe opinion we have from *Beroſus* in *Seneca*. They did not only teach the Conflagration, but alſo fixt it to a certain period of time, when there ſhould happen a great Conjunction of the Planets in *Cancer*. Laſtly, We may add, to cloſe the account, the Modern *Indian* Philoſophers, the reliques of the old *Bragmans*; Theſe, as *Maffeus* tells us, declare, that the World will be renew'd, after an Univerſal Conflagration.

L. 4.

Nat. Quæſt. 3. c. 29.

L. 16. Hiſt. Ind.

You ſee of what extent and univerſality throughout all Nations, this doctrine of the Conflagration hath been. Let us now conſider what defects or exceſſes there are in theſe ancient opinions, concerning this fate of the World, and how they may be rectified: That we may admit them no further into our belief, than they are warranted by reaſon, or by the authority of Chriſtian Religion. The firſt fault they ſeem to have committed about this point, is this, That they made theſe revolutions and renovations of Nature, indefinite or endleſs: as if there would be ſuch a ſucceſſion of Deluges and Conflagrations to all eternity. This, the *Stoicks* ſeem plainly to have aſſerted, as appears from *Numenius*, *Philo*, *Simplicius*, and others. S. *Jerome* imputes this Opinion alſo to *Origen:* but he does not always hit the true ſence of that Father, or is not fair and juſt in the repreſentation of it. Whoſoever held this Opinion, 'tis a manifeſt errour, and may be eaſily rectified by the Chriſtian Revelation; which teaches us plainly, that there is a final period and conſummation of all things that belong to this Sublunary or Terreſtrial World. When the *Kingdom ſhall be deliver'd up to the Father:* and Time ſhall be no more.

Epiſt. 60.

Another

Another Errour they committed in this doctrine, is, the Identity, or ſameneſs, if I may ſo ſay, of the Worlds ſucceeding one another. They are made indeed of the ſame Lump of Matter, but they ſuppos'd them to return alſo in the ſame Form. And, which is worſe, that there would be the ſame face of humane affairs; The ſame Perſons and the ſame actions over again; So as the Second World would be but a bare repetition of the former, without any variety or diverſity. Such a revolution is commonly call'd the *Platonick Year*: A period, when all things return to the ſame poſture they had ſome thouſands of years before; As a Play acted over again, upon the ſame Stage, and to the ſame Auditory. This is a groundleſs and injudicious ſuppoſition. For, whether we conſider the Nature of things, The Earth after a diſſolution, by Fire or by Water, could not return into the ſame form and faſhion it had before; Or whether we conſider Providence, it would no ways ſuit with the Divine Wiſdom and Juſtice to bring upon the ſtage again thoſe very Scenes, and that very courſe of humane affairs, which it had ſo lately condemn'd and deſtroy'd. We may be aſſured therefore, that, upon the diſſolution of a World, a new order of things, both as to Nature and Providence, always appears: And what that new order will be, in both reſpects, after the *Conflagration*, I hope we ſhall, in the following Book, give a ſatisfactory account.

Theſe are the Opinions, true or falſe, of the Ancients; and chiefly of the *Stoicks*, concerning the myſtery of the Conflagration. It will not be improper to enquire in the laſt place, how the *Stoicks* came by this doctrine: whether it was their diſcovery and invention, or from whom they learned it. That it was not their own invention, we have given ſufficient ground to believe, by ſhewing the antiquity of it beyond the times of the *Stoicks*. Beſides, what a man invents himſelf, he can give the reaſons and cauſes of it, as things upon which he founded his invention: But the *Stoicks* do not this, but according to the ancient traditional way, deliver the concluſion without proof or premiſſes. We nam'd *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles* amongſt the *Greeks* to have taught this doctrine before the *Stoicks*: And, according to *Plutarch*, *Heſiod* and *Orpheus*, authors of the higheſt antiquity, ſung of this laſt Fire, in their Philoſophick Poetry. But I ſuſpect the *Stoicks* had this doctrine from the *Phœnicians*; for if we enquire into the original of that Sect, we ſhall find that their Founder *Zeno*, was a Barbarian or Semi-barbarian, deriv'd from the *Phœnicians*, as *Laertius* and *Cicero* give an account of him. And the *Phœnicians* had a great ſhare in the Oriental knowledge, as we ſee by *Sanchoniathon*'s remains in *Euſebius*. And by their myſtical Books which *Suidas* mentions, from whence *Pherecydes*, *Pythagoras* his Maſter, had his learning. We may therefore reaſonably preſume that it might be from his Country-men, the *Phœnicians*, that *Zeno* had the doctrine of the *Conflagration*. Not that he brought it firſt into *Greece*, but ſtrongly reviv'd it, and made it almoſt peculiar to his Sect.

De defec. Orac.

So much for the *Stoicks* in particular, and the *Greeks* in general. We have alſo, you ſee, trac'd theſe Opinions higher, to the firſt Barbarick Philoſophers: who were the firſt race of Philoſophers

after

after the Flood. But *Josephus* tells a formal story of Pillars set up by *Seth*, before the Flood; implying the foreknowledge of this Fiery destruction of the World, even from the beginning of it. His words are to this effect, give what credit to them you think fit.

L. 1. c. 3. *Seth and his fellow students having found out the knowledge of the cælestial Bodies, and the order and disposition of the Universe; and having also receiv'd from* Adam *a Prophecy, that the World should have a double destruction, one by Water, another by Fire; To preserve and transmit their knowledge, in either case, to posterity, They raised two Pillars, one of Brick, another of Stone, and ingrav'd upon them their Philosophy and inventions. And one of these pillars,* the Author says, *was standing in* Syria, *even to his time.* Κατὰ τὴν Συριάδα. I do not press the belief of this story; there being nothing, that I know of, in Antiquity Sacred or prophane, that gives a joynt testimony with it. And those that set up these Pillars, do not seem to me to have understood the Nature of the Deluge or *Conflagration*; if they thought a Pillar, either of Brick or Stone, would be secure, in those great dissolutions of the Earth. But we have pursued this doctrine high enough without the help of these ante-diluvian Antiquities: Namely, to the earliest people and the first appearances of Wisdom after the Flood. So that, I think, we may justly look upon it as the doctrine of *Noah*, and of his immediate posterity. And as that is the highest source of learning to the present World; so we should endeavour to carry our Philosophical Traditions to that Original: for I cannot perswade my self but that they had amongst them, even in those early days, the main strokes or conclusions of the best Philosophy: or, if I may so say, a form of sound doctrine concerning Nature and Providence. Of which matter, if you will allow me a short digression, I will speak my thoughts in a few words.

In those First Ages of the World after the Flood, when *Noah* and his Children peopled the Earth again, as he gave them Precepts of Morality and Piety for the conduct of their Manners; which are usually call'd *Præcepta Noachidarum*, the *Precepts* of *Noah*, frequently mention'd both by the Jews and Christians: So also he deliver'd to them, at least, if we judge aright, certain Maxims or Conclusions about Providence, the state of Nature, and the fate of the World: And these, in proportion, may be call'd *Dogmata Noachidarum*, the *Doctrines* of *Noah*, and *his Children*. Which made a System of Philosophy or secret knowledge amongst them, deliver'd by Tradition from Father to Son; but especially preserv'd amongst their Priests and Sacred Persons, or such others as were addicted to Contemplation. This I take to be more ancient than *Moses* himself, or the *Jewish* Nation. But it would lead me too far out of my way, to set down in this place, the reasons of my judgment. Let it be sufficient to have pointed only at this Fountain-head of knowledge, and so return to our Argument.

We have heard, as it were, a Cry of Fire, throughout all Antiquity, and throughout all the People of the Earth. But those alarums are sometimes false, or make a greater noise than the thing deserves. For my part, I never trust Antiquity barely upon its own account, but always require a second witness either from Nature, or from

from Scripture; What the voice of Nature is, we shall hear all along in the following Treatise: Let us then examine at present, what testimony the Prophets and Apostles give to this ancient doctrine of the Conflagration of the World. The Prophets see the World a-fire at a distance and more imperfectly, as a brightness in the Heavens, rather than a burning flame: but S. *Peter* describes it, as if he had been standing by, and seen the Heavens and Earth in a red fire: heard the cracking flames and the tumbling Mountains; 2 *Pet.* 3. 10. In the day of the Lord, *The Heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heat: The Earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up.* Then, after a pious Ejaculation, he adds, Ver. 12. *Looking for and hastening the coming of the day of God, wherein the Heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved; and the Elements shall melt with fervent heat.* This is as lively, as a Man could express it, if he had the dreadful spectacle before his Eyes: S. *Peter* had before taught the same doctrine (*ver.* 5, 6, 7.) but in a more Philosophick way; describing the double fate of the World, by Water and Fire, with relation to the Nature and Constitution of either World, past or present. *The Heavens and the Earth were of old, consisting of water and by water: whereby, the World that then was, being overflow'd with water, perish'd. But the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of Judgment, and perdition of ungodly, or Atheistical men.* This testimony of S. *Peter* being full, direct, and explicit, will give light and strength to several other passages of Scripture, where the same thing is exprest obscurely or by allusion. As when S. *Paul* says, *The fire shall try every man's work in that day.* And our Saviour says, *The tares shall be burnt in the fire, at the end of the World.* Accordingly it is said, both by the Apostles and Prophets, that *God* will come to judgment *in Fire.* S. *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, promiseth the persecuted Righteous, rest and ease, *When the Lord shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire: taking vengeance on them that know not God, &c.* And so to the *Hebrews* S. *Paul* says, that for wilful Apostates there remaineth no more Sacrifice for sin, *but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries,* or enemies of God. And in the 12*th.* Chapter, he alludes to the same thing, when after he had spoken of *shaking the Heavens* and the *Earth* once more, he exhorteth, as S. *Peter* does upon the same occasion, to *reverence and godly fear, For our God is a consuming Fire.*

1 Cor. 3. 12, 13. Matt. 13. 40, 41, 42. 1 Thess. 2. 7, 8. ch. 10. 27. ver. 26, 27, 28, 29.

In like manner the Prophets, when they speak of destroying the wicked, and the Enemies of God and Christ, at the end of the World, represent it as a destruction *by Fire.* Psalm the 11*th.* 6. *Upon the wicked the Lord shall rain coals, fire, and brimstone, and a burning tempest: This shall be the portion of their Cup.* And Psal. 50. 3. *Our God shall come, and will not be slow: A fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.* And in the beginning of those two triumphal Psalms, the sixty-eighth, and ninety-seventh, we see plain allusions to this coming of the Lord in fire. The other Prophets speak in the same style, of a fiery indignation against the wicked, in the day of the Lord: As in *Isaiah* 66. 15.

For

and ch. 34. 8, 9, 10.

For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with his Chariots like a whirl-wind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire. And in *Daniel*, (c. 7. 9, 10.) The Ancient of days is plac'd upon his Seat of Judgment, cover'd in flames. *I beheld till the Thrones were set, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: His Throne was like the fiery flame, his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: Thousand thousands ministred unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: The judgment was set, and the Books were opened.* The Prophet *Malachy* (c. 4. 1.) describes the Day of the Lord to the same effect, and in like colours; *Behold the Day cometh, that shall burn as an Oven: and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be as stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.* And that nature her self, and the Earth shall suffer in that fire, the Prophet *Zephany* tells us, (c. 3. 8.) *All the Earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousie.* Lastly, This consumption of the Earth by fire, even to the foundations of it, is expresst livelily by *Moses* in his Song, *Deut.* 32. 22. *A fire is kindled in my anger, and shall burn unto the lowest Hell: and shall consume the Earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the Mountains.*

If we reflect upon these Witnesses, and especially the first and last, *Moses* and S. *Peter:* at what a great distance of time they writ their Prophecies, and yet how well they agree, we must needs conclude that they were acted by the same Spirit: and a Spirit that see thorough all the Ages of the World, from the beginning to the end. These Sacred Writers were so remote in time from one another, that they could not confer together, nor conspire, either in a false testimony, or to make the same prediction. But being under one common influence and inspiration, which is always consistent with it self, they have dictated the same things, tho' at two thousand years distance sometimes from one another. This, besides many other considerations, makes their authority inconteſtable. And upon the whole account, you see, that the doctrine of the future *Conflagration of the World*, having run through all Ages and Nations, is, by the joynt consent of the Prophets and Apostles, adopted into the Christian Faith.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the time of the Conflagration, and the end of the World. What the Astronomers say upon this Subject, and upon what they ground their Calculations; The true notion of the Great Year, or of the Platonick Year, stated and explained.

HAVING, in this First Section, laid a sure foundation as to the Subject of our Discourse; the truth and certainty of the *Conflagration* whereof we are to treat; we will now proceed to enquire after the *Time*, *Causes*, and *Manner* of it. We are naturally more inquisitive after the End of the World, and the Time of that Fatal Revolution, than after the Causes of it: For these, we know, are irresistible, whensoever they come, and therefore we are only sollicitous that they should not overtake us, or our near posterity. The *Romans* thought they had the fates of their Empire in the Books of the Sibyls, which were kept by the Magistrates as a Sacred Treasure. We have also our Prophetical Books, more sacred and more infallible than theirs, which contain the fate of all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and of that glorious Kingdom that is to succeed. And of all futurities, there is none can be of such importance to be enquired after, as this last scene and close of all humane affairs.

If I thought it possible to determine the time of the *Conflagration* from the bare intuition of Natural Causes, I would not treat of it in this place, but reserve it to the last; after we had brought into view all those Causes, weigh'd their force, and examin'd how and when they would concur to produce this great effect. But I am satisfied that the excitation and concourse of those Causes does not depend upon Nature only; and tho' the Causes may be sufficient when all united, yet the union of them at such a time, and in such a manner, I look upon as the effect of a particular Providence: and therefore no foresight of ours, or inspection into Nature can discover to us the time of this conjuncture. This method therefore of Prediction from Natural Causes being laid aside as impracticable, all other methods may be treated of in this place, as being independent upon any thing that is to follow in the Treatise; and it will be an ease to the Argument to discharge it of this part, and clear the way by degrees to the principal point, which is, the *Causes* and *Manner* of the Conflagration.

Some have thought it a kind of impiety in a Christian to enquire after the End of the World; because of that check which our Saviour gave his Disciples, when, after his Resurrection, enquiring of him about the time of his Kingdom, He answer'd, *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.* And, before his death, when he was discoursing of the

Act. 1. 7.

Consummation of all things, He told them expresly, that tho' there
Matt. 24. 36. should be such and such previous Signs as he had mention'd, yet, *Of that day and hour knoweth no man. No, not the Angels that are in Heaven, but my Father only.* Be it so, that the Disciples deserv'd a reprimand, for desiring to know, by a particular revelation from our Saviour, the state of future times; when many other things were more necessary for their instruction, and for their ministery. Be it also admitted, that the Angels, at that distance of time, could not see thorow all events to the End of the World; it does not at all follow from thence that they do not know it now; when, in the course of Sixteen Hundred Years, many things are come to pass, that may be marks and directions to them to make a judgment of what remains, and of the last period of all things. However there will be no danger in our enquiries about this matter, seeing they are not so much to discover the certainty, as the uncertainty of that period, as to humane knowledge. Let us therefore consider what methods have been used, by those that have been curious and busie to measure the duration of the World.

The *Stoicks* tell us, *When* the Sun and the Stars have drunk up the Sea, then the Earth shall be burnt. A very fair Prophecy: but how long will they be a drinking? For unless we can determine that, we cannot determine when this combustion will begin. Many
Cicer. de Nat. D. l. 2. of the Ancients thought that the Stars were nourish'd by the vapours of the Ocean and of the moist Earth: and when that nourishment was spent, being of a fiery nature, they would prey upon the Body of the Earth it self, and consume that, after they had consum'd the Water. This is old-fashion'd Philosophy, and now, that the nature of those Bodies is better known, will scarce pass for currant. 'Tis true, we must expect some dispositions towards the combustion of the World, from a great drought and desiccation of the Earth: But this helps us nothing on our way; for the question still returns, *When* will this immoderate drought or dryness happen? and that's as ill to resolve as the former. Therefore, as I said before, I have no hopes of deciding the question by Physiology or Natural Causes; let us then look up from the Earth to the Heavens, To the Astronomers and the Prophets; These think they can define the age and duration of the World; The one by their Art, and the other by Inspiration,

We begin with the Astronomers: whose Calculations are founded either upon the Aspects and Configurations of the Planets, or upon the Revolutions of the Fixt Stars: Or lastly, upon that which they call *Annus Magnus*, or the *Great Year*, whatsoever that Notion proves to be when it is rightly interpreted. As to the Planets, *Be-*
Sen. Nat. qu. l. 3. c. 29. *rosus* tells us, The *Chaldeans* suppose Deluges to proceed from a great conjunction of the Planets in *Capricorn*: and from a like conjunction in the opposite Sign of *Cancer*, the Conflagration will ensue. So that if we compute by the Astronomical Tables how long it will be to such a Conjunction, we find at the same time how long it will be to the *Conflagration*. This doctrine of the *Chaldeans* some Christian Authors have owned, and followed the same principles and method.

If these Authors would deal fairly with Mankind, they should shew us some connexion betwixt these Causes and the Effects which they make consequent upon them. For 'tis an unreasonable thing to require a man's assent to a Proposition, where he sees no dependence or connexion of Terms; unless it come by Revelation, or from an infallible Authority. If you say, The Conflagration will be at the first great Conjunction of the Planets in *Cancer*, and I say it will be at the next Eclipse of the Moon, if you shew no more reason for your assertion than I for mine, and neither of us pretend to revelation or infallibility, we may justly expect to be equally credited. Pray what reason can you give why the Planets, when they meet, should plot together, to set on Fire their Fellow-Planet, the Earth, who never did them any harm? But now there is a plausible reason for my opinion; for the Moon, when Eclips'd may think herself affronted by the Earth, interposing rudely betwixt her and the Sun, and leaving her to grope her way in the dark; She therefore may justly take her revenge as she can. But you'll say, 'tis not in the power of the Moon to set the Earth on Fire, if she had malice enough to do it. No, nor, say I; is it in the power of the other Planets, that are far more distant from the Earth than the Moon, and as stark dull lumps of Earth, as she is. The plain truth is, The Planets are so many Earths; and our Earth is as much a Planet as the brightest of them. 'Tis carried about the Sun with the same common stream, and shines with as much lustre to them, as they do to us: neither can they do any more harm to it, than it can do to them. 'Tis now well known, that the Planets are dark opake Bodies, generally made up of Earth and Water, as our Globe is; and have no force or action, but that of reverberating the light which the Sun casts upon them. This blind superstitious fear or reverence for the Stars, had its original from the ancient Idolaters; They thought them Gods, and that they had domination over humane affairs. We do not indeed worship them, as they did; but some men retain still the same opinion of their vertues, of their rule and influence upon us and our affairs, which was the ground of their worship. 'Tis full time now to sweep away these cobwebs of superstition, these reliques of Paganism. I do not see how we are any more concern'd in the postures of the Planets, than in the postures of the Clouds; and you may as well build an art of prediction or divination upon the one as the other. They must not know much of the Philosophy of the Heavens, or little consider it, that think the fate, either of single persons, or of the whole Earth, can depend upon the aspects or figur'd dances of those Bodies.

But you'll say, it may be, tho' no reason can be given for such effects, yet experience does attest the truth of them. In the first place, I answer, no experience can be produc'd for this effect we are speaking of, the Conflagration of the World. Secondly, Experience fallaciously recorded, or wholly in favour of one side, is no proof. If a publick Register was kept of all Astrological Predictions, and of all the Events that followed upon them, right or wrong, agreeing or disagreeing, I could willingly refer the cause to the determination of such a Register, and such experience. But that which

they call experience, is ſo ſtated, that if One Prediction of Ten, hits right or near right, it ſhall make more noiſe, and be more taken notice of, than all the Nine that are falſe. Juſt as in a Lottery, where many Blanks are drawn for one Prize, yet theſe make all the noiſe, and thoſe are forgotten. If any one be ſo lucky as to draw a good Lot, then the Trumpet ſounds, and his Name is regiſter'd, and he tells his good fortune to every body he meets: whereas thoſe that loſe, go ſilently away with empty Pockets, and are aſham'd to tell their loſſes. Such a thing is the Regiſter of Aſtrological experiences; they record what makes for their credit, but drop all blank inſtances, that would diſcover the vanity or cheat of their Art.

So much for the Planets. They have alſo a pretended calculation of the End of the World from the fixt Stars and the Firmament. Which in ſhort is this: They ſuppoſe theſe Bodies, beſides the hurry of their Diurnal Motion from Eaſt to Weſt, quite round the Earth in four and twenty hours, to have another retrograde Motion, from Weſt to Eaſt; which is more ſlow and leiſurely; And when they have finiſh'd the Circle of this retrogradation, and come up again to the ſame place from whence they ſtarted at the beginning of the World, then this courſe of Nature will be at an end; and either the Heavens will ceaſe from all motion, or a new ſet of motions will be put a foot, and the World begin again. This is a bundle of fictions tied up in a pretty knot. In the firſt place, there is no ſuch thing as a ſolid Firmament, in which the Stars are fixt, as nails in a board. The Heavens are as fluid as our Air, and the higher we go, the more thin and ſubtle is the ethereal matter. Then, the fixt Stars are not all in one Surface, as they ſeem to us, nor at an equal diſtance from the Earth, but are plac'd in ſeveral Orbs higher and higher; there being infinite room in the great Deep of the Heavens, every way, for innumerable Stars and Spheres behind one another, to fill and beautify the immenſe ſpaces of the Univerſe. Laſtly, The fixt Stars have no motion common to them all, nor any motion ſingly, unleſs upon their own Centres; and therefore, never leaving their ſtations, they can never return to any common ſtation, which they would ſuppoſe them to have had at the beginning of the World. So as this Period they ſpeak of, whereby they would meaſure the duration of the World, is meerly imaginary, and hath no foundation in the true Nature or Motion of the Celeſtial Bodies.

But in the third place, They ſpeak of an ANNUS MAGNUS, a *Great Year*; A revolution ſo call'd, whatſoever it is, that is of the ſame extent with the length of the World. This Notion, I confeſs, is more Ancient and Univerſal, and therefore I am the more apt to believe that it is not altogether groundleſs. But the difficulty is, to find out the true notion of this *Great Year*, what is to be underſtood by it, and then of what length it is. They all agree that it is a time of ſome grand inſtauration of all things, or a Reſtitution of the Heavens and the Earth to their former ſtate; that is, to the ſtate and poſture they had at the beginning of the World; ſuch therefore as will reduce the Golden Age, and that happy ſtate of Nature wherein

wherein things were at firſt. If ſo, if theſe be the marks and properties of this Revolution, which is call'd the *Great Year*, we need not go ſo far to find the true notion and interpretation of it. Thoſe that have read the Firſt Part of this Theory, may remember that in the Second Book we gave an account what the poſture of the Earth was at the beginning of the World, and what were the conſequences of that poſture, *A perpetual Spring* and Equinox throughout all the Earth: And if the Earth was reſtor'd again to that poſture and ſituation, all that is imputed to the *Great Year*, would immediately follow upon it, without ever diſturbing or moving the fix'd Stars, Firmament, or Planets; and yet at the ſame time all theſe three would return or be reſtor'd to the ſame poſture they had at the beginning of the World; ſo as the whole character of the *Great Year* would be truly fulfill'd, tho' not in that way which they imagin'd; but in another, more compendious, and of eaſier conception. My meaning is this, If the Axis of the Earth was rectified, and ſet parallel with the Axis of the Ecliptick, upon which the Planets, Firmament and fix'd Stars are ſuppos'd to move, all things would be as they were at firſt, a general harmony and conformity of all the motions of the Univerſe would preſently appear, ſuch, as they ſay, was in the Golden Age, before any diſorder came into the Natural or Moral World. *Chap. 3.*

As this is an eaſie, ſo I do not doubt, but it is a true account of that which was originally call'd the *Great Year*, or the Great Inſtauration; which Nature will bring to paſs in this ſimple method, by rectifying the Axis of the Earth, without thoſe operoſe revolutions, which ſome Aſtronomers have fanſied. But however, this account being admitted, how will it help us to define what the Age and duration of the World will be? 'Tis true, many have undertaken to tell us the length of this *Great Year*, and conſequently of the World; but, beſides that their accounts are very different, and generally of an extravagant length, if we had the true account, it would not aſſure us when the World would end; becauſe we do not know when it did begin, or what progreſs we have already made in the line of Time. For I am ſatisfied, the Chronology of the World, whether Sacred or Prophane, is loſt; till Providence ſhall pleaſe to retrieve it by ſome new diſcovery. As to Prophane Chronology, or that of the *Heathens*, the *Greeks* and the *Romans* knew nothing above the *Olympiads*; which fell ſhort many Ages of the Deluge, much more of the beginning of the World. And the Eaſtern Barbarous Nations, as they diſagreed amongſt themſelves, ſo generally they run the Origin of the World to ſuch a prodigious height, as is neither agreeable to Faith, nor Reaſon. As to Sacred Chronology, 'tis well known, that the difference there is betwixt the *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Samaritan* Copies of the Bible, makes the Age of the World altogether undetermin'd. And there is no way yet found out, how we may certainly diſcover which of the three Copies is moſt Authentick, and conſequently what the Age of the World is, upon a true computation. Seeing therefore we have no aſſurance how long the World hath ſtood already, neither could we be aſſur'd how long it hath to ſtand, though, by this *Annus Magnus*,

Magnus, or any other way, the total ſum, or whole term of its duration was truly known.

I am ſorry to ſee the little ſucceſs we have had in our firſt ſearch after the End of the World, from Aſtronomical Calculations. But 'tis an uſeful piece of Knowledge to know the bounds of our Knowledge; that ſo we may not ſpend our time and thoughts about things that lie out of our reach. I have little or no hopes of reſolving this point by the Light of Nature, and therefore it only remains now to enquire, whether Providence hath made it known by any ſort of Prophecy or Revelation. Which ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Prophecies that determine the end of the World; Of what order ſoever, Prophane or Sacred; Jewiſh or Chriſtian. That no certain judgment can be made from any of them, at what diſtance we are now from the Conflagration.

THE bounds of humane knowledge are ſo narrow, and the deſire of knowing ſo vaſt and illimited, that it often puts Mankind upon irregular methods of inlarging their knowledge. This hath made them find out arts of commerce with evil Spirits, to be inſtructed by them in ſuch Events as they could not of themſelves diſcover. We meddle not with thoſe myſteries of iniquity: but what hath appear'd under the notion of Divine Prophecy, relating to the Chronology of the World: giving either the whole extent of it, or certain marks of its expiration: Theſe we purpoſe to examine in this place. How far any thing may, or may not, be concluded from them, as to the reſolution of our Problem, *How long the World will laſt.*

Amongſt the Heathens I do not remember any Prophecies of this nature, except the *Sibylline Oracles*, as they are uſually call'd. The Ancient Eaſtern Philoſophers have left us no account that I can call to mind, about the time of this fatality. They ſay when the *Phœnix* returns we muſt expect the Conflagration to follow; but the age of the *Phœnix* they make as various and uncertain, as they do the computation of their *Great Year*: which two things are indeed one and the ſame in effect. Some of them, I confeſs, mention Six Thouſand Years for the whole Age of the World: which being the famous Prophecy of the *Jews*, we ſhall ſpeak to it largely hereafter: and reduce to that head what broken Traditions remain amongſt the Heathens of the ſame thing. As to the *Sibyline Oracles*, which were ſo much in reputation amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, they have been tamper'd with ſo much, and chang'd ſo often, that they are become now of little authority. They ſeem to have

Symbolum ἀποκαταστάσεως πολυχρονίου, Phœnix. Hor. Apol. l. 2. c. 57.

have divided the duration of the World into Ten Ages, and the laſt of theſe they make a Golden Age, a ſtate of Peace, Righteouſneſs and Perfection: but ſeeing they have not determin'd, in any definite numbers, what the length of every Age will be, nor given us the ſumm of all, we cannot draw any concluſion from this account as to the point in queſtion before us. But muſt proceed to the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Oracles.

The *Jews* have a remarkable Prophecy, which expreſſeth both the whole and the parts of the World's duration. The World, they ſay, will ſtand Six Thouſand Years: *Two Thouſand before the Law, Two Thouſand under the Law, and Two Thouſand under the Meſſiah.* This Prophecy they derive from *Elias*; but there were two of the Name, *Elias* the *Thesbite*, and *Elias* the *Rabbin*, or *Cabbaliſt*: and 'tis ſuppos'd to belong immediately to the latter of theſe. Yet this does not hinder in my opinion, but that it might come originally from the former *Elias*, and was preſerv'd in the School of this *Elias* the *Rabbin*, and firſt made publick by him. Or he added, it may be, that diviſion of the time into three parts, and ſo got a Title to the whole. I cannot eaſily imagine that a Doctor that liv'd two hundred years or thereabouts, before Chriſt, when Prophecy had ceas'd for ſome Ages amongſt the *Jews*, ſhould take upon him to dictate a Prophecy about the duration of the World, unleſs he had been ſupported by ſome antecedent Cabbaliſtical Tradition: which being kept more ſecret before, he took the liberty to make publick, and ſo was reputed the Author of the Prophecy. As many Philoſophers amongſt the *Greeks*, were the reputed Authors of ſuch doctrines as were much more ancient than themſelves: But they were the publiſhers of them in their Country, or the revivers of them after a long ſilence; and ſo, by forgetful poſterity, got the honour of the firſt invention.

You will think, it may be, the time is too long and the diſtance too great betwixt *Elias* the *Theſbite*, and this *Elias* the *Rabbin*, for a Tradition to ſubſiſt all the while, or be preſerv'd with any competent integrity. But it appears from S. *Jude*'s Epiſtle, that the *Prophecies of Enoch*, (who liv'd before the Floud) relating to the day of judgment and the end of the World, were extant in his time, either in Writing or by Tradition: And the diſtance betwixt *Enoch* and S. *Jude* was vaſtly greater than betwixt the two *Elias*'s. Nor was any fitter to be inſpir'd with that knowledge, or to tell the firſt news of that fatal period, than the old Prophet *Elias*, who is to come again and bring the alarum of the approaching Conflagration. But however this conjecture may prove as to the original Author of this Prophecy, the Prophecy it ſelf concerning the *Sexmillennial* duration of the World, is very much inſiſted upon by the Chriſtian Fathers. Which yet I believe is not ſo much for the bare Authority of the Tradition, as becauſe they thought it was founded in the Hiſtory of the *Six days Creation*, and the *Sabbath* ſucceeding: as alſo in ſome other Typical precepts and uſages in the Law of *Moſes*. But before we ſpeak of that, give me leave to name ſome of thoſe Fathers to you, that were of this judgment, and ſuppoſed the great Sabbatiſm would ſucceed after the World had ſtood Six Thouſand Years. Of this opinion was S. *Barnabas* in his Catholick Epiſtle, *ch.* 15. Where

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he argues that the Creation will be ended in Six Thousand Years, as it was finish'd in Six Days: Every day according to the Sacred and mystical account, being a Thousand Years. Of the same judgment is S. *Irenæus*, both as to the conclusion and the reason of it. He saith, the History of the Creation in six days, *is a narration as to what is past, and a Prophecy of what is to come.* As the Work was said to be consummated in six days, and the Sabbath to be the seventh; So the consummation of all things will be in Six Thousand Years, and then the great Sabbatism to come on in the blessed reign of Christ. *Hippolitus* Martyr, disciple of *Irenæus*, is of the same judgment, as you may see in *Photius, ch.* 202. *Lactantius* in his *Divine Institutions, l.* 7. *c.* 14. gives the very same account of the state and continuance of the World, and the same proofs for it. And so does S. *Cyprian*, in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom, ch.* 11. S *Jerome* more than once declares himself of the same opinion; and S. *Austin*, tho' he wavers and was doubtful as to the *Millennium*, or Reign of Christ upon Earth, yet he receives this computation without hesitancy, and upon the foremention'd grounds. So *Johannes Damascenus de fide Orthodoxâ*, takes seven Millennaries for the entire space of the World, from the Creation to the general Resurrection, the Sabbatism being included. And that this was a received and approv'd opinion in early times, we may collect from the Author of the *Questions and answers ad Orthodoxos in Justin Martyr.* Who giving an answer to that enquiry about the six thousand-years term of the World, says, *We may conjecture from many places of Scripture, that those are in the right, that say six thousand years is the time prefixt for the duration of this present frame of the World.* These Authors I have examin'd my self: but there are many others brought in confirmation of this opinion: as S. *Hilary, Anastasius Sinaita*, Sanctus *Gaudentius*, Q. *Julius Hilarion, Junilius Africanus, Isidorus Hispalensis, Cassiodorus, Gregorius Magnus*, and others, which I leave to be examin'd by those that have curiosity and leisure to do it.

L. 5. *c.* 28, 29, 30.

C. D. l. 20. *c.* 7.

In the mean time it must be confest that many of these Fathers were under a mistake in one respect, in that they generally thought the World was near an end in their time. An errour, which we need not take pains to confute now; seeing we, who live twelve hundred or fourteen hundred years after them, find the World still in being, and likely to continue so for some considerable time. But it is ease to discern whence their mistake proceeded: not from this Prophecy alone, but because they reckon'd this Prophecy according to the Chronology of the Septuagint: which setting back the beginning of the World many Ages beyond the *Hebrew*, these six thousand years were very near expir'd in the time of those Fathers; and that made them conclude that the World was very near an end. We will make no reflections, in this place, upon that Chronology of the Septuagint, lest it should too much interrupt the thred of our discourse. But it is necessary to shew how the Fathers grounded this computation of Six Thousand Years, upon Scripture. 'Twas chiefly, as we suggested before, upon the *Hexameron*, or the Creation finish'd in *Six Days*, and the *Sabbath* ensuing. The Sabbath, they said, was a type of the Sabbatism, that was to follow at the end

end of the World, according to S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*; and then by analogy and consequence, the six days preceding the Sabbath, must note the space and duration of the World. If therefore they could discover how much a Day is reckon'd for, in this mystical computation, the sum of the six days would be easily found out. And they think, that according to the Psalmist, (*Psal.* 90. 4.) and S. *Peter*, (2 *Epist.* 3. 8.) a *Day* may be estimated *a thousand years*; and consequently six days must be counted six thousand years, for the duration of the World. This is their interpretation, and their inference: but it must be acknowledged, that there is an essential weakness in all typical and allegorical argumentations, in comparison of literal. And this being allow'd in diminution of the proof, we may be bold to say, that nothing yet appears, either in Nature, or Scripture, or Humane Affairs, repugnant to this supposition of Six Thousand Years: which hath Antiquity, and the Authority of the Fathers, on its side.

Ch. 5.

We proceed now to the Christian Prophecies concerning the end of the World. I do not mention those in *Daniel*, because I am not satisfied that any there (excepting that of the Fifth Kingdom it self) extend so far. But in the *Apocalypse* of S. *John*, which is the last Revelation we are to expect, there are several Prophecies that reach to the Consummation of this World, and the First Resurrection. The *Seven Seals*, the *Seven Trumpets*, the *Seven Vials*, do all terminate upon that great Period. But they are rather Historical Prophecies than Chronological; they tell us, in their Language, the Events, but do not measure or express the time wherein they come to pass. Others there are that may be call'd Chronological, as the *treading under foot the holy City, forty and two months, Apoc.* 11. 2. The *Witnesses* opposing Antichrist, *one thousand two hundred and sixty days, Apoc.* 11. 3. The flight of the *Woman into the Wilderness*, for the same number of days, or for a *Time, Times, and half a Time, Apoc.* 12. 6. & 14. And lastly, The War of the Beast against the Saints, *forty two months, Apoc.* 13. 5. These all, you see, express a time for their completion; and all the same time, if I be not mistaken: But they do not reach to the End of the World. Or if some of them did reach so far, yet because we do not certainly know where to fix their beginning, we must still be at a loss, when, or in what year they will expire. As for instance, If the Reign of the Beast, or the Preaching of the Witnesses be 1260 years, as is reasonably supos'd; yet if we do not know certainly when this Reign, or this Preaching begun, neither can we tell when it will end. And the Epocha's or beginnings of these Prophecies are so differently calculated, and are things of so long debate, as makes the discussion of them altogether improper for this place. Yet it must be confest, that the best conjectures that can be made concerning the approaching End of the World, must be taken from a judicious examination of these points: and according as we gather up the Prophecies of the Apocalypse, in a successive completion, we see how by degrees we draw nearer and nearer to the conclusion of all. But till some of these enlightning Prophecies be accomplish'd, we are as a Man that awakes in the Night, all is dark about him, and he knows not how

far the Night is ſpent: but if he watch till the light appears, the firſt glimpſes of that will reſolve his doubts. We muſt have a little patience ſtill, I think, but a little; ſtill eyeing thoſe Prophecies of the *Reſurrection* of the *Witneſſes*, and the *depreſſion* of *Antichriſt*: till by their accompliſhment, the day dawn, and the Clouds begin to change their colour. Then we ſhall be able to make a near gueſs, when the Sun of righteouſneſs will ariſe.

So much for Prophecies. There are alſo *Signs*, which are look'd upon as forerunners of the coming of our Saviour: and therefore may give us ſome direction how to judge of the diſtance or approach of that great Day. Thus many of the Fathers thought the *coming of Antichriſt* would be a ſign to give the World notice of its approaching end. But we may eaſily ſee, by what hath been noted before, what it was that led the Fathers into that miſtake. They thought their ſix thouſand years were near an end, as they truly were, according to that Chronology they followed: and therefore they concluded the Reign of Antichriſt muſt be very ſhort, whenſoever he came, and that he could not come long before the end of the World. But we are very well aſſur'd from the Revelation of Saint *John*, that the reign of Antichriſt is not to be ſo ſhort and tranſient; and from the proſpect and hiſtory of Chriſtendom, that he hath been already upon his Throne many hundreds of Years. Therefore this Sign wholly falls to the ground; unleſs you will take it from the fall of Antichriſt, rather than from his firſt entrance. Others expect the *coming* of *Elias* to give warning of that day, and prepare the way of the Lord. I am very willing to admit that *Elias* will come, according to the ſence of the Prophet *Malachi*, but he will not come *with obſervation*, no more than he did in the Perſon of *John* the Baptiſt; He will not bear the name of *Elias*, nor tell us he is the Man that went to Heaven in a fiery Chariot, and is now come down again to give us warning of the laſt Fire. But ſome divine perſon may appear before the ſecond coming of our Saviour, as there did before his firſt coming, and by giving a new light and life to the Chriſtian Doctrine, may diſſipate the miſts of error, and aboliſh all thoſe little controverſies amongſt good men, and the diviſions and animoſities that ſpring from them; enlarging their Spirits by greater diſcoveries, and uniting them all in the bonds of love and charity, and in the common ſtudy of truth and perfection. Such an *Elias*, the Prophet ſeems to point at; And may he come, and be the great Peace-maker and preparer of the ways of the Lord. But at preſent, we cannot from this Sign make any judgment when the World will end.

Ch. 4. 5, 6.

Another Sign preceeding the end of the World, is, *The Converſion of the Jews*; and this is a wonderful ſign indeed. S. *Paul* ſeems expreſly to affirm it, *Rom.* 11. 25, 26. But it is differently underſtood, either of their Converſion only, or of their Reſtoration to their own Country, Liberties and Dominion. The Prophets bear hard upon this ſence ſometimes, as you may ſee in *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hoſea*, *Amos*. And to the ſame purpoſe the ancient promiſe of *Moſes* is interpreted, *Deut.* 30. Yet this ſeems to be a thing very unconceivable; unleſs we ſuppoſe the Ten Tribes to be ſtill in ſome hidden

hidden corner of the World, from whence they may be conducted again into their own Country, as once out of *Egypt*, by a miraculous Providence, and eſtabliſh'd there. Which being known, will give the alarum to all the other *Jews* in the World, and make an univerſal confluence to their old home. Then our Saviour by an extraordinary appearance to them, as once to S. *Paul*: and by Prophets rais'd up amongſt them for that purpoſe, may convince them that he is the true Meſſiah, and convert them to the Chriſtian Faith; which will be no more ſtrange, than was the firſt Converſion of the Gentile World. But if we be content with a Converſion of the *Jews*, without their reſtoration; and of thoſe Two Tribes only which are now diſperſt throughout the Chriſtian World and other known parts of the Earth: That theſe ſhould be Converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and incorporated into the Chriſtian Commonwealth, loſing their national character and diſtinction. If this, I ſay, will ſatisfie the Prophecies, it is not a thing very difficult to be conceived. For when the World is reduc'd to a better and purer ſtate of Chriſtianity, and that Idolatry in a great meaſure, remov'd, which gave the greateſt ſcandal to the *Jews*, they will begin to have better thoughts of our Religion, and be diſpos'd to a more ingenuous and unprejudic'd examination of their Prophecies concerning the Meſſiah: God raiſing up men amongſt them of divine and enlarged Spirits, Lovers of Truth more than of any particular Sect or Opinion; with light to diſcern it, and courage to profeſs it. Laſtly, it will be a cogent argument upon them, to ſee the Age of the World ſo far ſpent, and no appearance yet of their long expected Meſſiah. So far ſpent, I ſay, that there is no room left, upon any computation whatſoever, for the Oeconomy of a Meſſiah yet to come. This will make them reflect more carefully and impartially upon him whom the Chriſtians propoſe, *Jeſus of Nazareth*, whom their Fathers Crucified at *Jeruſalem*. Upon the Miracles he wrought, in his life and after his death: and upon the wonderful propagation of his Doctrine throughout the World, after his Aſcenſion. And laſtly, upon the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, upon their own ſcatter'd and forlorn condition, foretold by that Prophet, as a judgment of God upon an ungrateful and wicked People.

Joh. 19. 37. *Apoc.* 1. 7. *Mat.* 23. 39.

This I have ſaid to ſtate the caſe of the Converſion of the *Jews*, which will be a ſign of the approaching reign of Chriſt. But alas, what appearance is there of this Converſion in our days, or what judgment can we make from a ſign that is not yet come to paſs? 'Tis ineffectual as to us, but may be of uſe to poſterity. Yet even to them it will not determine at what diſtance they are from the end of the World, but be a mark only that they are not far from it. There will be Signs alſo, in thoſe laſt days, in the Heavens, and in the Earth, and in the Sea, forerunners of the *Conflagration*; as the obſcuration of the Sun and Moon, Earth-quakes, roarings of the troubled Sea, and ſuch like diſorders in the natural World. 'Tis true, but theſe are the very pangs of death, and the ſtrugglings of Nature juſt before her diſſolution, and it will be too late then to be aware of our ruine when it is at the door. Yet theſe being Signs or Prodigies taken notice of by Scripture, we intend, God willing,

after we have explained the cauſes and manner of the *Conflagration*, to give an account alſo whence theſe unnatural commotions will proceed, that are the beginnings or immediate introductions to the laſt Fire.

Thus we have gone through the Prophecies and Signs that concern the laſt day and the laſt fate of the World. And how little have we learned from them as to the time of that great revolution? Prophecies riſe ſometimes with an even gradual light, as the day riſeth upon the Horizon: and ſometimes break out ſuddenly like a fire, and we are not aware of their approach till we ſee them accompliſh'd. Thoſe that concern the end of the World are of this latter ſort to unobſerving men; but even to the moſt obſerving, there will ſtill be a latitude; We muſt not expect to calculate the coming of our Saviour like an Eclipſe, to minutes and half-minutes. There are *Times and Seaſons which the Father hath put in his own power.* If it was deſigned to keep theſe things ſecret, we muſt not think to out-wit Providence, and from the Prophecies that are given us, pick out a diſcovery that was not intended we ſhould ever make. It is determin'd in the Councils of Heaven juſt how far we ſhall know theſe events before-hand, and with what degree of certainty: and with this we muſt be content whatſoever it is. The *Apocalypſe* of S. *John* is the laſt Prophetical declaration of the Will of God, and contains the fate of the Chriſtian Religion to the end of the World, its purity, degeneracy, and reviviſcency. The head of this degeneracy is call'd *The Beaſt, the falſe Prophet, the Whore of Babylon*, in Prophetical terms; and in an Eccleſiaſtical term is commonly call'd *Antichriſt*. Thoſe that bear Teſtimony againſt this degeneracy, are call'd the *Witneſſes*: who, after they have been a long time, in a mean and perſecuted condition, are to have their Reſurrection and Aſcenſion: that is, be advanc'd to power and Authority. And this Reſurrection of the *Witneſſes* and depreſſion of *Antichriſt*, is that which will make the great turn of the World to righteouſneſs, and the great Criſis whereby we may judge of its drawing to an end. *Apoc. c. 9.* 'Tis true, there are other marks, as the paſſing away of the *Second Woe*; which is commonly thought to be the Ottoman Empire: and *Apoc. c. 16.* the Effuſion of the *Vials*. The firſt of theſe will be indeed a very *ch. 11. 14.* conſpicuous mark, if it follow upon the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes, as by the Prophecy it ſeems to do. But as to the Vials, tho' they do plainly reach in a Series to the end of the World, I am not ſatisfied with any expoſition I have yet met with, concerning their preciſe time or contents.

In a word, Tho the ſum and general contents of a Prophecy be very intelligible, yet the application of it to Time and Perſons may be very lubricous. There muſt be obſcurity in a Prophecy, as well as ſhadow in a Picture. All its lines muſt not ſtand in a full light. For if Prophecies were open and bare-fac'd as to all their parts and circumſtances, they would check and obſtruct the courſe of humane affairs; and hinder, if it was poſſible, their own accompliſhment. Modeſty and Sobriety are in all things commendable, but in nothing more than in the explication of theſe Sacred Myſteries; and we have ſeen ſo many miſcarry by a too cloſe and particular application

cation of them, that we ought to dread the Rock about which we ſee ſo many ſhipwrecks. He that does not err above a Century in calculating the laſt period of Time, from what evidence we have at preſent, hath, in my opinion, caſt up his accounts very well. But the Scenes will change faſt towards the Evening of this long day, and when the Sun is near ſetting, they will more eaſily compute how far he hath to run.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Cauſes of the Conflagration.

The difficulty of conceiving how this Earth can be ſet on fire. With a general anſwer to that difficulty. Two ſuppos'd cauſes of the Conflagration, by the Sun's drawing nearer to the Earth, or the Earth's throwing out the central fire, examin'd and rejected.

WE have now made our way clear to the principal point, *The Cauſes of the Conflagration*: How the Heavens and the Earth will be ſet on fire, what materials are prepar'd, or what train of Cauſes, for that purpoſe. The Ancients, who have kept us company pretty well thus far, here quite deſert us. They deal more in Concluſions than Cauſes, as is uſual in all Traditional Learning. And the *Stoicks* themſelves, who inculcate ſo much the doctrine of the Conflagration, and make the ſtrength of it ſuch as to diſſolve the Earth into a fiery Chaos, are yet very ſhort and ſuperficial in their explications, how this ſhall come to paſs. The latent ſeeds of fire, they ſay, ſhall every where be let looſe, and that Element will prevail over all the reſt, and transform every thing into its own nature. But theſe are general things that give little ſatisfaction to inquiſitive Perſons. Neither do the modern Authors that treat of the ſame ſubject, relieve us in this particular: They are willing to ſuppoſe the Conflagration a ſuperficial effect, that ſo they may excuſe themſelves the trouble of enquiring after cauſes. 'Tis, no doubt, in a ſort, ſupernatural: and ſo the Deluge was: yet *Moſes* ſets down the Cauſes of the Deluge, the rains from above, and the diſruption of the Abyſs. So there muſt be treaſures of fire provided againſt that day, by whoſe eruption this ſecond Deluge will be brought upon the Earth.

To ſtate the caſe fairly, we muſt firſt repreſent the difficulty of ſetting the Earth on Fire: Tie the knot, before we looſe it; that ſo we may the better judge whether the Cauſes that ſhall be brought into view, may be ſufficient to overcome ſo great oppoſition. The difficulty, no doubt, will be chiefly from the great quantity of Water that is about our Globe; whereby Nature ſeems to have made proviſion againſt any invaſion by Fire, and ſecur'd us from that

enemy

enemy more than any other. We ſee half of the Surface of the Earth cover'd with the Seas: whoſe Chanel is of a vaſt depth and capacity. Beſides innumerable Rivers, great and ſmall, that water the face of the dry Land, and drench it with perpetual moiſture. Then within the bowels of the Earth, there are Store-houſes of ſubterraneous Waters: which are as a reſerve, in caſe the Ocean and the Rivers ſhould be overcome. Neither is Water our only ſecurity, for the hard Rocks and ſtony Mountains, which no Fire can bite upon, are ſet in long ranges upon the Continents and Iſlands: and muſt needs give a ſtop to the progreſs of that furious Enemy, in caſe he ſhould attack us. Laſtly, The Earth it ſelf is not combuſtible in all its parts. 'Tis not every Soyl that is fit fewel for the Fire. Clay, and Mire, and ſuch like Soyls will rather choak and ſtifle it, than help it on its way. By theſe means one would think the Body of the Earth ſecur'd; and tho' there may be partial fires, or inundations of fire, here and there, in particular regions, yet there cannot be an Univerſal Fire throughout the Earth. At leaſt one would hope for a ſafe retreat towards the Poles, where there is nothing but Snow, and Ice, and bitter cold. Theſe regions ſure are in no danger to be burnt, whatſoever becomes of the other climates of the Earth.

This being the ſtate and condition of the preſent Earth, one would not imagine by theſe preparations, 'twas ever intended that it ſhould periſh by an Univerſal Fire. But ſuch is often the method of Providence, that the exteriour face of things looks one way, and the deſign lies another; till at length, touching a Spring, as it were, at a certain time, all thoſe affairs change poſture and aſpect, and ſhew us which way Providence inclines. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, before the Conflagration begins, there will be diſpoſitions and preparatives ſuitable to ſo great a work: and all antiquity, ſacred and prophane, does ſo far concur with us, as to admit and ſuppoſe that a great drought will precede, and an extraordinary heat and drineſs of the Air, to uſher in this fiery doom. And theſe being things which often happen in a courſe of Nature, we cannot diſallow ſuch eaſie preparations, when Providence intends ſo great a conſequence. The Heavens will be ſhut up, and the Clouds yield no rain; and by this, with an immoderate heat in the Air, the Springs of Water will become dry, the Earth chap'd and parch'd, and the Woods and Trees made ready fewel for the Fire. We have inſtances in Hiſtory that there have been droughts and heats of this Nature, to that degree, that the Woods and Foreſts have taken fire, and the outward Turf and Surface of the Earth, without any other cauſe than the drineſs of the Seaſon, and the vehemency of the Sun. And which is more conſiderable, the Springs, and Fountains being dry'd up, the greater Rivers have been ſenſibly leſſen'd, and the leſſer quite emptied and exhal'd. Theſe things which happen frequently in particular Countreys and Climates, may at an appointed time, by the diſpoſition of Providence, be more univerſal throughout the Earth; and have the ſame effects every where, that we ſee by experience they have had in certain places. And by this means we may conceive it as feiſible to ſet the whole Earth on fire in ſome little ſpace

ſpace of time, as to burn up this or that Countrey after a great drought. But I mean this, with exception ſtill to the main Body of the Sea; which will indeed receive a greater diminution from theſe Cauſes than we eaſily imagine, but the final conſumption of it will depend upon other reaſons, whereof we muſt give an account in the following Chapters.

As to the Mountains and Rocks, their lofty heads will ſink when the Earthquakes begin to roar, at the beginning of the Conflagration: as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And as to the Earth it ſelf, 'tis true there are ſeveral ſorts of Earth that are not proper fewel for fire; but thoſe Soils that are not ſo immediately, as clayey Soils, and ſuch like, may by the ſtrength of Fire be converted into Brick, or Stone, or Earthen Metal, and ſo melted down and vitrified. For, in concluſion there is no Terreſtrial Body that does not finally yield to the force of Fire, and may either be converted into flame, incorporated fire, or into a liquor more ardent than either of them. Laſtly, As to the Polar Regions, which you think will be a ſafe retreat and inacceſſible to the fire; 'Tis true, unleſs Providence hath laid ſubterraneous treaſures of fire there unknown to us, thoſe parts of the Earth will be the laſt conſum'd. But it is to be obſerv'd, that the cold of thoſe regions proceeds from the length of their Winter, and their diſtance from the Sun when he is beyond the Æquator; and both theſe cauſes will be remov'd at the Conflagration. For we ſuppoſe the Earth will then return to its primitive ſituation, which we have explain'd in the 2*d*, Book of this Theory; and will have *Ch. 3.* the Sun always in its Æquator; whereby the ſeveral Climates of the Earth will have a perpetual Equinox, and thoſe under the Poles a perpetual day. And therefore all the exceſs of cold, and all the conſequences of it, will ſoon be abated. However, the Earth will not be burnt in one day, and thoſe parts of the Earth being uninhabited, there is no inconvenience that they ſhould be more ſlowly conſum'd than the reſt.

This is a general anſwer to the difficulty propos'd about the poſſibility of the Conflagration; and being general only, the parts of it muſt be more fully explain'd and confirm'd in the ſequel of this diſcourſe. We ſhould now proceed directly to the cauſes of the Conflagration, and ſhow in what manner they do this great execution upon Nature. But to be juſt and impartial in this enquiry, we ought firſt to ſeparate the ſpurious and pretended Cauſes from thoſe that are real and genuine; to make no falſe muſters, nor any ſhow of being ſtronger than we are; and if we can do our work with leſs force, it will be more to our credit; as a Victory is more honourable that is gain'd with fewer Men.

There are two grand capital Cauſes which ſome Authors make uſe of, as the chief Agents in this work, the *Sun*, and the *Central Fire*. Theſe two great Incendiaries, they ſay, will be let looſe upon us at the Conflagration: The one drawing nearer to the Earth, and the other breaking out of its bowels into theſe upper regions. Theſe are potent Cauſes indeed, more than enough to deſtroy this Earth, if it was a thouſand times bigger than it is. But for that very reaſon, I ſuſpect they are not the true Cauſes; for God and Nature do not

not uſe to employ unneceſſary means to bring about their deſigns. Diſproportion and over-ſufficiency is one ſort of falſe meaſures, and 'tis a ſign we do not thoroughly underſtand our work, when we put more ſtrength to it than the thing requires. Men are forward to call in extraordinary powers, to rid their hands of a troubleſome argument, and ſo make a ſhort diſpatch to ſave themſelves the pains of further enquiries: but ſuch methods, as they commonly have no proof, ſo they give little ſatisfaction to an inquiſitive mind. This ſuppoſition of burning the Earth, by the Sun drawing nearer and nearer to it, ſeems to be made in imitation of the ſtory of *Phaeton*, who driving the Chariot of the Sun with an unſteddy hand, came ſo near the Earth, that he ſet it on fire. But however we will not reject any pretenſions without a fair trial; Let us examine therefore what grounds they can have for either of theſe ſuppoſitions, of the Approximation of the Sun to the Earth, or the Eruption of the Central Fire.

As to the Sun, I deſire firſt to be ſatisfied in preſent matter of Fact: whether by any inſtrument or obſervation it hath or can be diſcover'd, that the Sun is nearer to the Earth now, than he was in former ages? or if by any reaſoning or comparing calculations ſuch a concluſion can be made? If not, this is but an imaginary cauſe, and as eaſily deny'd as propos'd. Aſtronomers do very little agree in their opinions about the diſtance of the Sun, *Ptolomy*, *Albategnius*, *Copernicus*, *Tycho*, *Kepler*, and others more modern, differ all in their calculations; but not in ſuch a manner or proportion, as ſhould make us believe that the Sun comes nearer to the Earth, but rather goes further from it. For the more modern of them make the diſtance greater than the more ancient do. *Kepler* ſays, the diſtance of the Sun from the Earth lies betwixt 700 and 2000 ſemidiameters of the Earth: but *Ricciolus* makes it betwixt 700 and 7000. And *Gottefrid Wendeline* hath taken 14656. ſemidiameters, for a middle proportion of the Sun's diſtance; to which *Kepler* himſelf came very near in his later years. So that you ſee how groundleſs our fears are from the approaches of an enemy, that rather flies from us, if he change poſture at all. And we have more reaſon to believe the report of the modern Aſtronomers than of the ancient, in this matter; both becauſe the nature of the Heavens and of the celeſtial Bodies is now better known, and alſo becauſe they have found out better inſtruments and better methods to make their obſervations.

If the Sun and Earth were come nearer to one another, either the circle of the Suns diurnal arch would be leſs, and ſo the day ſhorter: or the Orbit of the Earths annual courſe would be leſs, and ſo the Year ſhorter: Neither of which we have any experience of. And thoſe that ſuppoſe us in the centre of the World, need not be afraid till they ſee *Mercury* and *Venus* in a combuſtion, for they lie betwixt us and danger; and the Sun cannot come ſo readily at us with his fiery darts, as at them, who ſtand in his way. Laſtly, this languiſhing death by the gradual approaches of the Sun, and that irreparable ruine of the Earth which at laſt muſt follow from it, do neither of them agree with that Idea of the *Conflagration*, which

which the Scripture hath given us; for it is to come ſuddenly and unexpectedly, and take us off like a violent Feaver, not as a lingring Conſumption. And the Earth is alſo ſo to be deſtroyed by Fire, as not to take away all hopes of a Reſurrection or Renovation. For we are aſſur'd by Scripture that there will be new Heavens and a new Earth after theſe are burnt up. But if the Sun ſhould come ſo near us as to make the *heavens paſs away with a noiſe, and melt the Elements with fervent heat*, and deſtroy the form and all the works of the Earth, what hopes or poſſibility would there be of a Renovation while the Sun continued in this poſture? He would more and more conſume and prey upon the Carcaſs of the Earth, and convert it at length either into an heap of Aſhes, or a lump of vitrified metal.

So much for the Sun. As to the *Central Fire*, I am very well ſatisfied it is no imaginary thing. All Antiquity hath preſerv'd ſome ſacred Monument of it. The *Veſtal* fire of the *Romans*, which was ſo religiouſly attended: The *Prytoucia* of the *Greeks* were to the ſame purpoſe, and dedicated to *Veſta*: and the *Pyretheia* of the *Perſians*, where fire was kept continually by the *Magi*. Theſe all, in my opinion, had the ſame origine and the ſame ſignification. And tho' I do not know any particular obſervation, that does directly prove or demonſtrate that there is ſuch a maſs of fire in the middle of the Earth; yet the beſt accounts we have of the generation of a Planet, do ſuppoſe it; and 'tis agreeable to the whole Oeconomy of Nature; as a fire in the heart, which gives life to her motions and productions. But however the queſtion is not at preſent, about the exiſtence of this fire, but the eruption of it, and the effect of that Eruption: which cannot be, in my judgment, ſuch a *Conflagration* as is deſcrib'd in Scripture.

This Central Fire muſt be enclos'd in a ſhell of great ſtrength and firmneſs; for being of it ſelf the lighteſt and moſt active of all Bodies, it would not be detained in that loweſt priſon without a ſtrong guard upon it. 'Tis true, we can make no certain judgment of what thickneſs this ſhell is, but if we ſuppoſe this fire to have a twentieth part of the ſemidiameter of the Earth, on either ſide the centre, for its ſphere, which ſeems to be a fair allowance; there would ſtill remain nineteen parts, for our ſafeguard and ſecurity. And theſe nineteen parts of the ſemidiameter of the Earth will make 3268 miles, for a partition-wall betwixt us and this Central Fire. Who wou'd be afraid of an Enemy lock'd up in ſo ſtrong a priſon? But you'l ſay, it may be, tho' the Central Fire, at the beginning of the World, might have no more room or ſpace than what is mentioned: yet being of that activity that it is, and corroſive nature, it may, in the ſpace of ſome thouſands of years, have eaten deep into the ſides of its priſon; and ſo come nearer to the ſurface of the Earth, by ſome hundreds or thouſands of miles than it was at firſt. This would be a material exception if it could be made out. But what Phænomenon is there in Nature that proves this? How does it appear by any obſervation that the Central Fire gains ground upon us? Or is increaſed in quantity, or come nearer to the ſurface of the Earth? I know nothing that can be offered in proof of this: and if there

be no appearance of a change, nor any ſenſible effect of it, 'tis an argument there is none, or none conſiderable. If the quantity of that fire was conſiderably increas'd, it muſt needs, beſides other effects, have made the Body of the Earth conſiderably lighter. The Earth having, by this converſion of its own ſubſtance into fire, loſt ſo much of its heavieſt matter, and got ſo much of the lighteſt and moſt active Element in ſtead of it: and in both theſe reſpects its gravity would be manifeſtly leſſen'd. Which if it really was in any conſiderable degree, it would diſcover it ſelf by ſome change, either as to the motion of the Earth, or as to its place or ſtation in the Heavens. But there being no external change obſervable, in this or any other reſpect, 'tis reaſonable to preſume that there is no conſiderable inward change, or no great conſumption of its inward parts and ſubſtance: and conſequently no great increaſe of the Central Fire.

But if we ſhould admit both an encreaſe and eruption of this fire, it would not have that effect which is pretended. It might cauſe ſome confuſion and diſorder in thoſe parts of the Earth where it broke out, but it would not make an univerſal Conflagration, ſuch as is repreſented to us in Scripture. Let us ſuppoſe the Earth to be open or burſt in any place, under the Pole, for inſtance, or under the Æquator: and let it gape as low as the Central Fire. At this chaſm or rupture we ſuppoſe the fire would guſh out; and what then would be the conſequence of this when it came to the ſurface of the Earth? It would either be diſſipated and loſt in the air, or fly ſtill higher towards the Heavens in a maſs of flame. But what execution in the mean time would it do upon the Body of the Earth? 'Tis but like a flaſh of lightning, or a flame iſſuing out of a pit, that dies preſently. Beſides, this Central Fire is of that ſubtilty and tenuity that it is not able to inflame groſs Bodies; no more than thoſe Meteors we call *Lambent Fires*, inflame the bodies to which they ſtick. Laſtly, in explaining the manner of the Conflagration, we muſt have regard principally to Scripture; for the explications given there are more to the purpoſe, than all that the Philoſophers have ſaid upon that ſubject. Now, as we noted before, 'tis manifeſt in Scripture that after the Conflagration there will be a *Reſtauration*, *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*. 'Tis the expreſs doctrine of S. *Peter*, beſides other Prophets: We muſt therefore ſuppoſe the Earth reduc'd to ſuch a Chaos by this laſt fire, as
2 *Pet.* 3. 12, 13. will lay the foundation of a new World. Which can never be, if the inward frame of it be broke, the Central Fire exhauſted, and the exterior region ſuck'd into thoſe central vacuities. This muſt needs make it loſe its former poiſe and libration, and it will thereupon be thrown into ſome other part of the Univerſe, as the uſeleſs ſhell of a broken Granado, or as a dead carkaſs and unprofitable matter.

Theſe reaſons may be ſufficient why we ſhould not depend upon thoſe pretended cauſes of the Conflagration, The Suns advance towards the Earth, or ſuch a rupture of the Earth as will let out the Central Fire. Theſe Cauſes, I hope, will appear ſuperfluous, when we ſhall have given an account of the Conflagration without them. But young Philoſophers, like young Soldiers, think they are never ſufficient-

ſufficiently armed; and often take more weapons, than they can make uſe of, when they come to fight. Not that we altogether reject the influence of the Sun, or of the Central Fire; eſpecially the latter. For in that great eſtuation of Nature, the Body of the Earth will be much open'd and relaxated; and when the pores are enlarg'd, the ſteams of that fire will ſweat out more plentifully into all its parts; but ſtill without any rupture in the veſſels or in the skin. And whereas theſe Authors ſuppoſe the very Veins burſt, and the vital blood to guſh out, as at open flood-gates, we only allow a more copious perſpiration, and think that ſufficient for all purpoſes in this caſe.

CHAP. VII.

The true bounds of the Laſt Fire, and how far it is fatal. The natural Cauſes and Materials of it, caſt into three ranks: Firſt, ſuch as are exterior and viſible upon the Earth; where the Volcano's of the Earth, and their effects, are conſider'd. Secondly, ſuch materials as are within the Earth. Thirdly, ſuch as are in the Air.

AS we have, in the preceding Chapter, laid aſide thoſe Cauſes of the Conflagration, which we thought too great and cumberſome; ſo now we muſt, in like manner, examine the Effect, and reduce that to its juſt meaſures and proportions; that there may be nothing leſt ſuperfluous on either ſide: Then, by comparing the real powers with the work they are to do, both being ſtated within their due bounds, we may the better judge how they are proportion'd to one another.

We noted before, that the Conflagration had nothing to do with the Stars and ſuperiour Heavens, but was wholly confin'd to this Sublunary World. And this Deluge of Fire will have much what the ſame bounds, that the Deluge of Water had formerly. This is according to St. *Peter's* doctrine, for he makes the ſame parts of the Univerſe to be the ſubject of both: namely, the inferiour Heavens and the Earth. *The Heavens and the Earth which were then, periſh'd in a Deluge of Water: But the Heavens and the Earth that are now, are reſerv'd to fire.* The preſent Heavens and Earth are ſubſtituted in the place of thoſe that periſh'd at the Deluge, and theſe are to be over-run and deſtroy'd by fire, as thoſe were by water. So that the Apoſtle takes the ſame Regions, and the ſame ſpace and compaſs for the one as for the other, and makes their fate different according to their different conſtitution, and the different order of Providence. This is the ſence St. *Auſtin* gives us of the Apoſtle's words, and theſe are the bounds he ſets to the laſt Fire; whereof a modern Commentator is ſo well aſſur'd, that he ſays, *They neither underſtand Divinity, nor Philoſophy, that would make the Conflagration reach above the Elementary Heavens.*

2 *Pet.* 3. 5, 6. *Ver.* 7.

Eſtius in loc.

Let these be then its limits upwards, the Clouds, Air, and Atmosphere of the Earth. But the question seems more doubtful, *How* far it will extend downwards, into the bowels of the Earth. I answer still, to the same depth that the Waters of the Deluge reach'd: To the lowest Abysses and the deepest Caverns within the ground. And seeing no Caverns are deeper or lower, at least according to our Theory, than the bottom of the great Ocean, to that depth, I suppose, the rage of this fire will penetrate, and devour all before it. And therefore we must not imagine, that only the outward turf and habitable surface of the Earth will be put into a flame and laid wast; the whole exteriour region of the Earth, to the depth of the deepest part of the Sea, will suffer in this Fire; and suffer to that degree, as to be melted down, and the frame of it dissolv'd. For we are not to conceive that the Earth will be only scorcht or charkt in the last Fire, there will be a sort of liquefaction and dissolution; it will become a *molten Sea mingled with fire*, according to the expression of Scripture. And this dissolution may reasonably be supposed to reach as low as the Earth hath any hollownesses, or can give vent to smoke and flame.

Rev. 15. 2.
2 *Pet.* 3. 10.
Psal. 97. 5.

Wherefore taking these for the bounds and limits of the last great Fire, the next thing to be enquir'd into, are the *Natural Causes* of it. How this strange fate will seize upon the Sublunary World, and with an irresistible fury subdue all things to it self. But when I say *Natural Causes*, I would not be so understood, as if I thought the Conflagration was a pure *Natural Fatality*, as the *Stoicks* seem to do. No, 'tis a *mixt Fatality*. The Causes, indeed are Natural, but the administration of them is from an higher hand. Fire is the Instrument, or the executive power, and hath no more force given it, than what it hath naturally; but the concurrence of these Causes, or of these fiery powers, at such a time, and in such a manner, and the conduct of them to carry on and compleat the whole work without cessation or interruption, that I look upon as more than what material Nature could effect of it self, or than could be brought to pass by such a government of matter, as is the bare result of its own laws and determinations. When a Ship sails gently before the Wind, the Mariners may stand idle; but to guide her in a storm, all hands must be at work. There are rules and measures to be observ'd, even in these tumults and desolations of Nature, in destroying a World, as well as in making one, and therefore in both it is reasonable to suppose a more than ordinary Providence to superintend the work. Let us not therefore be too positive or presumptuous in our conjectures about these things, for if there be an invisible hand, Divine or Angelical, that touches the Springs and Wheels; it will not be easie for us to determine, with certainty, the order of their motions. However 'tis our duty to search into the ways and works of God, as far as we can: And we may without offence look into the Magazines of Nature, see what provisions are made, and what preparations for this great Day; and in what method 'tis most likely the design will be executed.

But

But before we proceed to mark out Materials for this Fire, give me leave to observe one condition or property in the Form of this present Earth, that makes it capable of Inflammation. 'Tis the manner of its construction, in an hollow cavernous form; By reason whereof, containing much Air in its cavities, and having many inlets and outlets, 'tis in most places capable of ventilation, pervious and passable to the Winds, and consequently to the Fire. Those that have read the former part of this Theory, know how the Earth came into this hollow and broken form, from what causes, and at what time; namely, at the Universal Deluge; when there was a disruption of the exteriour Earth that fell into the Abyss, and so, for a time, was overflow'd with Water. These Ruines recover'd from the Water, we inhabit, and these Ruines only will be burnt up; For being not only unequal in their Surface, but also hollow, loose, and incompact within, as ruines use to be, they are made thereby capable of a second fate, by inflammation. *Thereby*, I say, they are made combustible; for if the exteriour Regions of this Earth were as close and compact in all their parts, as we have reason to believe the interiour Regions of it to be, the Fire could have little power over it, nor ever reduce it to such a state as is requir'd in a compleat Conflagration, such as ours is to be.

Book I. ch. 6.

This being admitted, that the Exteriour Region of the Earth stands hollow, as a well set Fire, to receive Air freely into its parts, and hath issues for smoke and flame: It remains to enquire what fewel or Materials Nature hath fitted to kindle this Pile, and to continue it on Fire till it be consum'd; or, in plain words, What are the *Natural Causes and preparatives for a Conflagration*. The first and most obvious preparations that we see in Nature for this effect, are the *Burning Mountains* or Volcano's of the Earth. These are lesser Essays or preludes to the general Fire; set on purpose by Providence to keep us awake, and to mind us continually, and forewarn us of what we are to expect at last. The Earth you see is already kindled, blow but the Coal, and propagate the Fire, and the work will go on. *Tophet is prepar'd of old*, and when the Day of Doom is come, and the Date of the World expir'd, *the breath of the Lord* shall make it burn.

Isa. 30. 33.

But besides these Burning Mountains, there are Lakes of pitch and brimstone and oily Liquors dispers't in several parts of the Earth. These are to enrage the Fire as it goes, and to fortifie it against any resistance or opposition. Then all the vegetable productions upon the Surface of the Earth, as Trees, shrubs, grass, corn, and such like; Every thing that grows out of the ground, is fewel for the Fire; and tho' they are now accommodated to our use and service, they will then turn all against us; and with a mighty blaze, and rapid course, make a devastation of the outward furniture of the Earth, whether natural or artificial. But these things deserve some further consideration, especially that strange Phænomenon of the *Volcano's* or *Burning Mountains*, which we will now consider more particularly.

There is nothing certainly more terrible in all Nature than Fiery Mountains, to those that live within the view or noise of them;

but

but it is not eaſie for us, who never ſee them nor heard them, to repreſent them to our ſelves with ſuch juſt and lively imaginations as ſhall excite in us the ſame paſſions, and the ſame horrour as they would excite, if preſent to our ſenſes. The time of their eruption and of their raging, is, of all others, the moſt dreadful; but, many times, before their eruption, the ſymptomes of an approaching fit are very frightful to the People. The Mountain begins to roar and bellow in its hollow caverns; cries out, as it were, in pain to be deliver'd of ſome burthen, too heavy to be born, and too big to be eaſily diſcharg'd. The Earth ſhakes and trembles, in apprehenſion of the pangs and convulſions that are coming upon her; And the Sun often hides his head, or appears with a diſcolour'd face, pale, or dusky, or bloudy, as if all Nature was to ſuffer in this Agony. After theſe forerunners or ſymptomes of an eruption, the wide jaws of the Mountain open: And firſt, clouds of ſmoke iſſue out, then flames of fire, and after that a mixture of all ſorts of burning matter; red hot ſtones, lumps of metal, half-diſſolv'd minerals, with coals and fiery aſhes. Theſe fall in thick ſhowres round about the Mountain, and in all adjacent parts; and not only ſo, but are carried, partly by the force of the expulſion, and partly by the winds, when they are aloft in the Air, into far diſtant Countries. As from *Italy* to *Conſtantinople*, and croſs the Mediterranean Sea into *Africk*; as the beſt Hiſtorians, *Procopius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dion Caſſius*, have atteſted.

Theſe Volcano's are planted in ſeveral regions of the Earth, and in both Continents, This of ours, and the other of *America*. For by report of thoſe that have view'd that new-found World, there are many Mountains in it that belch out Smoke and Fire; ſome conſtantly, and others by fits and intervals. In our Continent Providence hath variouſly diſperſt them, without any rule known to us; but they are generally in Iſlands or near the Sea. In the Aſiatick Oriental Iſlands they are in great abundance, and Hiſtorians tell us of a Mountain in the Iſland *Java*, that in the year, 1586. at one eruption kill'd ten thouſand people in the neighbouring Cities and Country. But we do not know ſo well the Hiſtory of thoſe remote Volcano's, as of ſuch as are in *Europe* and nearer home. In *Iſeland*, tho' it lie within the Polar Circle, and is ſcarce habitable by reaſon of the extremity of cold, and abundance of Ice and Snow, yet there are three burning Mountains in that Iſland; whereof the chief and moſt remarkable is *Hecla*. This hath its head always cover'd with Snow, and its belly always fill'd with Fire; and theſe are both ſo ſtrong in their kind, and equally powerful, that they cannot deſtroy one another. It is ſaid to caſt out, when it rages, beſides Earth, ſtones and aſhes, a ſort of flaming water. As if all contrarieties were to meet in this Mountain to make it the more perfect reſemblance of Hell, as the credulous inhabitants fancy it to be.

But there are no Volcano's in my opinion, that deſerve our obſervation ſo much, as thoſe that are in and about the *Mediterranean Sea*; There is a knot of them called the *Vulcanian Iſlands*, from their fiery eruptions, as if they were the Forges of *Vulcan*; as *Strombolo*, *Lipara*, and others, which are not ſo remarkable now as they have been formerly. However, without diſpute, there are none in the Chriſtian World to be compared with *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*; one in the Iſland of *Sicily*, and the other in *Campania*, overlooking the Port and City of *Naples*. Theſe two, from all memory of Man and the moſt ancient Records of Hiſtory, have been fam'd for their Treaſures of ſubterraneous Fires; which are not yet exhauſted, nor diminiſh'd, ſo far as is perceivable, for they rage ſtill, upon occaſions, with as much fierceneſs and violence, as they ever did in former Ages; as if they had a continual ſupply to anſwer their expences, and were to ſtand till the laſt Fire, as a type and prefiguration of it, throughout all generations.

Let us therefore take theſe two Volcano's as a pattern for the reſt, ſeeing they are well known, and ſtand in the heart of the Chriſtian World, where, 'tis likely, the laſt fire will make its firſt aſſault. *Ætna*, of the two, is more ſpoken of by the ancients, both Poets and Hiſtorians; and we ſhould ſcarce give credit to their relations concerning it, if ſome later eruptions did not equal or exceed the fame of all that hath been reported from former ages. That it heated the Waters of the Sea, and cover'd them over with aſhes; crack'd or diſſolv'd the neighbouring Rocks; darkened the Sun and the Air; and caſt out, not only mighty ſtreams of flame, but a floud of melted Ore and other Materials; Theſe things we can now believe, having had experience of greater, or an account of them from ſuch as have been eye-witneſſes of theſe fires, or of the freſh ruines and ſad effects of them.

There are two things eſpecially, in theſe Eruptions of *Ætna*, that are moſt prodigious in themſelves and moſt remarkable for our purpoſe. The Rivers of fiery matter that break out of its bowels, or are ſpew'd out of its mouth; and the vaſt burning ſtones which it flings into the Air, at a ſtrange height and diſtance. As to theſe fiery Rivers or Torrents, and the matter whereof they are compounded, we have a full account of them by *Alphonſus Borellus*, a learned Mathematician at *Piſa*; who, after the laſt great Eruption in the year *1669*. went into *Sicily*, while the fact was freſh, to view and ſurvey what *Ætna* had done or ſuffer'd. And he ſays the quantity of matter thrown out of the Mountain at that time, upon ſurvey amounted to Ninety three millions, eight hundred thirty eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and fifty cubical paces. So that if it had been extended in length upon the ſurface of the Earth, at the breadth and depth of 3 foot, it would have reacht further than ninety three millions of paces; which is more than four times the Circuit of the whole Earth, taking a thouſand paces to a mile. This is ſtrange to our imagination and almoſt incredible, that one Mountain ſhould throw out ſo much fiery matter, beſides all the aſhes that were diſperſt through the Air, far and near, and could be brought to no account.

'Tis true, all this matter was not actually inflam'd or liquid fire. But the reſt that was ſand, ſtone and gravel, might have run into glaſs or ſome melted liquor like to it, if it had not been thrown out before the heat fully reacht it. However, ſixty million paces of this matter,

matter, as the ſame Author computes, were liquid fire, or came out of the mouth of the pit in that form. This made a River of fire, ſometimes two miles broad, according to his computation; but according to the obſervation of others who alſo viewed it, the Torrent of fire was ſix or ſeven miles broad, and ſometimes ten or fifteen fathoms deep; and forc'd its way into the Sea near a mile, preſerving it ſelf alive in the midſt of the waters.

This is beyond all the infernal Lakes and Rivers, *Acheron*, *Phlegeton*, *Cocytus*, all that the Poets have talkt of. Their greateſt fictions about Hell have not come up to the reality of one of our burning Mountains upon Earth. Imagin then all our *Volcano*'s raging at once in this manner.....But I will not purſue that ſuppoſition yet; Give me leave only to add here what I mentioned in the ſecond place, The vaſt *Burning Stones* which this Mountain, in the time of its rage and eſtuation, threw in o the Air with an incredible force. This ſame Author tells us of a ſtone fifteen foot long, that was ſlung out of the mouth of the pit, to a miles diſtance. And when it fell, it came from ſuch an height and with ſuch a violence, that it buried it ſelf in the ground eight foot deep. What trifles are our Mortar-pieces and Bombes, when compar'd with theſe Engines of Nature? When ſhe flings out of the wide throat of a Volcano, a broken Rock, and twirles it in the air like a little bullet; then lets it fall to do execution here below, as Providence ſhall point and direct it. It would be hard to give an account how ſo great an impulſe can be given to a Body ſo ponderous. But there's no diſputing againſt matter of fact; and as the thoughts of God are not like our thoughts, ſo neither are his works like our works.

Thus much for *Ætna*. Let us now give an inſtance in *Veſuvius*, another *Burning* Mountain upon the coaſt of the Mediterranean, which hath as frequent Eruptions, and ſome as terrible as thoſe of *Ætna*. *Dion Caſſius* (one of the beſt writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory) hath given us an account of one that happened in the time of *Titus Veſpatian*; and tho' he hath not ſet down particulars, as the former Author did, of the quantity of fiery matter thrown out at that time: yet ſuppoſing that proportionable to its fierceneſs in other reſpects, this ſeems to me as dreadful an Eruption as any we read of; and was accompanied with ſuch Prodigies and commotions in the Heavens and the Earth, as made it look like the beginning of the laſt Conflagration. As a prelude to this Tragedy, He ſays there were ſtrange ſights in the air, and after that followed an extraordinary drought, *Then the Earth begun to tremble and quake, and the Concuſſions were ſo great that the ground ſeem'd to riſe and boyl up in ſome places, and in others the tops of the mountains ſunk in or tumbled down. At the ſame time were great noiſes and ſounds heard, ſome were ſubterraneous, like thunder within the Earth; others above ground, like groans or bellowings. The Sea roar'd, The heavens ratled with a fearful noiſe, and then came a ſudden and mighty crack, as if the frame of Nature had broke, or all the mountains of the Earth had faln down at once. At length* Veſuvius *burſt, and threw out of its womb, firſt, huge ſtones, then a vaſt quantity of fire and ſmoke, ſo as the air was all darkned, and the Sun was hid, as if he had been under a great Eclipſe.*

Lib. 66.

The day was turn'd into night, and light into darkneſs; and the frighted people thought the Gyants were making war againſt heaven, and fanſied they ſee the ſhapes and images of Gyants in the ſmoak, and heard the ſound of their trumpets. Others thought the World was returning to its firſt Chaos, or going to be all conſum'd with fire. In this general confuſion and conſternation they knew not where to be ſafe, ſome run out of the fields into the houſes, others out of the houſes into the fields; Thoſe that were at Sea haſten'd to Land, and thoſe that were at Land endeavour'd to get to Sea; ſtill thinking every place ſafer than that where they were. Beſides groſſer lumps of matter, there was thrown out of the Mountain ſuch a prodigious quantity of aſhes, as cover'd the Land and Sea, and fill'd the Air, ſo as, beſides other damages, the Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes, with Men, Women and Children, were deſtroy'd, within ſuch a compaſs; and two entire Cities, Herculanium *and* Pompeios, *were overwhelm'd with a ſhowre of aſhes, as the People were ſitting in the Theater. Nay, theſe aſhes were carried* by the winds *over the Mediterranean into Africk, and into Ægypt and Syria. And at* Rome *they choak'd the Air on a ſudden, ſo as to hide the face of the Sun. Whereupon the People, not knowing the cauſe, as not having yet got the News from Campania of the Eruption of Veſuvius, could not imagine what the reaſon ſhould be; but thought the Heavens and the Earth were coming together, The Sun coming down, and the Earth going to take its place above.* Thus far the Hiſtorian.

You ſee what diſorders in Nature, and what an alarum, the Eruption of one fiery Mountain is capable to make; Theſe things, no doubt, would have made ſtrong impreſſions upon us, if we had been eye-witneſſes of them; But I know, repreſentations made from dead hiſtory, and at a diſtance, though the teſtimony be never ſo credible, have a much leſs effect upon us than what we ſee our ſelves, and what our ſenſes immediately inform us of. I have only given you an account of two Volcano's, and of a ſingle Eruption in either of them; Theſe Mountains are not very far diſtant from one another: Let us ſuppoſe two ſuch Eruptions, as I have mention'd, to happen at the ſame time, and both theſe Mountains to be raging at once, in this manner; By that violence you have ſeen in each of them ſingly, you will eaſily imagine what a terrour and deſolation they would carry round about, by a conjunction of their fury and all their effects, in the Air and on the Earth. Then, if to theſe two, you ſhould joyn two more, the Sphere of their activity would ſtill be enlarg'd, and the Scenes become more dreadful. But, to compleat the ſuppoſition, Let us imagine all the Volcano's of the whole Earth, to be prepar'd and ſet to a certain time; which time being come, and a ſignal given by Providence, all theſe Mines begin to play at once; I mean, All theſe Fiery Mountains burſt out, and diſcharge themſelves in flames of fire, tear up the roots of the Earth, throw hot burning ſtones, ſend out ſtreams of flowing Metals and Minerals, and all other ſorts of ardent matter, which Nature hath lodg'd in thoſe Treaſuries. If all theſe Engines, I ſay, were to play at once, the Heavens and the Earth would ſeem to be in a flame, and the World in an univerſal combuſtion. But we may reaſonably preſume, that againſt that great Day of vengeance and execution, not only all theſe will be employ'd, but alſo new Volcano's

will be open'd, and new Mountains in every Region will break out into ſmoke and flame; juſt as at the Deluge, the Abyſs broke out from the Womb of the Earth, and from thoſe hidden ſtores ſent an immenſe quantity of water, which, it may be, the Inhabitants of that World never thought of before. So we muſt expect new Eruptions, and alſo new ſulphureous Lakes and Fountains of Oyl, to boyl out of the ground; And theſe all united with that Fewel that naturally grows upon the Surface of the Earth, will be ſufficient to give the firſt onſet, and to lay waſt all the habitable World, and the Furniture of it.

But we ſuppoſe the Conflagration will go lower, pierce underground, and diſſolve the ſubſtance of the Earth to ſome conſiderable depth; therefore beſides theſe outward and viſible preparations, we muſt conſider all the hidden inviſible Materials within the Veins of the Earth; Such are all Minerals or Mineral juices and concretions that are igniferous, or capable of inflammation; And theſe cannot eaſily be reckon'd up or eſtimated. Some of the moſt common are, Sulphur, and all ſulphureous bodies, and Earths impregnated with Sulphur, Bitumen and bituminous concretions; inflammable Salts, Coal and other foſſiles that are ardent, with innumerable mixtures and compoſitions of theſe kinds, which being open'd by heat, are unctuous and inflammable; or by attrition diſcover the latent ſeeds of fire. But beſides conſiſtent Bodies, there is alſo much volatile fire within the Earth, in fumes, ſteams, and exudations; which will all contribute to this effect. From theſe ſtores underground all Plants and Vegetables are fed and ſupply'd, as to their oily and ſulphureous parts; And all hot Waters in Baths or Fountains, muſt have their original from ſome of theſe, ſome mixture or participation of them. And as to the *Britiſh* Soyl, there is ſo much Coal incorporated with it, that when the Earth ſhall burn, we have reaſon to apprehend no ſmall danger from that ſubterraneous Enemy.

Theſe diſpoſitions, and this Fewel we find, in and upon the Earth, towards the laſt Fire. The third ſort of Proviſion is in the Air; All fiery Meteors and Exhalations engender'd and form'd in thoſe Regions above, and diſcharg'd upon the Earth in ſeveral ways. I believe there were no fiery Meteors in the ante-diluvian Heavens; which therefore St. *Peter* ſays, *were conſtituted of water*; had nothing in them but what was watery. But he ſays, *the Heavens that are now* have treaſures of fire, or are reſerv'd for fire, as things laid up in a ſtore-houſe for that purpoſe. We have thunder and lightning, and fiery tempeſts, and there is nothing more vehement, impetuous, and irreſiſtible, where their force is directed. It ſeems to me very remarkable, that the Holy Writers deſcribe the *coming of the Lord*, and the deſtruction of the wicked, in the nature of a tempeſt, or a ſtorm of fire. *Upon the wicked the Lord ſhall rain coals, fire and brimſtone, and a burning tempeſt, this ſhall be the portion of their cup.* And in the lofty Song of *David* (*Pſal.* 18.) which, in my judgment, reſpects both the paſt Deluge and the future Conflagration, 'tis ſaid, *The Lord alſo thundred in the heavens, and the Higheſt gave his voice, hail-ſtones and coals of fire. Yea, he ſent forth his arrows and ſcattered them, and*

Pſal. 11. 6.

ver. 13, 14, 15.

and he ſhot out lightnings and diſcomfited them. Then the Chanels of waters were ſeen, and the foundations of the World were diſcover'd; at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blaſt of the breath of thy noſtrils. And a like fiery coming is deſcrib'd in the ninety ſeventh Pſalm, as alſo by *Iſaiah*, *Daniel*, and S. *Paul*. And laſtly, in the *Apocalypſe*, when the World draws to a concluſion, as in the ſeventh Trumpet (*ch.* 11, 19.) and the ſeventh Vial (*ch.* 16. 18.) we have ſtill mention made of this Fiery Tempeſt of Lightnings and Thunderings.

Iſa. 66. 15. *Dan.* 7. 9, 10; 2 *Theſſ.* 1. 8.

We may therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that, before the Conflagration, the Air will be ſurcharg'd every where, (by a precedent drought) with hot and fiery exhalations; And as againſt the Deluge, thoſe regions were burthened with water and moiſt vapours, which were pour'd upon the Earth, not in gentle ſhowres, but like rivers and cataracts from Heaven; ſo they will now be fill'd with hot fumes and ſulphureous clouds, which will ſometimes flow in ſtreams and fiery impreſſions through the Air, ſometimes make Thunder and Lightnings, and ſometimes fall down upon the Earth in floods of Fire. In general, there is a great analogy to be obſerved betwixt the two Deluges, of Water and of Fire; not only as to the bounds of them, which were noted before; but as to the general cauſes and ſources upon which they depend, from above and from below. At the Floud the Windows of Heaven were opened above, and the Abyſs was opened below; and the Waters of theſe two joyn'd together to overflow the World. In like manner, at the Conflagration, God will rain down Fire from Heaven, as he did once upon *Sodom*; and at the ſame time the ſubterraneous ſtore-houſes of Fire will be broken open, which anſwers to the diſruption of the Abyſs: And theſe two meeting and mingling together, will involve all the Heaven and Earth in flames.

This is a ſhort account of the ordinary ſtores of Nature, and the ordinary preparations for a general Fire; And in contemplation of theſe, *Pliny* the Naturaliſt, ſaid boldly, *It was one of the greateſt wonders of the World, that the World was not every day ſet on fire.* We will conclude this Chapter with his words, in the ſecond Book of his *Natural Hiſtory*; having given an account of ſome fiery Mountains, and other parts of the Earth that are the ſeats and ſources of Fire, He makes this reflection; *Seeing this Element is ſo fruitful that it brings forth it ſelf, and multiplies and encreaſes from the leaſt ſparks, what are we to expect from ſo many fires already kindled on the Earth? How does nature feed and ſatisfie ſo devouring an Element, and ſuch a great voracity throughout all the World, without loſs or diminution of her ſelf? Add to theſe fires we have mentioned, the Stars and the Great Sun, then all the fires made for humane uſes; fire in ſtones, in wood, in the clouds and in thunder; IT EXCEEDS ALL MIRACLES, IN MY OPINION, THAT ONE DAY SHOULD PASS WITHOUT SETTING THE WORLD ALL ON FIRE.*

ch. 106, 107.

CHAP. VIII.

Some new diſpoſitions towards the Conflagration, as to the matter, form, and ſituation of the Earth. Concerning miraculous Cauſes, and how far the miniſtery of Angels may be engaged in this Work.

WE have given an account, in the preceding Chapter, of the ordinary preparatious of Nature for a general fire; We now are to give an account of the extraordinary, or of any new diſpoſitions, which towards the End of the World, may be ſuperadded to the ordinary ſtate of Nature. I do not, by theſe, mean things openly miraculous, and ſupernatural, but ſuch a change wrought in Nature as ſhall ſtill have the face of Natural Cauſes, and yet have a greater tendency to the Conflagration. As for example, ſuppoſe a great Drought, as we noted before, to precede this fate, or a general heat and dryneſs of the Air and of the Earth, becauſe this happens ſometimes in a courſe of Nature, it will not be lookt upon as prodigious. 'Tis true, ſome of the Ancients ſpeak of a Drought of Forty Years, that will be a forerunner of the Conflagration, ſo that there will not be a watery Cloud, nor a Rainbow ſeen in the Heavens, for ſo long time. And this they impute to *Elias*, who, at his coming, will ſtop the Rain and ſhut up the Heavens to make way for the laſt Fire. But theſe are exceſſive and ill-grounded ſuppoſitions, for half forty years drought will bring an univerſal ſterility upon the Earth, and thereupon an Univerſal Famine, with innumerable diſeaſes; ſo that all mankind would be deſtroyed before the Conflagration could overtake them.

But we will readily admit an extraordinary drought and deſiccation of all bodies to uſher in this great fatality. And therefore whatſoever we read in Natural Hiſtory, concerning former droughts, of their drying up Fountains and Rivers, parching the Earth and making the outward Turf take fire in ſeveral places; filling the Air with fiery impreſſions, making the Woods and Foreſts ready Fewel, and ſometimes to kindle by the heat of the Sun or a flaſh of Lightning: Theſe and what other effects have come to paſs in former droughts, may come to paſs again; and that in an higher meaſure, and ſo as to be of more general extent. And we muſt alſo allow, that by this means, a great degree of inflammability, or eaſineſs to be ſet on Fire, will be ſuperinduc'd, both into the body of the Earth, and of all things that grow upon it. The heat of the Sun will pierce deeper into its bowels, when it gapes to receive his beams, and by chinks and widened pores makes way for their paſſage to its very heart. And, on the other hand, it is not improbable, but that upon this general relaxation and incaleſcency of the Body of the Earth, the *Central Fire* may have a freer efflux, and diffuſe it ſelf in greater abundance every way; ſo as to affect even

even theſe exteriour Regions of the Earth, ſo far as to make them ſtill more catching and more combuſtible.

From this external and internal heat acting upon the Body of the Earth, all Minerals that have the ſeeds of fire in them, will be open'd, and exhale their effluvium's more copiouſly: as Spices, when warm'd, are more odoriferous, and fill the Air with their perfumes; ſo the particles of fire, that are ſhut up in ſeveral bodies, will eaſily flie abroad, when by a further degree of relaxation you ſhake off their chains, and open the Priſon-doors. We cannot doubt, but there are many ſorts of Minerals, and many ſorts of Fire-ſtones, and of Trees and Vegetables of this nature, which will ſweat out their oily and ſulphureous atomes, when by a general heat and dryneſs their parts are looſen'd and agitated.

We have no experience that will reach ſo far, as to give us a full account what the ſtate of Nature will be at that time, I mean, after this drought, towards the end of the world. But we may help our imagination, by comparing it with other ſeaſons and temperaments of the Air. As therefore in the Spring the Earth is fragrant, and the Fields and Gardens are fill'd with the ſweet breathings of Herbs and Flowers; eſpecially after a gentle rain, when their Bodies are ſoftned, and the warmth of the Sun makes them evaporate more freely; So a greater degree of heat acting upon all the bodies of the Earth, like a ſtronger fire in the Alembick, will extract another ſort of parts or particles, more deeply incorporated and more difficult to be diſintangled, I mean oily parts, and ſuch undiſcover'd parcels of fire, as lie fix'd and impriſon'd in hard bodies. Theſe, I imagine, will be in a great meaſure ſet a-float, or drawn out into the Air, which will abound with hot and dry Exhalations, more than with vapours and moiſture in a wet ſeaſon; and by this means, all Elements and elementary Bodies will ſtand ready, and in a proximate diſpoſition to be inflam'd.

Thus much concerning the laſt drought, and the general effects of it. In the next place, we muſt conſider the Earthquakes that will precede the Conflagration, and the conſequences of them. I noted before, that the cavernous and broken conſtruction of the preſent Earth, was that which made it obnoxious to be deſtroy'd by fire; as its former conſtruction over the Abyſs, made it obnoxious to be deſtroy'd with Water. This hollowneſs of the Earth is moſt ſenſible in mountainous and hilly Countreys, which therefore I look upon as moſt ſubject to burning; but the plain Countreys may alſo be made hollow and hilly by Earth-quakes, when the vapours not finding an eaſie vent, raiſe the ground and make a forcible eruption, as at the ſpringing of a Mine. And tho' plain Countreys are not ſo ſubject to Earthquakes as Mountainous, becauſe they have not ſo many cavities and ſubterraneous Vaults to lodge the vapours in; yet every Region hath more or leſs of them: And after this drought the vacuities of the Earth being every where enlarg'd, the quantity of exhalations much encreas'd, and the motion of them more ſtrong and violent, they will have their effects in many places where they never had any before. Yet I do not ſuppoſe that this will raiſe new ridges of Mountains, like the *Alpes* or *Pyreneans*, in thoſe Countreys

that

that are now plain, but that they will break and looſen the ground, make greater inequalities in the ſurface, and greater cavities within, than what are at preſent in thoſe places; And by this means, the fire will creep under them, and find a paſſage thorow them, with more eaſe, than if they were compact, and every where continued and unbroken.

But you will ſay, it may be, how does it appear, that there will be more frequent Earth-quakes towards the end of the World? If this precedent drought be admitted, 'tis plain that fiery exhalations will abound every where within the Earth, and will have a greater agitation than ordinary; and theſe being the cauſes of Earth-quakes, when they are rarified or inflam'd, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe that in ſuch a ſtate of Nature, they will more frequently happen, than at other times. Beſides, Earth-quakes are taken notice of in Scripture, as ſigns and forerunners of the laſt day, as they uſually are of all great changes and calamities. The deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was a type of the deſtruction of the World, and the Evangeliſts always mention Earth-quakes amongſt the ominous Prodigies that were to attend it. But theſe Earth-quakes we are ſpeaking of at preſent, are but the beginnings of ſorrow, and not to be compar'd with thoſe that will follow afterwards, when Nature is convulſt in her laſt agony, juſt as the flames are ſeizing on her. Of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Theſe changes will happen as to the *matter* and *form* of the Earth, before it is attack'd by the laſt fire; There will be alſo another change as to the *ſituation* of it; for that will be rectified, and the Earth reſtor'd to the poſture it had at firſt, namely, of a right aſpect and converſion to the Sun. But becauſe I cannot determine at what time this reſtitution will be, whether at the beginning, middle, or end of the Conflagration, I will not preſume to lay any ſtreſs upon it. *Plato* ſeems to have imputed the Conflagration to this only; which is ſo far true, that the Revolution call'd *The Great Year*, is this very Revolution, or the return of the Earth and the Heavens to their firſt poſture. But tho' this may be contemporary with the laſt fire, or ſome way concomitant; yet it does not follow that it is the cauſe of it, much leſs the only cauſe. It may be an occaſion of making the fire reach more eaſily towards the Poles, when by this change of ſituation their long Nights and long Winters ſhall be taken away.

Theſe new diſpoſitions in our Earth which we expect before that great day, may be look'd upon as extraordinary, but not as Miraculous, becauſe they may proceed from Natural Cauſes. But now in the laſt place, we are to conſider *miraculous cauſes:* What influence they may have, or what part they may bear, in this great revolution of Nature. By *miraculous cauſes* we underſtand either God's immediate Omnipotency, or the Miniſtery of Angels; and what may be perform'd by the latter, is very improperly and undecently thrown upon the former. 'Tis a great ſtep to Omnipotency: and 'tis hard to define what Miracles, on this ſide Creation, require an infinite power. We are ſure that the Angels are Miniſtring Spirits, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtand about the Throne of the Almighty,

Almighty, to receive his commands and execute his judgments. That perfect knowledge they have of the powers of nature, and of conducting thoſe powers to the beſt advantage, by adjuſting cauſes in a fit ſubordination one to another, makes them capable of performing, not only things far above our force, but even above our imagination. Beſides, they have a radical inherent power, belonging to the excellency of their nature, of determining the motions of matter, within a far greater ſphere than humane Souls can pretend to. We can only command our ſpirits, and determine their motions within the compaſs of our own Bodies; but their activity and empire is of far greater extent, and the outward World is much more ſubject to their dominion than to ours. From theſe conſiderations it is reaſonable to conclude, that the generality of miracles may be and are perform'd by Angels; It being leſs decorous to employ a Sovereign power, where a ſubaltern is ſufficient, and when we haſtily caſt things upon God, for quick diſpatch, we conſult our own eaſe more than the honour of our Maker.

I take it for granted here, that what is done by an Angelical hand, is truly providential, and of divine adminiſtration; and alſo juſtly bears the character of a miracle. Whatſoever may be done by pure material cauſes, or humane ſtrength, we account Natural; and whatſoever is above theſe we call ſupernatural and miraculous. Now what is ſupernatural and miraculous is either the effect of an Angelical power, or of a Sovereign and Infinite power. And we ought not to confound theſe two, no more than Natural and Supernatural; for there is a greater difference betwixt the higheſt Angelical power and Omnipotency, than betwixt an Humane power and Angelical. Therefore as the firſt Rule concerning miracles is this, That we muſt not flie to miracles, where Man and Nature are ſufficient; ſo the ſecond Rule is this, that we muſt not flie to a ſovereign infinite power, where an Angelical is ſufficient. And the reaſon in both Rules is the ſame, namely, becauſe it argues a defect of Wiſdom in all Oeconomies to employ more and greater means than are ſufficient.

Now to make application of this to our preſent purpoſe, I think it reaſonable, and alſo ſufficient, to admit the miniſtery of Angels in the future Conflagration of the World. If Nature will not lay violent hands upon her ſelf, or is not ſufficient to work her own deſtruction, Let us allow *Deſtroying Angels* to intereſt themſelves in the work, as the Executioners of the Divine Juſtice and Vengeance upon a degenerate World. We have examples of this ſo frequently in Sacred Hiſtory, how the Angels have executed God's Judgments upon a Nation or a People, that it cannot ſeem new or ſtrange, that in this laſt judgment, which by all the Prophets is repreſented as the *Great Day of the Lord*, the day of his Wrath and of his Fury, the ſame Angels ſhould bear their parts, and conclude the laſt ſcene of that Tragedy which they had acted in all along. We read of the *Deſtroying Angel in Ægypt*; of Angels that preſided at the deſtruction of *Sodom*, which was a Type of the future deſtruction of the World, (*Jude* 7.) and of Angels that will accompany our Saviour when he comes in flames of Fire: Not, we ſuppoſe, to be Spectators only,

Gen. 12. 23.
Gen. 19. 13.
Theſſ. 1. 7, 8.

only, but Actors and Superintendants in this great Cataſtrophe.

This miniſtery of Angels may be either in ordering and conducting ſuch Natural Cauſes as we have already given an account of, or in adding new ones, if occaſion be; I mean, encreaſing the quantity of Fire, or of fiery materials, in and about the Earth. So as that Element ſhall be more abundant and more predominant, and overbear all oppoſition that either Water, or any other Body, can make againſt it. It is not material whether of theſe two Suppoſitions we follow, provided we allow that the Conflagration is a work of Providence, and not a pure Natural Fatality. If it be neceſſary that there ſhould be an augmentation made of Fiery Matter, 'tis not hard to conceive how that may be done, either from the Heavens or from
Iſa. 30. 26. the Earth. The Prophets ſometimes ſpeak of multiplying or ſtrengthning the Light of the Sun, and it may as eaſily be conceiv'd of his heat as of his light; as if the Vial that was to be pour'd up-
Rev. 16. 8. on it, and *gave it a power to ſcorch men with fire,* had ſomething of a Natural ſence as well as Moral. But there is another ſtream of Ethereal matter that flows from the Heavens, and recruits the *Central Fire* with continual ſupplies; This may be encreas'd and ſtrengthned, and its effects convey'd throughout the whole Body of the Earth.

But if an augmentation is to be made of Terreſtrial Fire, or of ſuch terreſtrial principles as contain it moſt, as Sulphur, Oyl, and ſuch like, I am apt to believe, theſe will encreaſe of their own accord, upon a general drought and deſiccation of the Earth. For I am far from the opinion of ſome Chymiſts, that think theſe principles immutable, and incapable of diminution or augmentation. I willingly admit that all ſuch particles may be broken and disfigur'd, and thereby loſe their proper and ſpecifick virtue, and new ones may be generated to ſupply the places of the former. Which ſupplies, or new productions being made in a leſs or greater meaſure, according to the general diſpoſitions of Nature; when Nature is heightned into a kind of Feaver and Ebullition of all her juices and humours, as ſhe will be at that time, we muſt expect that more parts than ordinary, ſhould be made inflammable, and thoſe that are inflam'd ſhould become more violent. Under theſe circumſtances, when all Cauſes lean that way, a little help from a ſuperior power will have a great effect, and make a great change in the ſtate of the World. And as to the power of Angels, I am of opinion that it is very great as to the Changes and Modifications of Natural Bodies; that they can diſſolve a Marble as eaſily as we can crumble Earth and Moulds, or fix any liquor, in a moment, into a ſubſtance as hard as Cryſtal. That they can either make flames more vehement and irreſiſtible to all ſorts of Bodies; or as harmleſs as Lambent Fires, and as ſoft as Oyl. We ſee an inſtance of this laſt, in *Nebu-*
Dan. 3. 28. *chadnezzar*'s fiery Furnace, where the three Children walk'd unconcern'd in the midſt of the Flames, under the charge and protection of an Angel. And the ſame Angel, if he had pleas'd, could have made the ſame Furnace ſeven times hotter than the wrath of the Tyrant had made it.

We

We will therefore leave it to their miniſtery to manage this great Furnace, when the Heavens and the Earth are on Fire. To conſerve, encreaſe, direct, or temper the flames, according to inſtructions given them, as they are to be *Tutelary* or *Deſtroying*. Neither let any body think it a diminution of Providence to put things into the hands of Angels. 'Tis the true rule and method of it. For to employ an Almighty power where it is not neceſſary, is to debaſe it, and give it a task fit for lower Beings. Some think it devotion and piety to have recourſe immediately to the arm of God to ſalve all things; This may be done ſometimes with a good intention, but commonly with little judgment. God is as jealous of the glory of his Wiſdom, as of his Power; and Wiſdom conſiſts in the conduct and ſubordination of ſeveral cauſes to bring our purpoſes to effect; but what is diſpatched by an immediate Supreme Power, leaves no room for the exerciſe of Wiſdom. To conclude this point, which I have touch'd upon more than once, We muſt not be partial to any of God's Attributes, and Providence being a complexion of many, Power, Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs, when we give due place and honour to all theſe, then we moſt honour DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

CHAP. IX.

How the Sea will be diminiſh'd and conſum'd. How the Rocks and Mountains will be thrown down and melted, and the whole exteriour frame of the Earth diſſolv'd into a Deluge of Fire.

WE have now taken a view of the Cauſes of the Conflagration, both ordinary and extraordinary: It remains to conſider the manner of it; How theſe Cauſes will operate, and bring to paſs an effect ſo great and ſo prodigious. We took notice before, that the grand obſtruction would be from the Sea, and from the Mountains; we muſt therefore take theſe to task in the firſt place; and if we can remove them out of our way, or overcome what reſiſtance and oppoſition they are capable to make, the reſt of the work will not be uneaſie to us.

The Ocean indeed is a vaſt Body of Waters; and we muſt uſe all our art and skill to dry it up, or conſume it in a good meaſure, before we can compaſs our deſign. I remember the advice a Philoſopher gave *Amaſis* King of *Egypt*, when he had a command ſent him from the King of *Æthiopia, That he ſhould drink up the Sea.* *Amaſis* being very anxious and ſollicitous what anſwer he ſhould make to this ſtrange command, the Philoſopher *Bias* advis'd him to make this round anſwer to the King; *That he was ready to perform his command, and to drink up the Sea, provided he would ſtop the rivers from flowing into his cup while he was drinking.* This anſwer baffled the

King, for he could not ſtop the rivers; but this we muſt do, or we ſhall never be able to drink up the Sea, or burn up the Earth.

Neither will this be ſo impoſſible as it ſeems at firſt ſight, if we reflect upon thoſe preparations we have made towards it, by a general drought all over the Earth. This we ſuppoſe will precede the Conflagration, and by drying up the Fountains and Rivers, which daily feed the Sea, will by degrees ſtarve that Monſter, or reduce it to ſuch a degree of weakneſs, that it ſhall not be able to make any great reſiſtance. More than half an Ocean of Water flows into the Sea every day, from the Rivers of the Earth, if you take them altogether. This I ſpeak upon a moderate computation. *Ariſtotle* ſays the Rivers carry more water into the Sea, in the ſpace of a year, than would equal in bulk the whole Globe of the Earth. Nay, ſome have ventur'd to affirm this of one ſingle River, The *Volga*, that runs into the *Caſpian* Sea. 'Tis a great River indeed, and hath ſeventy mouths, and ſo it had need have, to diſgorge a maſs of Water equal to the Body of the Earth, in a years time. But we need not take ſuch high meaſures; There are at leaſt an hundred great Rivers that flow into the Sea, from ſeveral parts of the Earth, Iſlands and Continents, beſides ſeveral thouſands of leſſer ones; Let us ſuppoſe theſe, all together, to pour as much water into the Sea-chanel, every day, as is equal to half the Ocean. And we ſhall be eaſily convinc'd of the reaſonableneſs of this ſuppoſition, if we do but examine the daily expence of one River, and by that make an eſtimate of the reſt. This we find calculated to our hands in the *River Po* in *Italy*; a River of much what the ſame bigneſs with our *Thames*, and diſburthens it ſelf into the Gulph of *Venice*. *Baptiſta Riccioli* hath computed how much water this River diſcharges in an hour, *viz.* 18000 000. cubical paces of Water, and conſequently 432000000. in a day; which is ſcarce credible to thoſe that do not diſtinctly compute it. Suppoſe then an hundred Rivers as great as this or greater, to fall into the Sea from the Land; beſides thouſands of leſſer, that pay their tribute at the ſame time into the great Receit of the Ocean; Theſe all taken together, are capable to renew the Sea every twice four and twenty hours. Which ſuppoſitions being admitted, if by a great and laſting drought theſe Rivers were dried up, or the Fountains from whence they flow, what would then become of that vaſt Ocean, that before was ſo formidable to us?

'Tis likely you will ſay, Theſe great Rivers cannot be dry'd up, tho' the little ones may; and therefore we muſt not ſuppoſe ſuch an Univerſal ſtop of waters, or that they will all fail, by any drought whatſoever. But great Rivers being made up of little ones, if theſe fail, thoſe muſt be diminiſh'd, if not quite drain'd and exhauſted. It may be all Fountains and Springs do not proceed from the ſame cauſes, or the ſame original; and ſome are much more copious than others; for ſuch differences we will allow what is due; but ſtill the drineſs of the Air and of the Earth continuing, and all the ſources and ſupplies of moiſture, both from above and from below, being leſſen'd or wholly diſcontinued, a general decay of all Fountains and Rivers muſt neceſſarily follow, and conſequently of the Sea,

Sea, and of its fulneſs that depends upon them. And that's enough for our preſent purpoſe.

The firſt ſtep therefore towards the Conſumption of the Ocean will be the diminution or ſuſpenſion of the Rivers that run into it. The next will be an Evacuation by Subterraneous paſſages; and the laſt, by Eruptions of Fires in the very Chanel of it, and in the midſt of the Waters. As for Subterraneous Evacutions, we cannot doubt but that the Sea hath out-lets at the bottom of it; whereby it diſcharges that vaſt quantity of Water that flows into it every day, and that could not be diſcharg'd ſo faſt as it comes from the wide mouths of the Rivers, by percolation or ſtraining thorough the Sands. Seas alſo communicate with one another by theſe internal paſſages, as is manifeſt from thoſe particular Seas that have no external outlet or iſſue, tho' they receive into them many great Rivers, and ſometimes the influx of other Seas. So the *Caſpian* Sea receives not only *Volga*, which we mention'd before, but ſeveral other Rivers, and yet hath no viſible iſſue for its Waters. The *Mediterranean* Sea, beſides all the Rivers it receives, hath a current flowing into it, at either end, from other Seas; from the *Atlantick* Ocean at the ſtreights of *Gibralter*, and from the Black Sea, above *Conſtantinople*: and yet there is no paſſage above-ground, or viſible derivation of the *Mediterranean* waters out of their Chanel; which ſeeing they do not overfil, nor overflow the Banks, 'tis certain they muſt have ſome ſecret conveyances into the bowels of the Earth, or ſubterraneous communication with other Seas. Laſtly, From the Whirl-pools of the Sea, that ſuck in Bodies that come within their reach, it ſeems plainly to appear, by that attraction and abſorption, that there is a deſcent of waters in thoſe places.

Wherefore when the current of the Rivers into the Sea is ſtopt, or in a great meaſure diminiſh'd; The Sea continuing to empty it ſelf by theſe ſubterraneous paſſages, and having little or none of thoſe ſupplies that it us'd to have from the Land, it muſt needs be ſenſibly leſſen'd; and both contract its Chanel into a narrower compaſs, and alſo have leſs depth in the waters that remain. And in the laſt place, we muſt expect fiery eruptions in ſeveral parts of the Sea-chanel, which will help to ſuck up or evaporate the remaining Waters. In the preſent ſtate of Nature there have been ſeveral inſtances of ſuch eruptions of Fire from the bottom of the Sea; and in that laſt ſtate of Nature, when all things are in a tendency to inflammation, and when Earth-quakes and Eruptions will be more frequent every where, we muſt expect them alſo more frequently by Sea, as well as by Land. 'Tis true, neither Earth-quakes nor Eruptions can happen in the middle of the Great Ocean, or in the deepeſt Abyſs, becauſe there are no cavities, or mines below it, for the vapours and exhalations to lodge in; But 'tis not much of the Sea-chanel that is ſo deep, and in other parts, eſpecially in ſtreights and near Iſlands, ſuch Eruptions, like Sea-Volcano's, have frequently happen'd, and new Iſlands have been made by ſuch fiery matter thrown up from the bottom of the Sea. Thus, they ſay, thoſe Iſlands in the Mediterranean call'd the *Vulcanian* Iſlands, had their original; being matter caſt up from the bottom of the Sea, by the

force of Fire; as new Mountains ſometimes are rais'd upon the Earth. Another Iſland in the *Archipelago* had the ſame original, whereof *Strabo* gives an account. The *flames*, he ſays, *ſprung up through the waters, four days together, ſo as the whole Sea was hot and burning; and they rais'd by degrees, as with Engines, a maſs of Earth, which made a new Iſland, twelve furlongs in compaſs.* And in the ſame *Archipelago*, flames and ſmoke have ſeveral times (particularly in the year 1650.) riſe out of the Sea, and fill'd the Air with ſulphureous ſcents and vapours. In like manner, in the Iſland of S. *Michel*, one of the *Tercera*'s, there have been, of later years, ſuch eructations of fire and flames, ſo ſtrong and violent, that, at the depth of an hundred and ſixty fathoms, they forc'd their way through the midſt of the Waters, from the bottom of the Sea into the open Air. As has been related by thoſe that were eye-witneſſes. *Lib.* 1.

In theſe three ways I conceive, the great force of the Sea will be broken, and the mighty Ocean reduc'd to a ſtanding Pool of putrid waters, without vent and without recruits. But there will ſtill remain in the midſt of the Chanel a great maſs of troubled liquors, like dregs in the bottom of the veſſel; which will not be drunk up till the Earth be all on fire, and torrents of melted and ſulphureous matter flow from the Land, and mingle with this Dead Sea. But let us now leave the Sea in this humble poſture, and go on to attack the Rocks and Mountains which ſtand next in our way.

See how ſcornfully they look down upon us, and bid defiance to all the Elements. They have born the Thunder and Lightning of Heaven, and all the Artillery of the Skies, for innumerable Ages; and do not fear the crackling of thorns and of ſhrubs that burn at their feet. Let the Towns and Cities of the Earth, ſay they, be laid in aſhes; Let the Woods and Foreſts blaze away; and the fat Soyl of the Earth fry in its own greaſe; Theſe things will not affect us; We can ſtand naked in the midſt of a Sea of Fire, with our roots as deep as the foundations of the Earth, and our heads above the Clouds of the Air. Thus they proudly defie Nature; and it muſt be confeſt, that theſe, being, as it were, the Bones of the Earth, when the Body is burning, will be the laſt conſum'd; And I am apt to think, if they could keep in the ſame poſture they ſtand in now, and preſerve themſelves from falling, the fire could never get an entire power over them. But Mountains are generally hollow, and that makes them ſubject to a double caſualty; Firſt, Of Earth-quakes, Secondly, Of having their roots eaten away by Water or by Fire; but by Fire eſpecially in this caſe: For we ſuppoſe there will be innumerable ſubterraneous Fires ſmothering under ground, before the general Fire breaks out; and theſe by corroding the bowels of the Earth, will make it more hollow and more ruinous; And when the Earth is ſo far diſſolv'd, that the cavities within the Mountains are fill'd with Lakes of Fire, then the Mountains will ſink, and fall into thoſe boyling Caldrons; which, in time, will diſſolve them, tho' they were as hard as Adamant.

There is another Engine that will tear the Earth with great violence, and rend in pieces whatſoever is above or about thoſe parts of it. And that is the Element of Water, ſo gentle in it ſelf, when undiſturb'd.

undiſturb'd. But 'tis found by experience, that when Water falls into liquid Metals, it flies about with an incredible impetuoſity, and breaks or bears down every thing that wou'd ſtop its motion and expanſion. This force I take to come from the ſudden and ſtrong rarefaction of its parts: which make a kind of exploſion, when it is ſudden and vehement: And this is one of the greateſt forces we know in Nature. Accordingly I am apt to think, that the marvellous force of Volcano's, when they throw out lumps of Rocks, great fragments of Earth, and other heavy Bodies, to ſuch a vaſt height and diſtance, that it is done by this way of exploſion: And that exploſion made by the ſudden rarefaction of Sea-waters, that fall into Pans or receptacles of molten Ore and ardent Liquors within the cavities of the Mountain: and thereupon follow the noiſes, roarings, and eruptions of thoſe places. 'Tis obſerv'd that Volcano's are in Mountains, and generally, if not always, near the Sea: And when its waters by ſubterraneous paſſages, are driven under the Mountain, either by a particular Wind, or by a great agitation of the Waves, they meet there with Metals and fiery Minerals diſſolv'd, and are immediately, according to our ſuppoſition, rarefied, and by way of exploſion fly out at the mouth or funnel of the Mountain, bearing before them whatſoever ſtands in their way. Whether this be a true account or no, of the preſent Volcano's and their Eruptions, 'tis manifeſt that ſuch caſes as we have mention'd, will happen in the Conflagration of the Earth, and that ſuch eruptions or diſruptions of the Earth will follow thereupon: and that theſe will contribute very much to the ſinking of Mountains, the ſplitting of Rocks, and the bringing of all ſtrong Holds of Nature under the power of the General Fire.

To conclude this point, the Mountains will all be brought low, in that ſtate of Nature, either by Earthquakes or ſubterraneous fires; *Every valley ſhall be exalted, and every mountain and hill ſhall be made low.* Which will be literally true at the ſecond coming of our Saviour, as it was figuratively apply'd to his firſt coming. Now, being once level'd with the reſt of the Earth, the queſtion will only be, how they ſhall be diſſolv'd. But there is no Terreſtrial Body indiſſolvable to Fire, if it have a due ſtrength and continuance; and this laſt Fire will have both, in the higheſt degrees; So that it cannot but be capable of diſſolving all Elementary compoſitions, how hard or ſolid ſoever they be. *Iſa.* 40. 4. *Luk.* 3. 5.

'Tis true, theſe Mountains and Rocks, as I ſaid before, will have the priviledge to be the laſt deſtroy'd. Theſe, with the deep parts of the Sea, and the Polar Regions of the Earth, will undergo a ſlower fate, and be conſum'd more leiſurely. The action of the laſt Fire may be diſtinguiſh'd into two Times, or two aſſaults; The firſt aſſault will carry off all Mankind, and all the works of the Earth that are eaſily combuſtible; and this will be done with a quick and ſudden motion. But the ſecond aſſault, being employ'd about the conſumption of ſuch Bodies or ſuch Materials as are not ſo eaſily ſubjected to fire, will be of long continuance, and the work of ſome years. And 'tis fit it ſhould be ſo; that this Flaming World may be view'd and conſider'd by the neighbouring Worlds about it, as a dreadful

dreadful ſpectacle, and monument of God's wrath againſt diſloyal and diſobedient Creatures. That by this example, now before their eyes, they may think of their own fate, and what may befal them, as well as another Planet of the ſame Elements and compoſition.

Thus much for the Rocks and Mountains; which, you ſee, according to our Hypotheſis, will be level'd, and the whole face of the Earth reduc'd to plainneſs and equality; nay, which is more, melted and diſſolv'd into a Sea of liquid Fire. And becauſe this may ſeem a Paradox, being more than is uſually ſuppoſed, or taken notice of, in the doctrine of the Conflagration, it will not be improper in this place to give an account, wherein our Idea of the Conflagration and its effects, differs from the common opinion and the uſual repreſentation of it. 'Tis commonly ſuppos'd, that the Conflagration of the World is like the burning of a City, where the Walls and materials of the Houſes are not melted down, but ſcorch'd, inflam'd, demoliſh'd, and made unhabitable. So they think in the Burning of the World, ſuch Bodies, or ſuch parts of Nature, as are fit Fewel for the Fire, will be inflam'd, and, it may be, conſum'd, or reduc'd to ſmoke and aſhes; But other Bodies that are not capable of Inflammation, will only be ſcorch'd and defac'd, the beauty and furniture of the Earth ſpoil'd, and by that means, ſay they, it will be laid waſt and become unhabitable. This ſeems to me a very ſhort and imperfect Idea of the Conflagration; neither agreeable to Scripture, nor to the deductions that may be made from Scripture. We therefore ſuppoſe that this is but half the work, this deſtroying of the outward garniture of the Earth is but the firſt onſet, and that the Conflagration will end in a diſſolution and liquefaction of the Elements and all the exteriour region of the Earth: ſo as to become a true Deluge of Fire, or a Sea of Fire overſpreading the whole Globe of the Earth. This ſtate of the Conflagration, I think, may be plainly prov'd, partly by the expreſſions of Scripture concerning it, and partly from the *Renovation* of the Earth that is to follow upon it. S. *Peter*, who is our chief Guide in the doctrine of the Conflagration, ſays, *The Elements will be melted with fervent heat*; beſides burning up the works of the Earth. Then adds, *Seeing all theſe things ſhall be diſſolv'd, &c.* Theſe terms of *Liquefaction* and *Diſſolution* cannot, without violence, be reſtrained to ſimple devaſtation and ſuperficial ſcorching. Such expreſſions carry the work a great deal further, even to that full ſence which we propoſe. Beſides, the Prophets often ſpeak of the melting of the Earth, or of the Hills and Mountains, at the preſence of the Lord, in the day of his wrath. And S. *John* (*Apoc.* 15. 2.) tells us of a *Sea of Glaſs, mingled with Fire*; where the Saints ſtood, ſinging the ſong of *Moſes*, and triumphing over their enemies, the Spiritual *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, that were ſwallowed up in it. The *Sea of Glaſs* muſt be a Sea of *molten* glaſs; it muſt be fluid, not ſolid, if a Sea; neither can a ſolid ſubſtance be ſaid to be *mingled with Fire*, as this was. And to this anſwers the *Lake of fire and brimſtone*, which the Beaſt and falſe Prophet were thrown into alive, *Apoc.* 19. 20. Theſe all refer to the end of the World and the laſt Fire, and alſo plainly imply, or expreſs rather, that ſtate of Liquefaction which we ſuppoſe and aſſert.

2 Pet. 3. 10, 11.

Iſa. 34. 3, 4. & 44. 1, 2. Nah. 1. 5. Pſ. 97. 5.

Further

Furthermore, The *Renovation* of the World, or *The New Heavens and New Earth*, which S. *Peter*, out of the Prophets, tells us ſhall ſpring out of theſe that are burnt and diſſolved, do ſuppoſe this Earth reduc'd into a fluid Chaos, that it may lay a foundation for a ſecond World. If you take ſuch a Skeleton of an Earth, as your ſcorching Fire would leave behind it; where the fleſh is torn from the bones, and the Rocks and Mountains ſtand naked and ſtaring upon you; the Sea, half empty, gaping at the Sun, and the Cities all in ruines and in rubbiſh; How would you raiſe a New World from this? and a World fit to be an *habitation for the Righteous*; for ſo S. *Peter* makes that to be, which is to ſucceed after the Conflagration. And a World alſo *without a Sea*, ſo S. *John* deſcribes the New Earth he ſaw. As theſe characters do not agree to the preſent Earth, ſo neither would they agree to *your* Future one; for if that dead lump could revive and become habitable again, it would however retain all the imperfections of the former Earth, beſides ſome ſcars and deformities of its own. Wherefore if you would caſt the Earth into a new and better mould, you muſt firſt melt it down; and the laſt Fire, being as a *Refiner's* fire, will make an improvement in it, both as to matter and form. To conclude, it muſt be reduc'd into a fluid Maſs, in the nature of a Chaos, as it was at firſt; but this laſt will be a Fiery Chaos, as that was Watery; and from this ſtate it will emerge again into a Paradiſiacal World. But this being the Subject of the following Book, we will diſcourſe no more of it in this place.

2 Pet. 3. 13. Apoc. 21. 1.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the beginning and progreſs of the Conflagration, what part of the Earth will firſt be Burnt. The manner of the future deſtruction of* Rome, *according to Prophetical Indications. The laſt ſtate and conſummation of the general Fire.

HAving remov'd the chief obſtructions to our deſign, and ſhow'd a method for weakning the ſtrength of Nature, by draining the Trench, and beating down thoſe Bulwarks, wherein ſhe ſeems to place her greateſt confidence: we muſt now go to work, making choice of the weakeſt part of Nature for our firſt attack, where the fire may be the eaſieſt admitted, and the beſt maintain'd and preſerv'd.

And for our better direction, it will be of uſe to conſider what we noted before, *viz.* That the Conflagration is not a pure *Natural Fatality*, but a *mixt Fatality*; or a Divine Judgment ſupported by Natural Cauſes. And if we can find ſome part of the Earth, or of the Chriſtian World, that hath more of theſe natural diſpoſitions to Inflammation than the reſt; and is alſo repreſented by Scripture

as

as a more peculiar object of God's Judgments at the coming of our Saviour, we may justly pitch upon that part of the World as first to be destroyed. Nature and Providence conspiring to make that the first Sacrifice to this Fiery Vengeance.

Now as to Natural dispositions, in any Country or Region of the Earth, to be set on Fire. They seem to be chiefly these two, Sulphurousness of the Soil, and an hollow, mountainous construction of the ground. Where these two dispositions meet in the same tract or territory, (the one as to the quality of the matter, and the other as to the form) it stands like a Pile of fit materials, ready set to have the Fire put to it. And as to Divine Indications where this General Fire will begin, the Scripture points to the Seat of Antichrist wheresoever that is, for the beginning of it. The Scripture, I say, points at this two ways. First, in telling us that our Saviour

2 *Thess.* 1. 7. ch. 2. 8. at his coming *in flames of Fire shall consume the wicked One, The Man of sin, the Son of perdition, with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his presence.* Secondly, under the name of *Mystical Babylon*, which is allowed by all to be the Seat of Antichrist, and by Scripture always condemn'd to the Fire. This

v. 8. & *ver.* 19. we find in plain words asserted by S. *John* in the 18*th Chap.* of his *Revelations*, and in the 19*th.* (*ver.* 3.) under the name of the *Great Whore*, which is the same City and the same Seat, according to the

ch. 17. 18. interpretation of Scripture it self. And the Prophet *Daniel* when

Dan. 7. 9, 10, 11. he had set the *Ancient of Days* upon his fiery Throne, says, *The Body of the Beast was given to the burning flame.* Which I take to be the same thing with what S. *John* says afterwards, (*Apoc.* 19. 20.) *The Beast and the false Prophet were cast alive into a Lake of fire burning with brimstone.* By these places of Scripture it seems manifest, that Antichrist, and the Seat of Antichrist, will be consumed with Fire, at the coming of our Saviour. And 'tis very reasonable and decorous, that the Grand Traitor and Head of the Apostasie should be made the first example of the divine vengeance.

Thus much being allow'd from Scripture, let us now return to Nature again; to seek out that part of the Christian World, that from its own constitution is most subject to burning; by the Sulphureousness of its Soil, and its fiery Mountains and Caverns. This we shall easily find to be the *Roman Territory*, or the Countrey of *Italy*: which, by all accounts, ancient and modern, is a store-house of fire; as if it was condemn'd to that fate by God and Nature, and to be an Incendiary, as it were, to the rest of the World. And seeing *Mystical Babylon*, the Seat of Antichrist, is the same *Rome*, and its Territory; as it is understood by most Interpreters, of former and later Ages; you see both our lines meet in this point; And that there is a fairness, on both hands, to conclude, that, at the glorious appearance of our Saviour, the Conflagration will begin at the City of *Rome* and the *Roman* Territory.

Nature hath sav'd us the pains of kindling a fire in those parts of the Earth, for, since the memory of man, there have always been subterraneous fires in *Italy*. And the *Romans* did not preserve their Vestal fire with more constancy, than Nature hath done her fiery Mountains in some part or other of that Territory. Let us then suppose.

pose, when the fatal time draws near, all these Burning Mountains to be fill'd and repleniſh'd with fit materials for such a design; and when our Saviour appears in the Clouds, with an Host of Angels, that they all begin to play, as Fire-works at the Triumphal Entry of a Prince. Let *Vesuvius*, *Ætna*, *Strongyle*, and all the *Vulcanian* Islands, break out into flames; and by the Earth-quakes, which then will rage, let us suppose new Eruptions, or new Mountains open'd, in the *Apennines*, and near to *Rome*; and to vomit out fire in the same manner as the old Volcano's. Then let the sulphureous ground take fire; and seeing the Soil of that Country, in several places, is so full of brimstone, that the steams and smoke of it visibly rise out of the Earth; we may reasonably suppose, that it will burn openly, and be inflam'd, at that time. Lastly, the Lightnings of the Air, and the flaming streams of the melting Skies, will mingle and joyn with these burnings of the Earth. And these three Causes meeting together, as they cannot but make a dreadful Scene, so they will easily destroy and consume whatsoever lies within the compass of their fury.

Thus you may suppose the beginning of the General Fire; And it will be carried on by like causes, tho' in lesser degrees, in other parts of the Earth. But as to *Rome*, there is still, in my opinion, a more dreadful fate that will attend it; namely, to be absorpt or swallowed up in a Lake of fire and brimstone, after the manner of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*. This, in my judgment, will be the fate and final conclusion of *Mystical Babylon*, to sink as a great Millstone into the Sea, and never to appear more! Hear what the Prophet says, *A mighty Angel took up a stone, like a great Millstone, and cast it into the* Apoc. 18. 21. *Sea, saying, thus, with violence, shall that great City Babylon be thrown down; and shall be found no more at all.* Simply to be burnt, does not at all answer to this description of its perishing, by *sinking like a Millstone into the Sea, and never appearing more*, nor of, *not having its place ever more found*; that is, leaving no remains or marks of it. A City that is only burnt, cannot be said to *fall like a Millstone into the Sea*; or that it *can never more be found*: For after the burning of a City, the ruines stand, and its place is well known. Wherefore, in both respects, besides this exteriour burning, there must be an absorption of this *Mystical Babylon*, the Seat of the Beast; and thereupon a total disappearance of it. This also agrees with the suddenness of the judgment, which is a repeated character of it. *Chap.* 18. 8, 10, 17, 19. Now what kind of absorption this will be, into what, and in what manner, we may learn from what St. *John* says afterwards, (ch. 19. 20.) *The Beast and the false Prophets were cast alive into a Lake of fire and brimstone.* You must not imagine that they were bound, hand and foot, and so thrown headlong into this Lake, but they were swallowed up alive, they and theirs, as *Corah* and his company. Or, to use a plainer example, after the manner of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*; which perisht by fire, and at the same time sunk into a Dead Sea, or a Lake of brimstone.

This was a lively type of the fate of *Rome*, or *Mystical Babylon*; and 'tis fit it should resemble *Sodom*, as well in its punishment, as in its crimes. Neither is it a hard thing to conceive how such an ab-

ſorption may come to paſs; That being a thing ſo uſual in Earth-quakes, and Earth-quakes being ſo frequent in that Region. And laſtly, that this ſhould be after the manner of *Sodom*, turn'd into a Lake of fire, will not be at all ſtrange, if we conſider, that there will be many ſubterraneous Lakes of fire at that time, when the bowels of the Earth begin to melt, and the Mountains ſpew out ſtreams of liquid fire. The ground therefore being hollow and rotten in thoſe parts, when it comes to be ſhaken with a mighty Earth-quake, the foundations will ſink, and the whole frame fall into an Abyſs of fire below, as a Millſtone into the Sea. And this will give occaſion to that Cry, *Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen*, and ſhall never more be found.

This ſeems to be a probable account, according to Scripture and reaſon, of the beginning of the general fire, and of the particular fate of *Rome*. But it may be propos'd here as an objection againſt this Hypotheſis, that the Mediterranean Sea, lying all along the Coaſt of *Italy*, muſt needs be a ſufficient guard to that Country againſt the invaſion of fire; or at leaſt muſt needs extinguiſh it, before it can do much miſchief there, or propagate it ſelf into other Countreys. I thought we had in a good meaſure prevented this objection before, by ſhowing how the Ocean would be diminiſh'd before the Conflagration, and eſpecially the Arms and Sinus's of the Ocean; and of theſe none would be more ſubject to this diminution than the Mediterranean; For, receiving its ſupplies from the Ocean and the Black Sea, if theſe came to ſink in their chanels, they would not riſe ſo high, as to be capable to flow into the Mediterranean, at either end. And theſe ſupplies being cut off, it would ſoon empty it ſelf ſo far, partly by evaporation, and partly by ſubterraneous paſſages, as to ſhrink from all its ſhores, and become only a ſtanding Pool of water in the middle of the Chanel. Nay, 'tis poſſible, by flouds of fire deſcending from the many Volcano's upon its ſhores, it might it ſelf be converted into a Lake of fire, and rather help than obſtruct the progreſs of the Conflagration.

It may indeed be made a queſtion, whether this fiery Vengeance upon the ſeat of Antichriſt, will not precede the general Conflagration, at ſome diſtance of time, as a fore-runner and forewarner to the World, that the reſt of the People may have ſpace to repent; And particularly the *Jews*, being Spectators of this Tragedy, and of the miraculous appearance of our Saviour, may ſee the hand of God in it, and be convinc'd of the truth and divine authority of the Chriſtian Religion. I ſay, this ſuppoſition would leave room for theſe and ſome other prophetick Scenes, which we know not well where to place; But ſeeing *The Day of the Lord* is repreſented in Scripture as one entire thing, without interruption or diſcontinuation, and that it is to begin with the deſtruction of Antichriſt, we have warrant enough to purſue the reſt of the Conflagration from this beginning and introduction.

Let us then ſuppoſe the ſame preparations made in the other parts of the Earth to continue the Fire; for the Conflagration of the World being a work of Providence, we may be ſure ſuch meaſures are taken, as will effectually carry it on, when once begun. The Body

Body of the Earth will be looſen'd and broken by Earth-quakes, the more ſolid parts impregnated with ſulphur, and the cavities fill'd with unctuous fumes and exhalations; ſo as the whole Maſs will be but as one great funeral Pile, ready built, and wanting nothing but the hand of a deſtroying Angel, to give it fire. I will not take upon me to determine which way this devouring Enemy will ſteer his courſe from *Italy*, or in what order he will advance and enter the ſeveral Regions of our Continent; that would be an undertaking, as uncertain, as uſeleſs. But we cannot doubt of his ſucceſs, which way ſoever he goes: unleſs where the Chanel of the Ocean may chance to ſtop him. But as to that, we allow, that different Continents may have different Fires; not propagated from one another, but of diſtinct ſources and originals; and ſo likewiſe in remote Iſlands; and therefore no long paſſage or trajection will be requir'd from ſhore to ſhore. And even the Ocean it ſelf, will at length be as Fiery as any part of the Land; But that, with its Rocks, like Death, will be the laſt thing ſubdued.

As to the Animate World, the Fire will over-run it with a ſwift and rapid courſe, and all living Creatures will be ſuffocated or conſumed, at the firſt aſſault. And at the ſame time, the beauty of the Fields and the external decorations of Nature will be defac'd. Then the Cities and the Towns, and all the works of man's hands, will burn like ſtubble before the wind. Theſe will be ſoon diſpatch'd; but the great burthen of the Work ſtill remains; which is that *Liquefaction* we mention'd before, or a *melting fire*, much more ſtrong and vehement than theſe tranſient blazes, which do but ſweep the ſurface of the Earth. This Liquefaction, I ſay, we prov'd before out of Scripture, as the laſt ſtate of the fiery Deluge. And 'tis this, which at length, will make the Sea it ſelf a *Lake of fire and brimſtone*. ch. 9. When inſtead of Rivers of Waters which uſed to flow into it from the Land, there come ſtreams and rivulets of Sulphureous Liquors, and purulent melted matter, which following the tract of their natural gravity will fall into this great drain of the Earth. Upon which mixture, the remaining parts of ſweet water will ſoon evaporate, and the ſalt mingling with the Sulphur will make a Dead Sea, an *Aſphaltites*, a Lake of *Sodom*, a Cup of the dregs of the Wine of the fierceneſs of God's Wrath.

We noted before two remarkable effects of the *Burning Mountains*, which would contribute to the Conflagration of the World; and gave inſtances of both in former Eruptions of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*. One was, of thoſe Balls or lumps of Fire, which they throw about in the time of their rage; and the other, of thoſe torrents of liquid Fire, which rowl down their ſides to the next Seas or Valleys. In the firſt reſpect theſe Mountains are as ſo many Batteries, planted by Providence in ſeveral parts of the Earth, to fling thoſe fiery Bombs into ſuch places, or ſuch Cities, as are marked out for deſtruction. And in the ſecond reſpect, they are to dry up the Waters, and the Rivers, and the Sea it ſelf, when they fall into its Chanel. *T. Fazellus*, a *Sicilian*, who writ the Hiſtory of that Iſland, tells us of ſuch a River of fire (upon an eruption of *Ætna*) near twenty eight miles long; reaching from the Mountain to Port *Longina*; and *Annal. Sic. dec. 1. l. 2. c. 4.*

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It may indeed be made a queſtion, whether this fiery Vengeance upon the ſeat of Antichriſt, will not precede the general Conflagration, at ſome diſtance of time, as a fore-runner and forewarner to the World, that the reſt of the People may have ſpace to repent; And particularly the *Jews*, being Spectators of this Tragedy, and of the miraculous appearance of our Saviour, may ſee the hand of God in it, and be convinc'd of the truth and divine authority of the Chriſtian Religion. I ſay, this ſuppoſition would leave room for theſe and ſome other prophetick Scenes, which we know not well where to place; But ſeeing *The Day of the Lord* is repreſented in Scripture as one entire thing, without interruption or diſcontinuation, and that it is to begin with the deſtruction of Antichriſt, we have warrant enough to purſue the reſt of the Conflagration from this beginning and introduction.

Let us then ſuppoſe the ſame preparations made in the other parts of the Earth to continue the Fire; for the Conflagration of the World being a work of Providence, we may be ſure ſuch meaſures are taken, as will effectually carry it on, when once begun. The Body

Body of the Earth will be looſen'd and broken by Earth-quakes, the more ſolid parts impregnated with ſulphur, and the cavities fill'd with unctuous fumes and exhalations; ſo as the whole Maſs will be but as one great funeral Pile, ready built, and wanting nothing but the hand of a deſtroying Angel, to give it fire. I will not take upon me to determine which way this devouring Enemy will ſteer his courſe from *Italy*, or in what order he will advance and enter the ſeveral Regions of our Continent; that would be an undertaking, as uncertain, as uſeleſs. But we cannot doubt of his ſucceſs, which way ſoever he goes: unleſs where the Chanel of the Ocean may chance to ſtop him. But as to that, we allow, that different Continents may have different Fires; not propagated from one another, but of diſtinct ſources and originals; and ſo likewiſe in remote Iſlands; and therefore no long paſſage or trajection will be requir'd from ſhore to ſhore. And even the Ocean it ſelf, will at length be as Fiery as any part of the Land; But that, with its Rocks, like Death, will be the laſt thing ſubdued.

As to the Animate World, the Fire will over-run it with a ſwift and rapid courſe, and all living Creatures will be ſuffocated or conſumed, at the firſt aſſault. And at the ſame time, the beauty of the Fields and the external decorations of Nature will be defac'd. Then the Cities and the Towns, and all the works of man's hands, will burn like ſtubble before the wind. Theſe will be ſoon diſpatch'd; but the great burthen of the Work ſtill remains; which is that *Liquefaction* we mention'd before, or a *melting fire*, much more ſtrong and vehement than theſe tranſient blazes, which do but ſweep the ſurface of the Earth. This Liquefaction, I ſay, we prov'd before out of Scripture, as the laſt ſtate of the fiery Deluge. And 'tis this, which at length, will make the Sea it ſelf a *Lake of fire and brimſtone*. ch. 9. When inſtead of Rivers of Waters which uſed to flow into it from the Land, there come ſtreams and rivulets of Sulphureous Liquors, and purulent melted matter, which following the tract of their natural gravity will fall into this great drain of the Earth. Upon which mixture, the remaining parts of ſweet water will ſoon evaporate, and the ſalt mingling with the Sulphur will make a Dead Sea, an *Aſphaltites*, a Lake of *Sodom*, a Cup of the dregs of the Wine of the fierceneſs of God's Wrath.

We noted before two remarkable effects of the *Burning Mountains*, which would contribute to the Conflagration of the World; and gave inſtances of both in former Eruptions of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*. One was, of thoſe Balls or lumps of Fire, which they throw about in the time of their rage; and the other, of thoſe torrents of liquid Fire, which rowl down their ſides to the next Seas or Valleys. In the firſt reſpect theſe Mountains are as ſo many Batteries, planted by Providence in ſeveral parts of the Earth, to fling thoſe fiery Bombs into ſuch places, or ſuch Cities, as are marked out for deſtruction. And in the ſecond reſpect, they are to dry up the Waters, and the Rivers, and the Sea it ſelf, when they fall into its Chanel. *T. Fazellus*, a *Sicilian*, who writ the Hiſtory of that Iſland, tells us of *Annal. Sic. dec. 1. l. 2. c. 4.* ſuch a River of fire (upon an eruption of *Ætna*) near twenty eight miles long; reaching from the Mountain to Port *Longina*; and

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might have been much longer if it had not been ſtopt by the Sea. Many ſuch as theſe, and far greater, we ought in reaſon to imagin, when all the Earth begins to melt, and to ripen towards a diſſolution. It will then be full of theſe Sulphureous juices, as Grapes with Wine; and theſe will be ſqueez'd out of the Earth into the Sea, as out of a wine-preſs into the Receiver; to fill up that *Cup*, as we ſaid before, *with the wine of the fierceneſs of God's wrath.*

If we may be allow'd to bring Prophetical paſſages of Scripture to a natural ſence, as doubtleſs ſome of thoſe muſt that reſpect the end of the World, theſe phraſes which we have now ſuggeſted, of the *Wine-preſs of the wrath of God. Drinking the fierceneſs of his wine, poured, without mixture, into the cup of his indignation*, with expreſſions of the like nature that occur ſometimes in the old Prophets, but eſpecially in the Apocalypſe; Theſe, I ſay, might receive a full and emphatical explication from this ſtate of things which now lies before us. I would not exclude any other explication of leſs force, as that of alluding to the *bitter cup* or *mixt potion* that us'd to be given to malefactors: but that methinks, is a low ſence when applyed to theſe places in the Apocalypſe. That theſe phraſes ſignifie God's remarkable judgments, all allow, and here they plainly relate to the end of the World, to the laſt Plagues, and the laſt of the laſt Plagues, *chap.* 16. 19. Beſides, The Angel that preſided over this judgment, is ſaid to be an Angel that *had power over fire*; And thoſe who are to drink this potion, are ſaid to be *tormented with fire and brimſtone*, *ch.* 14. 10. This preſiding Angel ſeems to be our Saviour himſelf (*c.* 19. 15.) who when he comes to execute Divine Vengeance upon the Earth, gives his orders in theſe words, *Gather the cluſters of the Vine of the Earth, for her grapes are fully ripe.* And thereupon the Deſtroying Angel *thruſt in his ſickle into the Earth, and gathered the Vine of the Earth, and caſt it into the great Wine-preſs of the Wrath of God.* And this made a potion *compounded of ſeveral ingredients, but not diluted with water*; (*ch.* 14. 10.) and was indeed a potion of fire and brimſtone and all burning materials mixt together. The ſimilitudes of Scripture are ſeldom nice and exact, but rather bold, noble and great; and according to the circumſtances which we have obſerv'd, This *Vineyard* ſeems to be the *Earth*, and this *Vintage* the end of the World; The preſſing of the Grapes into the cup or veſſel that receives them, the diſtillation of burning liquors from all parts of the Earth into the trough of the Sea; and that lake of red Fire, the blood of thoſe Grapes ſo flowing into it.

'Tis true, This judgment of the Vintage and Wine-preſs, and the effects of it, ſeem to aim more eſpecially at ſome particular region of the Earth, *ch.* 14. 20. And I am not againſt that, provided the ſubſtance of the explication be ſtill retained, and the univerſal Sea of Fire be that which follows in the next Chapter, under the name of a *Sea of Glaſs, mingled with Fire*; This I think expreſſes the higheſt and compleat ſtate of the Conflagration; when the Mountains are fled away, and not only ſo, but the exterior region of the Earth quite diſſolv'd, like wax before the Sun; The Chanel of the Sea fill'd with a maſs of fluid fire, and the ſame fire overflowing all the Globe, and covering the whole Earth, as the Deluge, or the first

Apoc. 14. 10, 19. *ch.* 16. 19. *ch.* 19. 15.

ch. 14. 18, 19.

Τὸ κεκερασμένον ἀκράτου.

ch. 16. 2.

firſt Abyſs. Then will the Triumphal Songs and Hallelujah's be ſung for the Victories of the Lamb over all his Enemies and over Nature it ſelf. *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty: Juſt and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints, Who ſhall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations ſhall come and worſhip before thee; for thy judgments are made manifeſt.* *Apoc.* 15. 3, 4.

CHAP. XI.

An account of thoſe extraordinary Phænomena and Wonders in Nature, that, according to Scripture, will precede the coming of Chriſt, and the Conflagration of the World.

IF we reflect upon the Hiſtory of Burning Mountains, we cannot but obſerve, that, before their Eruptions, there are uſually ſome changes in the Earth or in the Air, in the Sea or in the Sun it ſelf; as ſigns and forerunners of the enſuing ſtorm. We may then eaſily conclude that when the laſt great Storm is a coming, and all the Volcano's of the Earth ready to burſt, and the frame of the World to be diſſolv'd, there will be previous ſigns, in the Heavens and on the Earth, to introduce this Tragical fate. Nature cannot come to that extremity, without ſome ſymptomes of her illneſs, not die ſilently, without pangs or complaint. But we are naturally heavy of belief as to Futurities, and can ſcarce fancy any other Scenes, or other ſtate of Nature, than what is preſent, and continually before our eyes; we will therefore, to cure our unbelief, take Scripture for our guide, and keep within the limits of its Predictions.

The Scripture plainly tells us of Signs or Prodigies that will precede the coming of our Saviour, and the end of the World; both in the Heavens and on the Earth. The Sun, Moon, and Stars, will be diſturb'd in their motion or aſpect; The Earth and the Sea will roar and tremble, and the Mountains fall at his Preſence. Theſe things both the Prophets and Evangeliſts have told us; But what we do not underſtand, we are ſlow to believe; and therefore thoſe that cannot apprehend how ſuch Changes ſhould come to paſs in the Natural World, chuſe rather to allegorize all theſe expreſſions of Scripture, and to make them ſignifie no more than political changes of Governments and Empires, and the great confuſions that will be amongſt the People and Princes of the Earth towards the end of the World. So that *darkning of the Sun, ſhaking of the Earth*, and ſuch like phraſes of Scripture, according to theſe Interpreters, are to be underſtood only in a moral ſence.

And they think they have a warrant for this interpretation from the Prophetick ſtyle of the Old Teſtament, where the deſtruction of Cities, and Empires, and great Princes, is often deſcrib'd by ſuch Figures, taken from the Natural World. So much is true indeed

deed as to the phraſe of the old Prophets in ſome places; but I take the true reaſon and deſign of that, to be a typical adumbration of what was intended ſhould literally come to paſs in the great and univerſal deſtruction of the World; whereof theſe partial deſtructions were only ſhadows and prefigurations. But to determine this caſe, Let us take the known and approved rule for interpreting Scripture, *Not to recede from the literal ſence without neceſſity*, or where the nature of the ſubject will admit of a literal interpretation. Now as to thoſe caſes in the Old Teſtament, Hiſtory and matter of fact do ſhow that they did not come to paſs literally, therefore muſt not be ſo underſtood; But as for thoſe that concern the end of the World, as they cannot be determin'd in that way, ſeeing they are yet *future*; So neither is there any Natural repugnancy or improbability that they ſhould come literally to paſs: On the contrary, from the intuition of that ſtate of Nature, one would rather conclude the probability or neceſſity of them; That there may and muſt be ſuch diſorders in the external World before the general diſſolution. Beſides, If we admit Prodigies in any caſe, or Providential indications of God's judgments to come, there can be no caſe ſuppos'd, wherein it will be more reaſonable or proper to admit them, than when they are to be the Meſſengers of an univerſal Vengeance and Deſtruction.

Let us therefore conſider what ſigns Scripture hath taken notice of, as deſtin'd to appear at that time, to publiſh, as it were, and proclaim the approaching end of the World; and how far they will admit of a natural explication, according to thoſe grounds we have already given, in explaining the cauſes and manner of the Conflagration. Theſe Signs are chiefly, Earth-quakes, and extraordinary commotions of the Seas. Then the darkneſs or bloudy colour of the Sun and Moon; The ſhaking of the Powers of Heaven, the fulgurations of the Air and the falling of Stars. As to Earth-quakes, we have upon ſeveral occaſions ſhown, that theſe will neceſſarily be multiplied towards the end of the World; when, by an exceſs of drought and heat, exhalations will more abound within the Earth; and, from the ſame cauſes, their inflammation alſo will be more frequent, than in the ordinary ſtate of Nature. And as all Bodies, when dry'd, become more porous and full of Vacuities; ſo the Body of the Earth will be at that time: And the Mines or Cavities wherein the fumes and exhalations lodge, will accordingly be of greater extent, open into one another, and continued through long tracts and regions; By which means, when an Earth-quake comes, as the ſhock will be more ſtrong and violent, ſo it may reach to a vaſt compaſs of ground, and whole Iſlands or Continents be ſhaken at once, when theſe trains have taken fire. The effects alſo of ſuch concuſſions, will not only affect Mankind, but all the Elements and the Inhabitants of them.

I do not wonder therefore that frequent and great Earth-quakes ſhould be made a ſign of an approaching Conflagration; and the higheſt expreſſions of the Prophets concerning the *Day of the Lord*, may be underſtood in a literal ſence, if they be finally referr'd to the general deſtruction of the World, and not terminated ſolely upon

upon thoſe particular Countries or People, to whom they are at firſt directed. Hear what *Ezekiel* ſays upon this ſubject: *For in my Jealouſy and in the fire of my wrath have I ſpoken; ſurely in that Day there ſhall be a great ſhaking in the Land of Iſrael. So that the Fiſhes of the Sea, and the Fowls of the Heaven, and the Beaſts of the Field, and all creeping things that creep upon the Earth; and all the Men that are upon the face of the Earth, ſhall ſhake at my preſence; and the Mountains ſhall be thrown down, and the ſteep places ſhall fall, and every wall ſhall fall to the ground.——— And I will rain an over-flowing rain, and great hail-ſtones, fire and brimſtone.* The Prophet *Iſaias* deſcribes theſe judgments in terms as high, and relating to the Natural World: *The Windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the Earth do ſhake. The Earth is utterly broken down, the Earth is clean diſſolv'd, the Earth is moved exceedingly. The Earth ſhall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and ſhall be removed like a Cottage, and the tranſgreſſion thereof ſhall be heavy upon it, and it ſhall fall and not riſe again.* Ch. 38. 19, 20, 22. Ch. 24. 18, 19, 20.

To reſtrain all theſe things to *Judæa*, as their adequate and final object, is to force both the words and the ſence. Here are manifeſt alluſions and foot-ſteps of the deſtruction of the World, and the diſſolution of the Earth; partly as it was in the Deluge, and partly as it will be in its laſt ruine; torn, broken, aud ſhatter'd. But moſt Men have fallen into that errour, To fancy both the deſtructions of the World, by Water and by Fire, quiet, noiſeleſs things; executed without any ruines or ruptures in Nature; That the Deluge was but a great Pool of ſtill Waters, made by the rains and inundation of the Sea: and the Conflagration will be only a ſuperficial ſcorching of the Earth, with a running fire. Theſe are falſe Idea's, and unſuitable to Scripture: for as the Deluge is there repreſented a Diſruption of the Abyſs, and conſequently of the then habitable Earth; ſo the future combuſtion of it, according to the repreſentations of Scripture, is to be uſher'd in and accompanied with all ſorts of violent impreſſions upon Nature; and the chief inſtrument of theſe violences will be Earth-quakes. Theſe will tear the Body of the Earth, and ſhake its foundations; rend the Rocks, and pull down the tall Mountains, ſometimes overturn, and ſometimes ſwallow up Towns and Cities; diſturb and diſorder the Elements, and make a general confuſion in Nature.

Next to Earth-quakes, we may conſider the *roarings of a troubled Sea.* This is another ſign of a dying World. S. *Luke* hath ſet down a great many of them together; Let us hear his words: *And there ſhall be ſigns in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars; and upon the Earth diſtreſs of Nations, with perplexity; The Sea and the Waves roaring. Mens hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after thoſe things which are coming on the Earth: for the powers of Heaven ſhall be ſhaken. And then ſhall they ſee the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory,* &c. As ſome would allegorize theſe Signs, which we noted before; ſo others would confine them to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* But 'tis plain, by this *coming of the Son of man in the clouds*, and the *redemption of the faithful*, and at the ſame time, the *ſound of the laſt trumpet*, which all relate to the end of the World, Ch. 21. 25, 26, 27. Ver. 28. Matt. 24. 31.

World, that ſomething further is intended than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. And though there were Prodigies at the deſtruction of that City and State, yet not of this force, nor with theſe circumſtances. 'Tis true, thoſe partial deſtructions and calamities, as we obſerv'd before, of *Babylon*, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Roman* Empire, being types of an univerſal and final deſtruction of all God's Enemies, have, in the pictures of them, ſome of the ſame ſtrokes, to ſhow they are all from the ſame hand; decreed by the ſame wiſdom, foretold by the ſame Spirit; and the ſame power and Providence that have already wrought the one, will alſo work the other, in due time; the former being ſtill pledges, as well as prefigurations, of the latter.

Let us then proceed in our explication of this ſign, *The roaring of the Sea, and the Waves*, applying it to the end of the World. I do not look upon this ominous noiſe of the Sea, as the effect of a tempeſt, for then it would not ſtrike ſuch a terror into the Inhabitants of the Earth, nor make them apprehenſive of ſome great evil coming upon the World, as this will do; what proceeds from viſible cauſes, and ſuch as may happen in a common courſe of Nature, does not ſo much amaze us, nor affright us. Therefore 'tis more likely theſe diſturbances of the Sea proceed from below, partly by ſympathy and revulſions from the Land; by Earth-quakes there, and exhauſting the ſubterraneous cavities of Waters, which will draw again from the Seas what ſupplies they can: And partly by Earth-quakes in the very Sea it ſelf; with exhalations and fiery Eruptions from the bottom of it. Things indeed that happen at other times, more or leſs, but at this conjuncture, all cauſes conſpiring, they will break out with more violence, and put the whole Body of the Waters into a tumultuary motion. I do not ſee any occaſion, at this time, for high Winds; neither can think a ſuperficial agitation of the Waves would anſwer this Phænomenon; but 'tis rather from Contorſions in the bowels of the Ocean, which make it roar, as it were, for pain. Some Cauſes impelling the Waters one way, and ſome another, make inteſtine ſtruglings and contrary motions; from whence proceed unuſual noiſes, and ſuch a troubled ſtate of the Waters, as does not only make the Sea innavigable, but alſo ſtrikes terror into all the Maritime Inhabitants, that live within the view or ſound of it.

So much for the Earth and the Sea. The face of the Heavens alſo will be chang'd in divers reſpects. The Sun and the Moon darkned, or of a bloudy, or pale countenance; The Celeſtial Powers ſhaken, and the Stars unſetled in their Orbs. As to the Sun and Moon, their obſcuration or change of colour is no more than what happens commonly before the Eruption of a fiery Mountain; *Dion Caſſius*, you ſee, hath taken notice of it in that Eruption of *Ætna* which he deſcribes; and others upon the like occaſions in *Veſuvius*. And 'tis a thing of eaſie explication; for according as the Atmoſphere is more or leſs clear or turbid, the Luminaries are more or leſs conſpicuous; and according to the nature of thoſe fumes or exhalations that ſwim in the Air, the face of the Sun is diſcolour'd ſometimes one way, ſometimes another. You ſee, in an ordinary Experiment,

periment, when we look upon one another through the fumes of Sulphur, we appear pale like ſo many Ghoſts; and in ſome foggy days the Sun hangs in the Firmament as a lump of Bloud. And both the Sun and Moon at their riſing, when their light comes to us through the thick vapours of the Earth, are red and fiery. Theſe are not changes wrought in the ſubſtance of the Luminaries, but in the modifications of their light as it flows to us. For colours are but Light in a ſort of diſguiſe; as it paſſes through *Mediums* of different qualities, it takes different forms; but the matter is ſtill the ſame, and returns to its ſimplicity when it comes again into a pure air.

Now the air may be changed and corrupted to a great degree, tho' there appear no viſible change to our eye. This is manifeſt from infectious airs, and the changes of the air before ſtorms and rains; which we feel commonly ſooner than we ſee, and ſome other creatures perceive much ſooner than we do 'Tis no wonder then if before this mighty ſtorm the diſpoſitions of the Air be quite alter'd; eſpecially if we conſider, what we have ſo often noted before, that there will be a great abundance of fumes and exhalations through the whole Atmoſphere of the Earth, before the laſt Fire breaks out; whereby the Light of the Sun may be tinctur'd in ſeveral ways. And laſtly, it may be ſo order'd providentially, that the Body of the Sun may contract at that time ſome Spots or *Maculæ* far greater than uſual, and by that means be really darkened; not to us only, but to all the neighbouring Planets. And this will have a proportionable effect upon the Moon too, for the diminution of her light. So that upon all ſuppoſitions theſe Phænomena are very intelligible, if not neceſſary forerunners of the Conflagration.

The next Sign given us, is, that the *powers of heaven will be ſhaken*. By the *Heavens* in this place is either underſtood the Planetary Heavens, or that of the *Fix'd Stars*; but this latter being vaſtly diſtant from the Earth, cannot be really affected by the Conflagration. Nor the powers of it, that is, its motions or the Bodies contain'd in it, any way ſhaken or diſorder'd. But in appearance theſe celeſtial Bodies may ſeem to be ſhaken, and their motions diſorder'd; as in a tempeſt by night, when the ſhip is toſs'd with contrary and uncertain motions, the Heavens ſeem to fluctuate over our heads, and the Stars to reel to and fro, when the motion is only in our own Veſſel. So poſſibly the uncertain motions of the Atmoſphere, and ſometimes of the Earth it ſelf, may ſo vary the ſight and aſpect of this ſtarry Canopy, that it may ſeem to ſhake and tremble.

But if we underſtand this of the *Planetary Heavens*, They may really be ſhaken. Providence either ordering ſome great changes in the other Planets previouſly to the Conflagration of our Planet; as 'tis probable there was a great change in *Venus*, at the time of our *Deluge*. Or the great ſhakings and concuſſions of our Globe at that time, affecting ſome of the neighbouring Orbs, at leaſt that of the Moon, may cauſe Anomalies and irregularities in their motions. But the ſence that I ſhould pitch upon chiefly for explaining this phraſe of *ſhaking the powers of heaven*, comprehends, in a good meaſure, both theſe Heavens, of the Fix'd Stars and of the Planets;

'Tis that change of ſituation in the Axis of the Earth, which we have formerly mention'd; whereby the Stars will ſeem to change their places, and the whole Univerſe to take another poſture. This is ſufficiently known to thoſe that know the different conſequences of a ſtrait or oblique poſture of the Earth. And as the heavens and the earth were, in this ſence, once ſhaken before; namely at the Deluge, when they loſt their firſt ſituation; ſo now they will be ſhaken again, and thereby return to the poſture they had before that firſt concuſſion. And this I take to be the true literal ſence of
Ch. 2. 6. the Prophet *Haggai*, repeated by S. *Paul*, *Yet once more I ſhake not the*
Heb. 12. 26. *Earth only, but alſo heaven.*

The laſt Sign we ſhall take notice of, is that of *Falling Stars*. *And the Stars ſhall fall from Heaven*, ſays our Saviour, *Matt.* 24. 29. We are ſure, from the nature of the thing, that this cannot be underſtood either of fix'd Stars or Planets; for if either of theſe ſhould tumble from the Skies, and reach the Earth, they would break it all in pieces, or ſwallow it up, as the Sea does a ſinking ſhip; and at the ſame time would put all the inferiour univerſe into confuſion. It is neceſſary therefore by theſe Stars to underſtand either fiery Meteors falling from the middle Region of the Air, or Comets and Blazing Stars. No doubt there will be all ſorts of fiery Meteors at that time; and amongſt others, thoſe that are call'd *Falling Stars*; which, tho' they are not conſiderable ſingly, yet if they were mul-
Iſa. 34. 4. tiplied in great numbers, falling, as the Prophet ſays, as *leafs from the Vine, or figs from the fig-tree*, they would make an aſtoniſhing ſight. But I think this expreſſion does chiefly refer to Comets; which are dead Stars, and may truly be ſaid to fall from heaven, when they leave their ſeats above, and thoſe ethereal regions wherein they were fixt, and ſink into this lower World; where they wander about with a blaze in their tail, or a flame about their head, as if they came on purpoſe to be the Meſſengers of ſome fiery Vengeance. If numbers of theſe blazing Stars ſhould fall into our heaven together, they would make a dreadful and formidable appearance; And I am apt to think that Providence hath ſo contriv'd the periods of their motion, that there will be an unuſual concourſe of them at that time, within the view of the Earth, to be a prelude to this laſt and moſt Tragical Scene of the Sublunary World.

I do not know any more in Scripture relating to the laſt Fire, that, upon the grounds laid down in this diſcourſe, may not receive a ſatisfactory explication. It reaches, beyond the Signs before mention'd, to the higheſt expreſſions of Scripture, As *Lakes of fire and brimſtone*, *a molten Sea mingled with fire*, *the Liquefaction of Mountains*, and of the Earth it ſelf. We need not now look upon theſe things as Hyperbolical and Poetical ſtrains, but as barefac'd Prophecies, and things that will literally come to paſs as they are predicted. One thing more will be expected in a juſt hypotheſis or Theory of the Conflagration, namely, that it ſhould anſwer, not only all the conditions and characters belonging to the laſt Fire, but ſhould alſo make way and lay the foundation of another World to ſucceed this, or of *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*. For S. *Peter* hath taught this doctrine of the *Renovation* of the World, as poſitively and expreſly

preſly as that of its Conflagration. And therefore they that ſo explain the deſtruction of the preſent World, as to leave it afterwards in an eternal rubbiſh, without any hopes of reſtoration, do not anſwer the Chriſtian Doctrine concerning it. But as to our Hypotheſis, we are willing to ſtand this farther trial, and be accountable for the conſequences of the Conflagration, as well as the Antecedents and manner of it. And we have accordingly in the following Book, from the Aſhes of this, rais'd a New Earth; which we leave to the enjoyment of the Readers. In the mean time, to cloſe our diſcourſe, we will bid farewel to the preſent World, in a ſhort review of its laſt flames.

CHAP. XII.

An imperfect deſcription of the Coming of our Saviour, and of the World on Fire.

CErtainly there is nothing in the whole courſe of Nature, or of Humane Affairs, ſo great and ſo extraordinary, as the two laſt Scenes of them, THE COMING OF OUR SAVIOUR, and the BURNING OF THE WORLD. If we could draw in our minds the Pictures of theſe, in true and lively colours, we ſhould ſcarce be able to attend to any thing elſe, or ever divert our imagination from theſe two objects. For what can more affect us than the greateſt Glory that ever was viſible upon Earth, and at the ſame time the greateſt Terror. A God deſcending in the Head of an Army of Angels, and a Burning World under his feet.

Theſe are things truly above expreſſion; and not only ſo, but ſo different and remote from our ordinary thoughts and conceptions, that he that comes neareſt to a true deſcription of them, ſhall be look'd upon as the moſt extravagant. 'Tis our unhappineſs to be ſo much uſed to little trifling things in this life, that when any thing great is repreſented to us, it appears phantaſtical: An Idea, made by ſome contemplative or melancholy perſon. I will not venture therefore, without premiſing ſome grounds out of Scripture, to ſay any thing concerning This Glorious Appearance. As to the Burning of the World, I think we have already laid a foundation ſufficient to ſupport the higheſt deſcription that can be made of it; But the coming of our Saviour being wholly out of the way of Natural Cauſes, it is reaſonable we ſhould take all directions we can from Scripture, that we may give a more fitting and juſt account of that Sacred Pomp.

I need not mention thoſe places of Scripture that prove the ſe-
Matt. 24. 30, 31. *Act.* 1. 11. & 3. 20, 21. *Apoc.* 1. 7. *Heb.* 9. 28.
cond coming of our Saviour in general, or his return to the Earth again at the end of the World: no Chriſtian can doubt of this, 'tis ſo often repeated in thoſe Sacred Writings. But the manner and circumſtances of this Coming, or of this Appearance, are the things we now enquire into. And in the firſt place, we may obſerve

that Scripture tells us our Saviour will come in *Flaming Fire*, and
1 *Ep.* 1. 7. with an *Hoſt of mighty Angels*; ſo ſays S. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*, *The Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from Heaven with mighty Angels*; *in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* In the ſecond place, our Saviour
Matt. 16. 27. ſays himſelf, *The Son of man ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels.* From which two places we may learn, firſt, that the appearance of our Saviour will be with flames of Fire. Secondly, With an Hoſt of Angels. Thirdly, In the glory of his Father. By which Glory of the Father I think is underſtood that Throne of Glory repreſented by *Daniel* for the *Ancient of Days*. For our Saviour ſpeaks here to the *Jews*, and probably in a way intelligible to them; And the Glory of the Father which they were moſt likely to underſtand, would be either the Glory wherein God appeared at Mount *Sinai*, upon the giving of the Law, whereof the Apoſtle
ch. 12. 18, 19, 20, 21. ſpeaks largely to the *Hebrews*; or that which *Daniel* repreſents Him in at the day of Judgment. And this latter being more proper to the ſubject of our Saviour's diſcourſe, 'tis more likely this expreſſion refers to it. Give me leave therefore to ſet down that deſcription of the Glory of the Father upon his Throne, from the Prophet *Daniel*, ch. 7. 9. *And I beheld till the Thrones were* * *ſet, and the Ancient of days did ſit, whoſe garment was white as ſnow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: His Throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery ſtream iſſued and came forth from before him, thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him.* With this Throne of the Glory of the Father, let us if you pleaſe, compare the Throne of the Son of God, as it was ſeen by S. *John* in the Apocalypſe, *ch.* 4. 2, &c. *And immediately I was in the Spirit: and behold a throne was ſet in heaven, and one ſat on the Throne. And he that ſat,* was *to look upon* like *a Jaſper, and a Sardine Stone; and there was a Rain-bow round about the Throne, in appearance like unto an Emerald. And out of the Throne proceeded Lightnings, and Thunderings, and Voices,* &c. *and before the Throne was a Sea of glaſs like unto Chriſtal.*

* 'Tis ill render'd in the Engliſh, *caſt down.*

In theſe repreſentations you have ſome beams of the Glory of the Father and of the Son, which may be partly a direction to us, in conceiving the Luſtre of our Saviour's appearance. Let us further obſerve, if you pleaſe, how external Nature will be affected at the ſight of God, or of this approaching Glory. The Scripture often takes notice of this, and in terms very high and eloquent. The Pſalmiſt ſeems to have lov'd that ſubject above others; to ſet out the greatneſs of the day of the Lord, and the conſternation of all Nature at that time. He throws about his thunder and lightning, makes the Hills to melt like wax at the preſence of the Lord, and the very foundations of the Earth to tremble, as you may ſee in the 18*th. Pſalm*, and the 97. and the 104. and ſeveral others, which are too long to be here inſerted. So the Prophet *Habakkuk*, in his Prophetick Prayer, *Chap.* 3*d.* hath many Ejaculations to the like purpoſe. And the Prophet *Nahum* ſays, *The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the Earth is burnt at his preſence: yea, the world, and all that dwell therein.*

But

But more particularly, as to the face of Nature juſt before the coming of our Saviour, that may be beſt collected from the ſigns of his coming mention'd in the precedent Chapter. Thoſe all meeting together, help to prepare and make ready a Theater, fit for an angry God to come down upon. The countenance of the Heavens will be dark and gloomy; and a Veil drawn over the face of the Sun. The Earth in a diſpoſition every where to break into open flames. The tops of the Mountains ſmoaking; the Rivers dry; Earthquakes in ſeveral places; the Sea ſunk and retir'd into its deepeſt Chanel, and roaring, as againſt ſome mighty ſtorm. Theſe things will make the day dead and melancholy, but the Night-Scenes will have more of horrour in them. When the *Blazing Stars* appear, like ſo many Furies, with their lighted Torches, threatning to ſet all on fire. For I do not doubt but the Comets will bear a part in this Tragedy, and have ſomething extraordinary in them, at that time; either as to number, or bigneſs, or nearneſs to the Earth. Beſides, the Air will be full of flaming Meteors, of unuſual forms and magnitudes; Balls of fire rowling in the Skie, and pointed lightnings darted againſt the Earth, mixt with claps of thunder, and unuſual noiſes from the Clouds. The Moon and the Stars will be confus'd and irregular, both in their light and motions; as if the whole frame of the Heavens was out of order, and all the laws of Nature were broken or expir'd.

When all things are in this languiſhing or dying poſture, and the Inhabitants of the Earth under the fears of their laſt end; The Heavens will open on a ſudden, and the Glory of God will appear. A Glory ſurpaſſing the Sun in its greateſt radiancy; which, tho' we cannot deſcribe, we may ſuppoſe it will bear ſome reſemblance or proportion with thoſe repreſentations that are made in Scripture, of *God upon his Throne.* This wonder in the Heavens, whatſoever its form may be, will preſently attract the eyes of all the Chriſtian World. Nothing can more affect them than an object ſo unuſual and ſo illuſtrious; and that, (probably) brings along with it their laſt deſtiny, and will put a period to all humane affairs.

Some of the Ancients have thought that this coming of our Sa- *1 Pet.* 3. 10.
viour would be in the dead of the night, and his firſt glorious appearance in the midſt of darkneſs. God is often deſcrib'd in Scripture as Light or Fire, with darkneſs round about him. *He bowed the Heavens and came down, and darkneſs was under his feet. He made* *Pſal.* 18. 9, 11, 12.
darkneſs his ſecret place: His pavilion round about him were dark Waters *Pſal.* 97.
and thick Clouds of the Skies. At the brightneſs that was before him, the thick Clouds paſſed. And when God appear'd upon Mount *Sinai*, the *Deut.* 4. 11.
Mountain burnt with fire unto the midſt of Heaven with darkneſs, clouds, and thick darkneſs: Or, as the Apoſtle expreſſes it, with *blackneſs* and *Hebr.* 12. 18.
darkneſs, and *tempeſt.* Light is never more glorious than when ſurrounded with darkneſs; and it may be the Sun, at that time, will be ſo obſcure, as to make little diſtinction of Day and Night. But however this Divine Light over-bears and diſtinguiſhes it ſelf from common Light, tho' it be at Mid-day. 'Twas about Noon that the Light ſhin'd from Heaven and ſurrounded St. *Paul.* And 'twas on *Act.* 22. 6.
the Day-time that St. *Stephen* ſaw the *Heavens opened*; *ſaw the glory* *Act.* 7. 55, 56.

of

of God, and Jeſus ſtanding at the right hand of God. This light, which flows from a more vital ſource, be it Day or Night, will always be predominant.

That appearance of God upon Mount *Sinai*, which we mention'd, if we reflect upon it, will help us a little to form an Idea of this laſt appearance. When God had declar'd, that he would come down in the ſight of the People; The Text ſays, *There were thunders and lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of the Trumpet exceeding loud; ſo that all the people that was in the Camp trembled. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a ſmoke, becauſe the Lord deſcended upon it in fire. And the ſmoke thereof aſcended as the ſmoke of a furnace, and the whole Mount quaked greatly.* If we look upon this Mount as an Epitome of the Earth, this appearance gives us an imperfect reſemblance of that which is to come. Here are the ſeveral parts or main ſtrokes of it; firſt, the Heavens and the Earth in ſmoke and fire, then the appearance of a Divine Glory, and the ſound of a Trumpet in the preſence of Angels. But as the ſecond coming of our Saviour is a Triumph over his Enemies, and an entrance into his Kingdom, and is acted upon the Theater of the whole Earth; ſo we are to ſuppoſe, in proportion, all the parts and circumſtances of it, more great and magnificent.

When therefore this mighty God returns again to that Earth, where he had once been ill treated, not Mount *Sinai* only, but all the Mountains of the Earth, and all the Inhabitants of the World, will tremble at his preſence. At the firſt opening of the Heavens, the brightneſs of his Perſon will ſcatter the dark Clouds, and ſhoot ſtreams of light throughout all the Air. But that firſt appearance, being far from the Earth, will ſeem to be only a great maſs of light, without any diſtinct form; till, by nearer approaches, this bright Body ſhows it ſelf to be an Army of Angels, with this King of kings for their Leader. Then you may imagine how guilty Mankind will tremble and be aſtoniſh'd; and while they are gazing at this heavenly Hoſt, the Voice of the *Archangel is heard*, the ſhrill ſound of the Trumpet reaches their ears. And this gives the general Alarum to all the World. *For he cometh, for he cometh*, they cry, *to judge the Earth.* The crucified God is return'd in Glory, to take Vengeance upon his Enemies: Not only upon thoſe that pierc'd his Sacred Body, with Nails and with a Spear, as *Jeruſalem*; but thoſe alſo that pierce him every day by their prophaneneſs and hard ſpeeches, concerning his Perſon and his Religion. Now they ſee that God whom they have mock'd, or blaſphem'd, laugh't at his meanneſs, or at his vain threats; They ſee Him, and are confounded with ſhame and fear; and in the bitterneſs of their anguiſh and deſpair call for the Mountains to fall upon them. *Fly into the clefts of the Rocks, and into the Caves of the Earth, for fear of the Lord, and the glory of his Majeſty, when he ariſeth to ſhake terribly the Earth.*

Iſa. 2. 19.
Rev. 6. 16, 17.

As it is not poſſible for us to expreſs or conceive the dread and majeſty of this appearance; ſo neither can we, on the other hand, expreſs the paſſions and conſternation of the People that behold it. Theſe things exceed the meaſures of humane affairs, and of humane thoughts;

thoughts; we have neither words, nor compariſons, to make them known by. The greateſt pomp and magnificence of the Emperors of the Eaſt, in their Armies, in their Triumphs, in their Inaugurations, is but like the ſport and entertainment of Children, if compar'd with this Solemnity. When God condeſcends to an external glory, with a viſible Train and Equipage: When, from all the Provinces of his vaſt and boundleſs Empire, he ſummons his Nobles, as I may ſo ſay: The ſeveral orders of Angels and Arch-Angels, to attend his Perſon; tho' we cannot tell the form or manner of this Appearance, we know there is nothing in our experience, or in the whole Hiſtory of this World, that can be a juſt repreſentation of the leaſt part of it. No Armies ſo numerous as the Hoſt of Heaven: and in the midſt of thoſe bright Legions, in a flaming Chariot, will ſit the Son of Man, when he comes to be glorified in his Saints, and triumph over his Enemies. And inſtead of the wild noiſes of the rabble, which makes a great part of our worldly ſtate: This bleſſed company will breath their *Halleluiahs* into the open Air; and repeated acclamations of *Salvation to God, which ſits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb. Now is come ſalvation and ſtrength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Chriſt.*

Apoc. 7. 10. & 12. 10.

But I leave the reſt to our ſilent devotion and admiration. Only give me leave, whilſt this object is before our eyes, to make a ſhort reflection upon the wonderful hiſtory of our Saviour; and the different ſtates, which that Sacred Perſon, within the compaſs of our knowledge, hath undergone. We now ſee him coming in the Clouds in glory and triumph, ſurrounded with innumerable Angels. This is the ſame Perſon, who, ſo many hundred years ago, enter'd *Jeruſalem*, with another ſort of Equipage: mounted upon an Aſs's Colt, while the little people and the multitude cry'd, *Hoſanna to the Son of David.* Nay, This is the ſame Perſon, that, at his firſt comeing into this World, was laid in a Manger inſtead of a Cradle; A naked Babe dropt in a Crib at *Bethlehem:* His poor Mother not having wherewithal to get her a better Lodging, when ſhe was to be deliver'd of this Sacred Burthen. This helpleſs Infant, that often wanted a little Milk to refreſh it, and ſupport its weakneſs: That hath often cry'd for the Breaſt, with hunger and tears: now appears to be the Lord of Heaven and Earth. If this Divine Perſon had faln from the Clouds in a mortal Body, cloath'd with Fleſh and Bloud, and ſpent his life here amongſt ſinners; That alone had been an infinite condeſcenſion. But as if it had not been enough to take upon him Humane Nature, he was content, for many months, to live the life of an Animal, or of a Plant, in the dark Cell of a Womans Womb. *This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes.*

Luke 2. 12.

Neither is this all that is wonderful in the ſtory of our Saviour. If the manner of his death be compar'd with his preſent glory, we ſhall think, either the one, or the other, incredible. Look up, firſt, into the Heavens: ſee how they bow under him, and receive a new light from the Glory of his Preſence. Then look down upon the Earth, and ſee a naked Body hanging upon a curſed Tree in *Golgotha*? Crucified betwixt Two Thieves: wounded, ſpit upon, mock'd, abus'd. Is it poſſible to believe that one and the ſame perſon can

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act or ſuffer ſuch different parts? That he, that is now Lord and Maſter of all Nature: not only of Death and Hell, and the powers of darkneſs: but of all Principalities in heavenly places: is the ſame Infant Jeſus, the ſame crucified Jeſus, of whoſe life and death the Chriſtian records give us an account? The Hiſtory of this Perſon
1 *Pet.* 1. 11, 12. is the Wonder of this World; and not of this World only, but of the Angels above, that deſire to look into it.

Let us now return to our Subject. We left the Earth in a languiſhing condition, ready to be made a Burnt-offering, to appeaſe the wrath of its offended Lord. When *Sodom* was to be deſtroy'd,
Gen. 18. *Abraham* interceded with God that he would ſpare it for the Right-
2 *Sam.* 24. 17. teous ſake: And *David* interceded to ſave his guiltleſs People from God's Judgments and the Deſtroying Angel. But here is no Interceſſor for Mankind in this laſt extremity: None to interpoſe where the Mediator of our Peace is the party offended. Shall then *the righteous periſh with the wicked? Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* Or if the Righteous be tranſlated and delivered from This Fire, what ſhall become of innocent Children and Infants? Muſt theſe all be given up to the mercileſs flames, as a Sacrifice to *Moloch?* and their tender fleſh, like burnt incenſe, ſend up fumes to feed the noſtrils of evil Spirits? Can the God of *Iſrael* ſmell a ſweet ſavour from ſuch Sacrifices? The greater half of Mankind is made up of Infants and Children: and if the wicked be deſtroyed, *yet theſe Lambs, what have they done?* Are there no bowels of compaſſion for ſuch an harmleſs multitude? But we leave them to their
Matt. 18. 10. Guardian Angels, and to that Providence which watches over all things.

It only remains therefore, to let fall that Fire from Heaven, which is to conſume this Holocauſt. Imagine all Nature now ſtanding in a ſilent expectation to receive its laſt doom: The Tutelary and Deſtroying Angels to have their inſtructions: Every thing to be ready for the fatal hour: And then, after a little ſilence, all the Hoſt of Heaven to raiſe their voice and ſing aloud, ***LET GOD ARISE:*** *Let his enemies be ſcatter'd. As ſmoak is driven away, ſo drive them away, As wax melteth before the fire, ſo* ***LET*** *the wicked periſh at the preſence of God.* And upon this, as upon a ſignal given, all the ſublunary World breaks into Flames, and all the Treaſuries of Fire are open'd, in Heaven and in Earth.

Thus the Conflagration begins. If one ſhould now go about to repreſent *the World on Fire*, with all the confuſions that neceſſarily muſt be, in Nature and in Mankind, upon that occaſion, it would ſeem to moſt Men a Romantick Scene. Yet we are ſure there muſt be ſuch a Scene. *The heavens will paſs away with a noiſe, and the Elements will melt with fervent heat, and all the works of the Earth will be burnt up.* And theſe things cannot come to paſs without the greateſt diſorders imaginable, both in the minds of Men and in external Nature: and the ſaddeſt ſpectacles that eye can behold. We think it a great mattet to ſee a ſingle perſon burnt alive: here are Millions, ſhrieking in the flames at once. 'Tis frightful to us to look upon a great City in flames, and to ſee the diſtractions and miſery of the people: here is an Univerſal Fire through all the Cities of the

the Earth, and an Univerſal Maſſacre of their Inhabitants. Whatſoever the Prophets foretold of the deſolations of *Judea*, *Jeruſalem*, or *Babylon*, in the higheſt ſtrains, is more than literally accompliſh'd in this laſt and general Calamity: And thoſe only that are Spectators of it, can make its Hiſtory. *Iſa.* 24. *Jer.* 51. *Lament.*

The diſorders in Nature and the inanimate World will be no leſs, nor leſs ſtrange and unaccountable, than thoſe in Mankind. Every Element, and every Region, ſo far as the bounds of this Fire extend, will be in a tumult and a fury, and the whole habitable World running into confuſion. A World is ſooner deſtroyed than made, and Nature relapſes haſtily into that Chaos-ſtate, out of which ſhe came by ſlow and leiſurely motions. As an Army advances into the field by juſt and regular marches, but when it is broken and routed, it flies with precipitation, and one cannot deſcribe its poſture. Fire is a barbarous Enemy, it gives no mercy; there is nothing but fury, and rage, and ruine, and deſtruction, whereſoever it prevails. A ſtorm or *Hurricano*, tho' it be but the force of Air, makes a ſtrange havock where it comes; but devouring flames, or exhalations ſet on Fire, have ſtill a far greater violence, and carry more terror along with them. Thunder and Earthquakes are the Sons of Fire: and we know nothing in all Nature, more impetuous, or more irreſiſtibly deſtructive than theſe two. And accordingly in this laſt war of the Elements, we may be ſure, they will bear their parts, and do great execution in the ſeveral regions of the World. Earthquakes and Subterraneous Eruptions will tear the body and bowels of the Earth; and Thunders and convulſive motions of the Air, rend the Skies. The waters of the Sea will boyl and ſtruggle with ſtreams of Sulphur that run into them; which will make them fume, and ſmoak, and roar, beyond all ſtorms and tempeſts. And theſe noiſes of the Sea will be anſwered again from the Land by falling Rocks and Mountains. This is a ſmall part of the diſorders of that day.

But 'tis not poſſible, from any ſtation, to have a full proſpect of this laſt Scene of the Earth: for 'tis a mixture of fire and darkneſs. This New Temple is fill'd with ſmoak, while it is conſecrating, and none can enter into it. But I am apt to think, if we could look down upon this burning World from above the Clouds, and have a full view of it, in all its parts, we ſhould think it a lively repreſentation of *Hell* it ſelf. For, Fire and darkneſs are the two chief things by which that ſtate, or that place, uſes to be deſcrib'd: and they are both here mingled together: with all other ingredients that make that Tophet that is prepar'd of old. Here are Lakes of fire and brimſtone; Rivers of melted glowing matter. Ten thouſand Volcano's vomiting flames all at once. Thick darkneſs, and Pillars of ſmoak twiſted about with wreaths of flame, like fiery Snakes. Mountains of Earth thrown up into the Air, and the Heavens dropping down in lumps of fire. Theſe things will all be literally true, concerning that day, and that ſtate of the Earth. And if we ſuppoſe *Beelzebub*, and his Apoſtate crew, in the midſt of this fiery furnace: (and I know not where they can be elſe.) It will be hard to find any part of the Univerſe, or any ſtate of things, that *Iſa.* 30.

answers to so many of the properties and characters of *Hell*, as this which is now before us.

But if we suppose the storm over, and that the fire hath got an entire victory over all other bodies, and subdued every thing to it self, the Conflagration will end in a Deluge of fire: Or, in a Sea of fire, covering the whole Globe of the Earth. For, when the exterior region of the Earth is melted into a fluor, like molten glass, or running metal, it will, according to the nature of other Fluids, fill all vacuities and depressions, and fall into a regular surface, at an equal distance, every where, from its center. This Sea of fire, like the first Abyss, will cover the face of the whole Earth: make a kind of second Chaos: and leave a capacity for another World to rise from it. But that is not our present business. Let us only, if you please, to take leave of this subject, reflect upon this occasion, on the Vanity and transient glory of all this habitable World. How, by the force of one Element, breaking loose upon the rest, all the Varieties of Nature, all the works of Art, all the labours of Men are reduc'd to nothing. All that we admir'd and ador'd before, as great and magnificent, is obliterated or vanish'd. And another form and face of things, plain, simple, and every where the same, overspreads the whole Earth. Where are now the great Empires of the World, and their great Imperial Cities? Their Pillars, Trophees, and Monuments of glory? Show me where they stood: read the Inscription, tell me the Victor's name. What remains, what impressions, what difference or distinction do you see in this mass of fire? *Rome* it self, *Eternal Rome*, the Great City, the Empress of the World, whose domination and superstition, *ancient and modern*, make a great part of the History of this Earth: What is become of her now? She laid her foundations deep, and her Palaces were strong and sumptuous: *She glorified her self, and liv'd deliciously: and said in her heart, I sit a Queen, and shall see no sorrow.* But her hour is come, she is wip'd away from the face of the Earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But 'tis not Cities only, and works of Men's hands, but the everlasting Hills, the Mountains and Rocks of the Earth, are melted as Wax before the Sun; and *their place is no where found.* Here stood the *Alpes*, a prodigious range of Stone, the Load of the Earth that cover'd many Countries, and reach'd their arms from the Ocean to the *Black Sea*; This huge mass of Stone is soften'd and dissolv'd, as a tender Cloud into rain. Here stood the *African* Mountains, and *Atlas* with his top above the Clouds. There was frozen *Caucasus*, and *Taurus*, and *Imaus*, and the Mountains of *Asia*. And yonder towards the North stood the *Riphæan* Hills, cloath'd in Ice and Snow. All these are vanish'd, dropt away as the Snow upon their heads: and swallowed up in a red Sea of fire.

Revel. 15. 3. *Great and marvellous are thy Works, Lord God Almighty: Just and true are thy ways, Thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah.

The

The CONCLUSION.

IF the Conflagration of the World be a reality, as, both by Scripture and Antiquity, we are assur'd it is; If we be fully perswaded and convinc'd of this: 'Tis a thing of that nature, that we cannot keep it long in our thoughts, without making some moral reflections upon it. 'Tis both great in it self, and of universal concern to all Mankind. Who can look upon such an Object, *A World in Flames*, without thinking with himself, Whether shall I be in the midst of these flames, or no? What is my security that I shall not fall under this fiery vengeance, which is the wrath of an angry God? St. *Peter*, when he had deliver'd the doctrine of the Conflagration, makes this pious reflection upon it: *Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolv'd, what manner of persons ought you to be, in holy conversation and godliness?* The strength of his argument depends chiefly upon what he had said before in the 7*th*. Verse, where he told us, that the *present Heavens and Earth were reserv'd unto fire, against the Day of Judgment, and the perdition of irreligious men.* We must avoid the crime then, if we would escape the punishment. But this expression of *irreligious* or *ungodly men*, is still very general. St. *Paul*, when he speaks of this fiery indignation, and the Persons it is to fall upon, is more distinct in their characters. He seems to mark out for this destruction, three sorts of men chiefly, *The Atheists, Infidels, and the Tribe of Antichrist.* These are his words: *When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Then as for Antichrist and his adherents, he says, in the 2*d*. Chapt. and 8*th*. Verse, *The Lord shall consume that Wicked one with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming*, or of his Presence. These, you see, all refer to the same time with St. *Peter*: namely, to the coming of our Saviour, at the Conflagration; and three sorts of Persons are characteriz'd as his Enemies, and set out for destruction at that time. First, those that know not God: that is, that acknowledge not God, that will not own the Deity. Secondly, those that hearken not to the Gospel; that is, that reject the Gospel and Christian Religion, when they are preach'd and made known to them. For you must not think that it is the poor barbarous and ignorant Heathens, that scarce ever heard of God, or the Gospel, that are threaten'd with this fiery vengeance. No, 'tis the Heathens, that live amongst Christians; those that are Infidels, as to the existence of God, or the truth of Christian Religion, tho' they have had a full manifestation of both. These are properly the Adversaries of God and Christ. And such adversaries, St. *Paul* says in another place, *A fearful judgment, and fiery indignation shall devour:* which still refers to the same time, and the same Persons we are speaking of. Then as to the third sort of Men, Antichrist and his Followers, besides this Text of St. *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, 'tis plain to me in

2 Epist. 3. 11.

2 Thess. 1. 7, 8.

Heb. 10. 27.

the Apocalypse, that *Mystical Babylon* is to be consum'd by fire: and the *Beast* and *False Prophet* to be thrown into the *Lake that burns with fire and brimstone*: Which Lake is no where to be found till the Conflagration.

You see then for whom *Tophet* is prepar'd of old. For Atheists, Infidels, and Antichristian Persecutors. And they will have for their Companions, the Devil and his Angels, the heads of the Apostasie. These are all in open rebellion against God and Christ, and at defence, as it were, with Heaven. Excepting Antichrist, who is rather in a secret conspiracy, than an open rebellion. For, under a pretended Commission from Jesus Christ, He persecutes his Servants, dishonours his Person, corrupts his Laws and his Government, and makes War against his Saints. And this is a greater affront and provocation, if possible, than a bare-fac'd opposition would be.

There are other Men, besides these, that are unacceptable to God: All sorts of sinners and wicked persons: but they are not so properly the Enemies of God, as these we have mention'd. An intemperate Man is an Enemy to himself, and an unjust Man is an Enemy to his Neighbour: But those that deny God, or Christ, or persecute their Servants, are directly and immediately Enemies to God. And therefore when the Lord comes in flames of fire to triumph over his Enemies: To take vengeance upon all that are Rebels or Conspirators against him and his Christ, these Monsters of Men will be the first and most exemplary Objects of the divine wrath and indignation.

To undertake to speak to these three Orders of men, and convince them of their errour, and the danger of it, would be too much for the Conclusion of a short Treatise. And as for the third sort, the Subjects of Antichrist, none but the Learned amongst them are allow'd to be inquisitive, or to read such things as condemn their Church, or the Governours of it. Therefore I do not expect that this English Translation should fall into many of their hands. But those of them, that are pleas'd to look into the *Latin*, will find, in the Conclusion of it, a full and fair warning to come out of *Babylon*: which is there prov'd to be the Church of *Rome*. Then as to those that are Atheistically inclin'd, which I am willing to believe are not many, I desire them to consider, How mean a thing it is, to have hopes only in this Life: and how uneasie a thing, to have nothing but fears as to the Future. Those, sure, must be little narrow Souls, that can make themselves a portion and a sufficiency out of what they enjoy here: That think of no more, that desire no more. For what is this life, but a circulation of little mean actions? We lie down and rise again: dress and undress: feed and wax hungry: work, or play, and are weary: and then we lie down again, and the circle returns. We spend the day in trifles, and when the Night comes, we throw our selves into the Bed of folly, amongst dreams and broken thoughts and wild imaginations. Our reason lies asleep by us; and we are, for the time, as arrant Brutes, as those that sleep in the Stalls, or in the Field. Are not the Capacities of Man higher than these? and ought not his ambition and expectations to be greater? Let us be Adventurers for another World.

World: 'Tis, at least, a fair and noble Chance: and there is nothing in this, worth our thoughts or our passions. If we should be disappointed, we are still no worse than the rest of our fellow-mortals: and if we succeed in our expectations, we are eternally happy.

For my part, I cannot be perswaded, that any man of Atheistical inclinations can have a great and generous Soul. For there is nothing great in the World, if you take God out of it. Therefore such a person can have no great thought, can have no great aims, or expectations, or designs; for all must lie within the compass of this Life, and of this dull Body. Neither can he have any great instincts or noble passions: For if he had, they would naturally excite in him greater Ideas, inspire him with higher notions, and open the Scenes of the Intellectual World. Lastly, He cannot have any great sence of Order, Wisdom, Goodness, Providence, or any of the Divine Perfections. And these are the greatest things that can enter into the thoughts of man, and that do most enlarge and ennoble his mind. And therefore I say again, That, He that is naturally inclined to Atheism, being also naturally destitute of all these, must have a little and narrow soul.

But you'l say, it may be, This is to expostulate rather than to prove; or to upbraid us with our make and temper, rather than to convince us of an error in speculation. 'Tis an error, it may be in practice, or in point of prudence; but we seek Truth, whether it make for us or against us; convince us therefore by just reasoning and direct arguments, That there is a God, and then we'l endeavour to correct these defects in our natural complexion. You say well; and therefore I have endeavour'd to do this before, in another part of this Theory, in the *Second Book*, *ch.* 1. Concerning the *Author of Nature*: where you may see, that the Powers of Nature, or of the Material World, cannot answer all the Phænomena of the Universe, which are there represented. This you may consult at leisure. But, in the mean time, 'tis a good perswasive why we should not easily give our selves up to such inclinations or opinions, as have neither generosity, nor prudence on their side. And it cannot be amiss, that these persons should often take into their thoughts, this last scene of things, The *Conflagration* of the World. Seeing if there be a God, they will certainly be found in the number of his Enemies, and of those that will have their portion in the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone.

The Third sort of persons that we are to speak to, are the Incredulous, or such as do not believe the truth of *Christian Religion*, tho' they believe there is a God. These are commonly men of Wit and Pleasure, that have not patience enough to consider, coolely and in due order, the grounds upon which it appears, that Christian Religion is from Heaven, and of Divine Authority. They ought, in the first place, to examine *matter of Fact*, and the History of our Saviour: That there was such a Person, in the Reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, that wrought such and such Miracles in *Judæa*, taught such a Doctrine: was Crucified at *Jerusalem*: rise from the dead the Third Day, and visibly ascended into Heaven. If these matters of

Fact

Fact be denied, then the controverſie turns only to an Hiſtorical queſtion, *Whether* the Evangelical Hiſtory be a fabulous, or true Hiſtory: which it would not be proper to examine in this place. But if matter of Fact recorded there, and in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, be acknowledged, as I ſuppoſe it is, then the Queſtion that remains is this, *Whether* ſuch matter of Fact does not ſufficiently prove the divine authority of Jeſus Chriſt and of his Doctrine. We ſuppoſe it poſſible, for a perſon to have ſuch Teſtimonials of divine authority, as may be ſufficient to convince Mankind, or the more reaſonable part of Mankind; And if that be poſſible, what, pray, is a wanting in the Teſtimonies of Jeſus Chriſt? The Prophecies of the Old Teſtament bear witneſs to him: His Birth was a miracle, and his Life a train of Miracles: not wrought out of levity and vain oſtentation, but for uſeful and charitable purpoſes. His Doctrine and Morality not only blameleſs, but Noble: deſigned to remove out of the World the imperfect Religion of the *Jews*, and the falſe Religion of the *Gentiles*: All Idolatry and Superſtition: and thereby to improve Mankind, under a better and more perfect diſpenſation. He gave an example of a ſpotleſs innocency in all his Converſation, free from Vice or any evil; and liv'd in a neglect of all the Pomp or Pleaſures of this Life, referring his happineſs wholly to another World. He Propheſied concerning his own Death, and his Reſurrection: and concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: which all came to paſs in a ſignal manner. He alſo Propheſied of the Succeſs of his Goſpel: which, after his Death, immediately took root, and ſpread it ſelf every way throughout the World: maugre all oppoſition or perſecution, from *Jews* or *Heathens*. It was not ſupported by any temporal power for above three hundred Years: nor were any arts us'd, or meaſures taken, according to humane prudence, for the conſervation of it. But, to omit other things, That grand article of his Riſing from the Dead, Aſcending viſibly into Heaven, and pouring down the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, (according as he had promis'd) upon his Apoſtles and their followers: This alone is to me a Demonſtration of his Divine Authority. To conquer Death: To mount, like an Eagle, into the Skies: and to inſpire his followers with inimitable gifts and faculties, are things, without controverſie, beyond all humane power; and may and ought be eſteemed ſure Credentials of a perſon ſent from Heaven.

From theſe matters of Fact we have all poſſible aſſurance, that Jeſus Chriſt was no Impoſtor or deluded perſon: (one of which two Characters all unbelievers muſt fix upon him) but Commiſſion'd by Heaven to introduce a New Religion: to reform the World, to remove Judaiſm and Idolatry; The beloved Son of God, the great Prophet of the later Ages, the True Meſſiah that was to come.

It may be, you will confeſs, that theſe are great arguments that the Author of our Religion was a Divine Perſon, and had ſupernatural powers: but withal, that there are ſo many difficulties in Chriſtian Religion, and ſo many things unintelligible, that a rational man knows not how to believe it, tho' he be inclin'd to admire the

the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer, If they be ſuch difficulties as are made only by the Schools and diſputacious Doctors, you are not to trouble your ſelf about them, for they are of no Authority. But if they be in the very words of Scripture, then 'tis either in things practical, or in things meerly ſpeculative. As to the Rules of Practice in Chriſtian Religion, I do not know any thing in Scripture, obſcure or unintelligible. And as to Speculations, great diſcretion and moderation is to be us'd in the conduct of them. If theſe matters of Fact, which we have alledg'd, prove the Divinity of the Revelation, keep cloſe to the Words of that Revelation, aſſerting no more than it aſſerts, and you cannot err. But if you will expatiate, and determine modes, and forms, and conſequences; you may eaſily be puzled by your own forwardneſs. For beſides ſome things that are in their own nature, Infinite and Incomprehenſible, there are many other things in Chriſtian Religion that are incompleatly reveal'd; the full knowledge whereof, it has pleaſed God to reſerve to another life, and to give us only a ſummary account of them at preſent. We have ſo much deference for any Government, as not to expect that all their Councels and ſecrets ſhould be made known to us, nor to cenſure every action whoſe reaſons we do not fully comprehend; much more in the Providential adminiſtration of a World, we muſt be content to know ſo much of the Councels of Heaven and of ſupernatural Truths, as God has thought fit to reveal to us. And if theſe Truths be no otherwiſe than in a general manner, ſummarily and incompleatly revealed in this life, as commonly they are, we muſt not therefore throw off the Government, or reject the whole Diſpenſation: of whoſe Divine Authority we have otherways full proof and ſatisfactory evidence. For this would be, To loſe the Subſtance in catching at a Shadow.

But Men that live continually in the noiſe of the World, amidſt buſineſs and pleaſures, their time is commonly ſhar'd betwixt thoſe two. So that little or nothing is left for Meditation, at leaſt, not enough for ſuch Meditations as require length, juſtneſs, and order. They ſhould retire from the crowd for one Month or two, to ſtudy the truth of Chriſtian Religion, if they have any doubt of it. They retire ſometimes to cure a Gout, or other Diſeaſes, and diet themſelves according to rule: but they will not be at that pains, to cure a diſeaſe of the Mind, which is of far greater and more fatal conſequence. If they periſh by their own negligence or obſtinacy, the Phyſician is not to blame. Burning is the laſt remedy in ſome diſtempers: and they would do well to remember, that the World will flame about their heads one of theſe days: and whether they be amongſt the Living, or amongſt the Dead, at that time, the Apoſtle makes them a part of the Fewel, which that fiery vengeance will prey upon. Our Saviour hath been true to his Word hitherto: whether in his Promiſes, or in his Threatnings; He promis'd the Apoſtles to ſend down the Holy Ghoſt upon them after his Aſcenſion, and that was fully accompliſh'd. He foretold and threaten'd the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: and that came to paſs accordingly, ſoon after he had left the World. And he hath told us alſo, that he will come again in *the Clouds of Heaven, with power and* Matt. 24. 30.

great

& 25. 32, &c. *great glory*; and that will be to judge the World. *When the Son of Man ſhall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then ſhall he ſit upon the Throne of his glory. And before him ſhall be gather'd all Nations*, and he will ſeparate the good from the bad; and to the
Ver. 41. wicked and unbelievers he will ſay, *Depart from me ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* This is the ſame Coming, and the ſame Fire, with that which we mention'd before
2 *Theſſ.* 1. 7, 8, 9. out of S. *Paul*. As you will plainly ſee, if you compare S. *Matthew*'s words with S. *Paul*'s, which are theſe, *When the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty Angels. In flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that hearken not to the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction, from, or by the preſence of the Lord, and the glory of his power.* This, me thinks, ſhould be an awakening thought, that there is ſuch a threatning upon record, (by one who never yet fail'd in his word) againſt thoſe that do not believe his Teſtimony. Thoſe that reject him now as a Dupe, or an Impoſtor, run a hazard of ſeeing him hereafter coming in the Clouds to be their Judge. And it will be too late then to correct their errour; when the bright Armies of Angels fill the Air, and the Earth begins to melt at the Preſence of the Lord.

Thus much concerning thoſe three ranks of Men, whom the Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſeems to point at principally, and condemn to the flames. But, as I ſaid before, the reſt of ſinners and vitious Perſons amongſt the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, tho' they are not ſo directly the Enemies of God, as theſe are; yet being tranſgreſſors of his Law, they muſt expect to be brought to Juſtice. In every well-govern'd State, not only Traitors and Rebels, that offend more immediately againſt the Perſon of the Prince, but all others, that notoriouſly violate the Laws, are brought to condign puniſhment, according to the nature and degree of their crime. So in this caſe, *The fire ſhall try every man's work, of what ſort it is.* 'Tis therefore the concern of every man to reflect often upon that Day, and to conſider what his fate and ſentence is likely to be, at that laſt Trial. The *Jews* have a Tradition that *Elias* ſits in Heaven, and keeps a Regiſter of all Mens actions, good or bad. He hath his Under Secretaries for the ſeveral Nations of the World, that take minutes of all that paſſes: and ſo hath the Hiſtory of every Man's life before him, ready to be produc'd at the Day of Judgment. I will not vouch for the literal truth of this, but it is true in effect. Every Man's fate ſhall be determin'd that Day, according to the hiſtory of his Life: according to the works done in the fleſh, whether good or bad. And therefore it ought to have as much influence upon us, as if every ſingle action was formally regiſter'd in Heaven.

If Men would learn to contemn this World, it would cure a great many Vices at once. And, methinks, S. *Peter*'s argument, from the approaching diſſolution of all things, ſhould put us out of conceit with ſuch periſhing vanities. Luſt and Ambition are the two reigning Vices of great Men: and thoſe little fires might be ſoon extinguiſh'd, if they would frequently and ſeriouſly meditate on this laſt and Univerſal Fire; which will put an end to all Paſſions and

and all Contentions. As to Ambition, the Heathens themſelves made uſe of this argument, to abate and repreſs the vain affectation of glory and greatneſs in this World. I told you before the leſſon that was given to *Scipio Africanus*, by his Uncle's Ghoſt, upon this Subject. And upon a like occaſion and conſideration, *Cæſar* hath a leſſon given him by *Lucan*, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*; where *Pompey* loſt the day, and *Rome* its liberty. The Poet ſays, *Cæſar* took pleaſure in looking upon the dead Bodies, and would not ſuffer them to be buried, or, which was their manner of burying, to be burnt. Whereupon he ſpeaks to him in theſe words:

Hos, Cæſar, *populos ſi nunc non uſſerit Ignis,*
Uret cum Terris, uret cum gurgite Ponti.
Communis mundo ſupereſt Rogus, Oſſibus aſtra
Miſturus. Quocunque Tuam Fortuna vocabit,
Hæ quoque eunt Animæ; non altiùs ibis in auras,
Non meliore loco Stygiâ ſub nocte jacebis.
Libera fortuna Mors eſt: Capit omnia Tellus
Quæ genuit; Cœlo tegitur Qui non habet urnam.

Cæſar,

If now theſe Bodies want their pile and urn,
At laſt, with the whole Globe, they're ſure to burn.
The World expects one general Fire: and Thou
Muſt go where theſe poor Souls are wand'ring now.
Thou'l reach no higher, in th' Ethereal Plain,
Nor 'mongſt the Shades a better place obtain.
Death levels all: And He that has not room
To make a Grave, Heaven's Vault ſhall be his Tomb.

Theſe are mortifying thoughts to ambitious Spirits. And ſurely our own Mortality, and the Mortality of the World it ſelf, may be enough to convince all conſidering Men, That, *Vanity of Vanities, all is vanity under the Sun:* any otherwiſe than as they relate to a better Life.

F I N I S.

THE

THEORY

OF THE

EARTH:

Containing an Account

OF THE

Original of the Earth,

AND OF ALL THE

GENERAL CHANGES

Which it hath already undergone,

OR

IS TO UNDERGO

Till the CONSUMMATION of all Things.

THE FOURTH BOOK,

Concerning the NEW HEAVENS *and* NEW EARTH,

AND

Concerning the CONSUMMATION *of all Things.*

LONDON,

Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-Head in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1697.

PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

YOU see it is still my lot, to travel into New Worlds: having never found any great satisfaction in this. As an active people leaves their habitations in a barren soil, to try if they can make their fortune better elsewhere. I first lookt backwards, and waded through the Deluge, into the Primæval World: to see how they liv'd there, and how Nature stood in that original constitution. Now I am going forwards, to view the New Heavens *and* New Earth, *that will be after the Conflagration. But,* Gentle Reader, *let me not take you any further, if you be weary. I do not love a querulous Companion. Unless your Genius therefore press you forwards, chuse rather to rest here, and be content with that part of the Theory which you have seen already. Is it not fair, to have followed Nature so far as to have seen her twice in her ruins? Why should we still pursue her, even after death and dissolution, into dark and remote Futurities? To whom therefore such disquisitions seem needless, or over-curious, let them rest here; and leave the remainder of this Work, which is a kind of* PROPHECY concerning the STATE of things after the Conflagration, *to those that are of a disposition suited to such studies and enquiries.*

Not that any part of this Theory requires much Learning, Art, or Science, to be Master of it; But a love and thirst after Truth, freedom of Judgment, and a resignation of our Understandings to clear Evidence, let it carry us which way it will. An honest English Reader *that looks only at the Sence as it lies before him, and neither considers nor cares whether it be New or Old, so it be true, may be a more competent Judge than a great Scholar full of his own Notions, and puff'd up with the opinion of his mighty knowledge. For such men think they cannot in honour own any thing to be true, which they did not know before. To be taught any new knowledge, is to confess their former ignorance; and that lessens them in their own opinion, and, as they think, in the opinion of the World; which are both uneasie reflections to them. Neither must we depend upon age only for soundness of Judgment. Men in discovering and owning truth seldom change their Opinions after threescore: especially if they be leading Opinions. It is then too late, we think, to begin the World again; and as we grow old, the Heart contracts, and cannot open wide enough to take in a great thought.*

The Spheres of mens Understandings are as different, as Prospects upon the Earth. Some stand upon a Rock or a Mountain, and see far round about; Others are in an hollow, or in a Cave, and have no prospect at all. Some men consider nothing but what is present to their Senses: Others ex-

tend

tend their thoughts both to what is paſt and what is future. And yet the faireſt proſpect in this Life is not to be compar'd to the leaſt we ſhall have in another. Our cleareſt day here, is miſty and hazy; We ſee not far, and what we do ſee, is in a bad light. But when we have got better Bodies in the firſt Reſurrection, whereof we are going to Treat; better Senſes and a better Underſtanding, a clearer light and an higher ſtation, our Horizon will be enlarg'd every way, both as to the Natural World and as to the Intellectual.

Two of the greateſt Speculations that we are capable of in this Life, are, in my Opinion, The REVOLUTION OF WORLDS, and the REVOLUTION OF SOULS; one for the Material World, and the other for the Intellectual. Toward the former of theſe Our Theory is an Eſſay: and in this our Planet, (which I hope to conduct into a Fix'd Star, before I have done with it) we give an inſtance of what may be in other Planets. It is true, we took our riſe no higher than the Chaos; becauſe that was a known principle, and we were not willing to amuſe the Reader with too many ſtrange Stories: as that, I am ſure, would have been thought one, TO HAVE brought this Earth from a Fix'd Star, and then carried it up again into the ſame Sphere. Which yet, I believe, is the true circle of Natural Providence.

As to the Revolution of Souls, the footſteps of that Speculation are more obſcure than of the former. For tho' we are aſſur'd by Scripture, that all good Souls will at length have Celeſtial Bodies; yet, that this is a returning to a Primitive State, or to what they had at their firſt Creation, that, Scripture has not acquainted us with. It tells us indeed that Angels fell from their Primitive Celeſtial Glory; and conſequently we might be capable of a lapſe as well as they, if we had been in that high condition with them. But that we ever were there, is not declar'd to us by any revelation. Reaſon and Morality would indeed ſuggeſt to us, that an innocent Soul, freſh and pure from the hands of its Maker, could not be immediately caſt into Priſon, before it had, by any act of its own Will, or any uſe of its own Underſtanding, committed either error or ſin. I call this Body a Priſon, both becauſe it is a confinement and reſtraint upon our beſt Faculties and Capacities, and is alſo the ſeat of diſeaſes and loathſomneſs; and, as priſons uſe to do, commonly tends more to debauch mens Natures, than to improve them.

But tho' we cannot certainly tell under what circumſtances humane Souls were plac'd at firſt, yet all Antiquity agrees, Oriental and Occidental, concerning their pre exiſtence in general, in reſpect of theſe mortal Bodies. And our Saviour never reproaches or corrects the Jews, when they ſpeak upon that ſuppoſition, Luk. 9. 18, 19. Joh. 9. 2. *Beſides, it ſeems to me beyond all controverſie, that the Soul of the Meſſiah did exiſt before the Incarnation, and voluntarily deſcended from Heaven to take upon it a Mortal Body. And tho' it does not appear that all humane Souls were at firſt plac'd in Glory, yet, from the example of our Saviour, we ſee ſomething greater in them: Namely, a capacity to be united to the Godhead. And what is poſſible to one, is poſſible to more. But theſe thoughts are too high for us: while we find our ſelves united to nothing, but diſeaſed bodies and houſes of clay.*

Joh. 3. 13. & 6. 38. & 62. & 17. 5.

The greateſt fault we can commit in ſuch Speculations, is to be over-poſitive and Dogmatical. To be inquiſitive into the ways of Providence and the works

works of God, is ſo far from being a fault, that it is our greateſt perfection; We cultivate the higheſt principles and beſt inclinations of our Nature, while we are thus employ'd: and 'tis littleneſs or ſecularity of Spirit, that is the greateſt Enemy to Contemplation. Thoſe that would have a true contempt of this World, muſt ſuffer the Soul to be ſometimes upon the Wing, and to raiſe her ſelf above the ſight of this little dark Point, which we now inhabit. Give her a large and free proſpect of the immenſity of God's works, and of his inexhauſted wiſdom and goodneſs, if you would make her Great and Good. As the warm Philoſopher ſays,

Give me a Soul ſo great, ſo high,
Let her dimenſions ſtretch the Skie:
That comprehends within a thought,
The whole extent 'twixt God and Nought.
And from the World's firſt birth and date,
Its Life and Death can calculate:
With all th' adventures that ſhall paſs,
To ev'ry Atome of the Maſs.

But let Her be as GOOD as GREAT,
Her higheſt Throne a Mercy-Seat.
Soft and diſſolving like a Cloud,
Loſing her ſelf in doing good.
A Cloud that leaves its place above,
Rather than dry, and uſeleſs move:
Falls in a ſhowre upon the Earth,
And gives ten thouſand Seeds a birth.
Hangs on the Flow'rs, and infant Plants,
Sucks not their Sweets, but feeds their Wants.
So let this mighty Mind diffuſe
All that's her own to others uſe;
And free from private ends, retain
Nothing of SELF, but a bare Name.

THE THEORY OF THE EARTH.

Book IV.

Concerning the new Heavens and new Earth, AND Concerning the Conſummation of all things.

CHAP. I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

That the World will not be annihilated in the laſt Fire. That we are to expect, according to Scripture and the Chriſtian Doctrine, New Heavens and a New Earth, when theſe are diſſolv'd or burnt up.

WE are now ſo far advanc'd in the Theory of the Earth, as to have ſeen the End of Two Worlds: One deſtroy'd by Water, and another by Fire. It remains only to conſider, whether we be yet come to the final period of Nature: The laſt Scene of all things, and conſequently the utmoſt bound of our enquiries. Or, whether Providence, which is inexhauſted in Wiſdom and Goodneſs, will raiſe up, from this dead Maſs, New Heavens and a New Earth. Another habitable World, better and more perfect than that which was deſtroyed. That, as the firſt World began with a Paradiſe, and a ſtate of Innocency, ſo the laſt may be a kind of Renovation of that happy ſtate; whoſe Inhabitants ſhall not die, but be tranſlated to a bleſſed Immortality.

I know 'tis the opinion of ſome, that this World will be annihilated, or reduc'd to nothing, at the Conflagration: and that would put an end to all further enquiries. But whence do they learn this? from Scripture, or Reaſon, or their own imagination? What inſtance or example can they give us, of this they call *Annihilation*? Or what place of Scripture can they produce, that ſays the World, in the laſt Fire, ſhall be reduc'd to nothing? If they have neither inſtance, nor proof of what they affirm, 'tis an empty Imagination of their own: neither agreeable to Philoſophy, nor Divinity. Fire does not conſume any ſubſtance: It changes the form and qualities of it, but the matter remains. And if the deſign had been *Annihilation*, the employing of fire would have been of no uſe or effect. For ſmoak and aſhes are at as great a diſtance from *Nothing*, as the bodies themſelves out of which they are made. But theſe Authors ſeem to have but a ſmall tincture of Philoſophy, and therefore it will be more proper to confute their opinion from the words of Scripture; which hath left us ſufficient evidence, that another World will ſucceed after the Conflagration of that we now inhabit.

The Prophets, both of the Old and New Teſtament, have left us their predictions concerning *New Heavens and a New Earth*. So ſays the Prophet *Iſaiah*, ch. 65. 17. *Behold I create New Heavens and a New Earth, and the former ſhall not be remembred, or come into mind.* As not worthy our thoughts, in compariſon of thoſe that will ariſe when theſe paſs away. So the Prophet S. *John*, in his *Apocalypſe*,
Apoc. 21. 1. when he was come to the End of this World, ſays, *And I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth. For the firſt heaven and the firſt earth were paſſed away, and there was no more Sea.* Where he does not only give us an account of a New Heaven and a New Earth, in general: but alſo gives a diſtinctive character of the *New Earth*: that it ſhall have *no Sea*. And in the 5*th. ver.* He that ſat upon the Throne, ſays, *Behold I make all* things *New*; which, conſider'd with the antecedents and conſequents, cannot be otherwiſe underſtood than of a New World.

But ſome Men make evaſions here as to the words of the Prophets, and ſay they are to be underſtood in a figurate and allegorical ſence: and to be applyed to the times of the Goſpel, either at firſt or towards the latter end of the World. So as this *New Heaven and New Earth* ſignifie only a great change in the moral World. But how can that be, ſeeing S. *John* places them after the end of the
ch. 65. World? And the Prophet *Iſaiah* connects ſuch things with his New Heavens and New Earth, as are not competible to the preſent ſtate of Nature? However to avoid all ſhuffling and tergiverſation in this point, let us appeal to S. *Peter*, who uſes a plain literal ſtyle, and diſcourſes down-right concerning the Natural World. In his *2d. Epiſt. and 3d. Chap.* when he had foretold and explain'd the Future Conflagration, he adds, But we expect *New Heavens and a New Earth according to his promiſes.* Theſe Promiſes were made by the Prophets: and this gives us full authority to interpret their *New Heavens and New Earth* to be after the *Conflagration*. S. *Peter*, when he had deſcrib'd the Diſſolution of the World in the laſt Fire, in full and emphatical terms, as *the paſſing away of the Heavens with a noiſe: the melting of the Elements, and burning up all the works of the Earth:* he ſubjoyns, *Neverthleſs*, notwithſtanding this total diſſolution of the preſent World, *We, according to his promiſes, look for new heavens and a new earth: wherein dwelleth Righteouſneſs.* As if the Apoſtle ſhould have ſaid, Notwithſtanding this ſtrange and violent diſſolution of the preſent Heavens and Earth, which I have deſcrib'd to you, we do not at all diſtruſt God's Promiſes concerning New Heavens and a New Earth, that are to ſucceed theſe, and to be the ſeat of the Righteous.

Here's no room for Allegories or allegorical expoſitions: unleſs you will make the Conflagration of the World an Allegory. For, as Heavens and Earth were deſtroy'd, ſo Heavens and Earth are reſtored: and if in the firſt place you underſtand the natural material World, you muſt alſo underſtand it in the ſecond place: They are both Allegories, or neither. But to make the Conflagration an Allegory, is not only to contradict S. *Peter*, but all Antiquity, Sacred or Prophane. And I deſire no more aſſurance that we ſhall have New Heavens and a New Earth, in a literal Sence, than we have that the preſent Heavens and Earth ſhall be deſtroyed in a literal Sence, and by material Fire. Let it therefore reſt upon that iſſue as to this firſt evidence and argument from Scripture.

Some will fancy, it may be, that we ſhall have New Heavens and Earth, and yet that theſe ſhall be annihilated; They would have Theſe firſt reduc'd to nothing, and then others created, ſpick and ſpan New, out of nothing. But why ſo, pray, what's the humour of that? Leſt Omnipotency ſhould want employment, you would have it do, and undo, and do again. As if new-made Matter, like new Clothes, or new Furniture, had a better Gloſs, and was more creditable. Matter never wears: as fine Gold, melt it down never ſo often, it loſes nothing of its quantity. The ſubſtance of the World is the ſame, burnt or unburnt: and is of the ſame Value and Virtue, New or Old: and we muſt not multiply the actions of Omnipotency without neceſſity. God does not make, or unmake things, to try experiments: He knows before hand the utmoſt capacities of every thing, and does no vain or ſuperfluous work. Such imaginations as theſe proceed only from want of true Philoſophy, or the true knowledge of the Nature of God and of his Works; which ſhould always be carefully attended to, in ſuch Speculations as concern the Natural World. But to proceed in our Subject.

If they ſuppoſe part of the World to be annihilated, and to continue ſo, they Philoſophize ſtill worſe and worſe. How high ſhall this Annihilation reach? Shall the Sun, Moon, and Stars be reduc'd to nothing? but what have They done, that they ſhould undergo ſo hard a fate? muſt they be turn'd out of Being for our faults? The whole material Univerſe will not be Annihilated at this bout, for we are to have Bodies after the Reſurrection, and to live in Heaven. How much of the Univerſe then will you leave ſtanding: or how ſhall it ſubſiſt with this great *Vacuum* in the heart of it? This ſhell of a World is but the fiction of an empty Brain: For God and Nature in their works, never admit of ſuch gaping vacuities and emptineſſes.

If we conſult Scripture again, we ſhall find that that makes mention of a *Reſtitution* and *Reviviſcency* of all things: At the End of
Act. 3. the World, or at the Coming of our Saviour. S. *Peter*, whoſe doctrine we have hitherto followed, in his Sermon to the *Jews* after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, tells them that He will come again, and that there will be then a *Reſtitution of all things*: ſuch as was pro-
ver. 21. miſed by the Prophets. *The Heavens*, ſays he, *muſt receive him until the time of Reſtitution of all things: which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of his holy Prophets, ſince the world began.* If we compare this paſſage of S. *Peter*'s, with that which we alledged before out of his ſecond Epiſtle, it can ſcarce be doubted but that he refers to the ſame Promiſes in both places: and what he there calls a *New Heaven* and a *New Earth*, he calls here a *Reſtitution of all things*. For the Heavens and the Earth comprehend all, and both theſe are but different phraſes for the Renovation of the World. This gives us
Matt. 19. 28, 29. alſo light how to underſtand what our Saviour calls the *Regeneration* or *Reviviſcency*, when he ſhall ſit upon his Throne of Glory, and will reward his followers an hundred fold, for all their Loſſes in this World: Beſides Everlaſting Life as the Crown of all. I know, in our Engliſh Tranſlation, we ſeparate *the Regeneration* from *ſitting upon his Throne*: but without any warrant from the Original. And ſeeing our Saviour ſpeaks here of Bodily goods, and ſeems to diſtinguiſh them from *everlaſting life*, which is to be the final reward of his Followers, This *Regeneration* ſeems to belong to his Second Coming, when the World ſhall be renew'd or regenerated: and the Righteous ſhall poſſeſs the Earth.

Other places of Scripture that foretel the fate of this Material World, repreſent it always as a *Change*, not as an *Annihilation*. S. *Paul* ſays, *The Figure of this World paſſes away*: 1 Cor. 7. 31. The form, faſhion and diſpoſition of its parts: But the ſubſtance ſtill remains. As a Body that is melted down and diſſolv'd, the Form pe-
Pſal. 102. 26. riſhes, but the Matter is not deſtroy'd. And the Pſalmiſt ſays, The Heavens and the Earth ſhall be *chang'd*: which anſwers to this Tranſformation we ſpeak of. The ſame Apoſtle, in the Eighth
Ver. 21, 22, 23, 24. Chapter to the *Romans*, ſhows alſo that this *change* ſhall be, and ſhall be for the better: and calls it a *Deliverance of the Creation from vanity and corruption*: and a participation of the *glorious liberty of the Children of God*. Being a ſort of *Redemption*, as they have a *Redemption of their Bodies*.

But, ſeeing the *Renovation* of the World is a Doctrine generally receiv'd, both by ancient and modern Authors, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow hereafter: We need add no more, in this place, for confirmation of it. Some Men are willing to throw all things into a ſtate of *Nothing* at the Conflagration, and bury them there, that they may not be oblig'd to give an account of that ſtate of things, that is to ſucceed it. Thoſe who think themſelves bound in honour, to know every thing in Theology that is knowable: and find it uneaſie to anſwer ſuch queſtions and ſpeculations, as would ariſe upon their admitting a New World, think it more adviſeable to ſtifle it in the birth, and ſo to bound all knowledge at the Conflagration. But ſurely, ſo far as Reaſon or Scripture lead us, we may

may and ought to follow: otherwiſe we ſhould be ungrateful to Providence, that ſent us thoſe Guides. Provided, we be always duly ſenſible of our own weakneſs: and, according to the difficulty of the ſubject, and the meaſure of light that falls upon it, proceed with that modeſty and ingenuity, that becomes ſuch fallible enquirers after Truth, as we are. And this rule I deſire to preſcribe to my ſelf, as in all other Writings, ſo eſpecially in this: where, tho' I look upon the principal Concluſions as fully prov'd, there are ſeveral particulars, that are rather propos'd to examination, than poſitively aſſerted.

CHAP. II.

The Birth of the new Heavens and the new Earth, from the ſecond Chaos, or the remains of the old World. The form, order, and qualities of the new Earth, according to Reaſon and Scripture.

HAving prov'd from Scripture, that we are to expect *New Heavens*, and a *New Earth*, after the Conflagration; it would be ſome pleaſure and ſatisfaction to ſee how this new Frame will ariſe: and what foundation there is in Nature for the accompliſhment of theſe promiſes. For, tho' the Divine Power be not bound to all the Laws of Nature, but may diſpence with them when there is a neceſſity; yet it is an eaſe to us in our belief, when we ſee them both conſpire in the ſame effect. And in order to this, we muſt conſider in what poſture we left the demoliſh'd World: what hopes there is of a Reſtauration. And we are not to be diſcourag'd, becauſe we ſee things at preſent wrapt up in a confus'd Maſs: for, according to the methods of Nature and Providence, in that dark Womb uſually are the ſeeds and rudiments of an Embryo World.

Neither is there, poſſibly, ſo great a confuſion in this Maſs, as we imagine. The Heart and interiour Body of the Earth is ſtill entire: and that part of it that is conſum'd by the fire, will be divided, of its own accord, into two Regions. What is diſſolv'd and melted, being the heavieſt, will deſcend as low as it can: and cover and encloſe the kernel of the Earth round about, as a molten Sea or Abyſs: according as is explain'd and ſet down in the precedent Book. But what is more light and volatile, will float in the Air: as fumes, ſmoak, exhalations, vapours of Water, and whatſoever terreſtrial parts can be elevated and ſupported by the ſtrength of fire. Theſe all mingled together, of different ſizes, figures, and motions, will conſtitute an opake Cloud, or thick region of darkneſs round the Earth: So as the Globe of the Earth, with its Atmoſphere, after the Conflagration is finiſh'd, will ſtand much what in the form repreſented in this Scheme.

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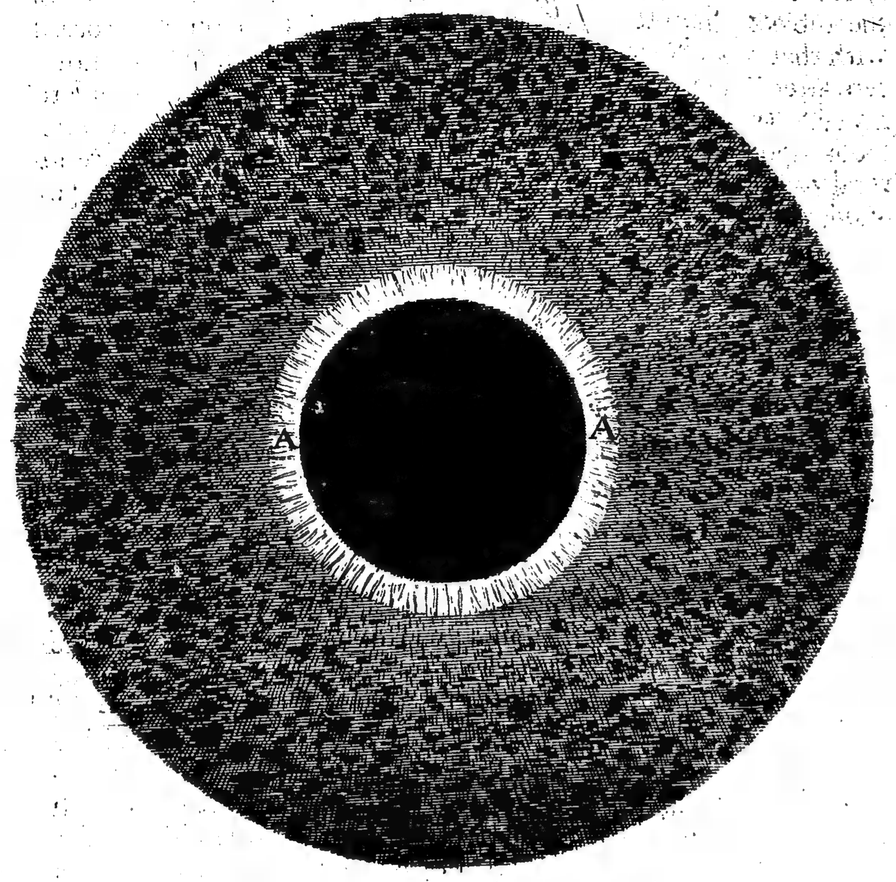
Now



Now as to the lower of these two regions, the region of melted matter, A. A. we shall have little occasion to take notice of it: seeing it will contribute nothing to the formation of the new World. But the upper region, or all above that Orb of fire, is the true draught of a Chaos: or a mixture and confusion of all the Elements, without order or distinction. Here are particles of Earth, and of Air, and of Water, all promiscuously jumbled together, by the force and agitation of the fire. But when that force ceases, and every one is left to its own inclination, they will, according to their different degrees of gravity, separate and sort themselves after this manner. First, the heaviest and grossest parts of the Earth will subside; then the watery parts will follow; then a lighter sort of Earth; which will stop and rest upon the Surface of the Water, and compose there a thin film or membrane; this membrane or tender Orb is the first rudiment or foundation of a new habitable Earth. For according as terrestrial parts fall upon it, from all the regions

regions and heighths of the Atmosphere, or of the Chaos, this Orb will grow more firm, strong, and immoveable: able to support it self and Inhabitants too. And having in it all the Principles of a fruitful Soil, whether for the production of Plants or of Animals, it will want no property or character of an habitable Earth. And particularly, will become such an Earth, and of such a form, as the first Paradisiacal Earth was. Which hath been fully describ'd in the first and second Books of this Theory.

There is no occasion of examining more accurately the formation of this Second Earth, seeing it is so much the same with that of the First; which is set down fully and distinctly in the Fifth Chapter of the first Book of this Theory. Nature here repeats the same work, and in the same method; only the materials are now a little more refin'd and purg'd by the fire. They both rise out of a Chaos, and That, in effect, the same in both cases; For though in forming the first Earth, I suppos'd the Chaos or confus'd Mass to reach down to the Center, I did that only for the ease of our imagination; that so the whole Mass might appear more simple and uniform. But in reality, that Chaos had a solid kernel of Earth within, as this hath; and that matter which fluctuated above in the regions of the Air, was the true Chaos, whose parts, when they came to a separation, made the several Elements, and the form of an habitable Earth betwixt the Air and Water. This Chaos upon separation, will fall into the same form and Elements: and so in like manner create or constitute a second Paradisiacal World.

I say a *Paradisiacal* World: for it appears plainly, that this new-form'd Earth must agree with that Primigenial Earth, in the two principal and fundamental properties. First, It is of an even, entire, uniform and regular Surface, without Mountains or Sea. Secondly, That it hath a straight and regular situation to the Sun, and the *Axis* of the *Ecliptick*. From the manner of its formation, it appears manifestly, that it must be of an even and regular Surface. For the Orb of liquid fire, upon which the first descent was made, being smooth and uniform every where, the matter that fell upon it would take the same form and mould. And so the second or third Region, that were superinduc'd, would still imitate the fashion of the first: there being no cause or occasion of any inequality. Then as to the situation of its *Axis*, this uniformity of figure would determine the center of its gravity to be exactly in the middle, and consequently there would be no inclination of one Pole more than another to the general center of its motion; But, upon a free libration in the liquid Air, its *Axis* would lie parallel with the *Axis* of the Ecliptick where it moves. But these things having been deduc'd more fully in the second Book about *Paradise* and the *Primigenial Earth*, they need no further explication in this place.

If Scripture had left us several distinct Characters of the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, we might, by compare with those, have made a full proof of our Hypothesis. One indeed St. *John* hath left us in very expres terms, *There was no Sea there*, He says. His words are these: *And I saw a New Heaven, and a New Earth: for the first Heaven and the first Earth were passed away*; *AND THERE WAS*

WAS NO MORE SEA. This character is very particular, and you see it exactly answers to our Hypothesis: for in the new-form'd Earth, the Sea is cover'd and inconspicuous: being an Abyss, not a Sea; and wholly lodg'd in the Womb of the Earth. And this one Character, being inexplicable upon any other supposition, and very different from the present Earth, makes it a strong presumption that we have hit upon the true model of the New Heavens and New Earth which S. *John* saw.

To this sight of the New Heavens and New Earth, S. *John* immediately subjoyns the sight of the *New Jerusalem*, *ver.* 2. as being contemporary, and in some respects the same thing. 'Tis true, the Characters of the New *Jerusalem* in these two last Chapters of the *Apocalypse*, are very hard to be understood: some of them being incompetible to a *Terrestrial* state, and some of them to a *Celestial*; so as it seems to me very reasonable to suppose, that the New *Jerusalem* spoken of by S. *John*, is twofold: That which he saw himself, *ver.* 2. and that which the Angel shewed him afterwards, *ver.* 9. For I do not see what need there was of an *Angel*, and of *taking him up into a great and high mountain*, only to shew him that which he had seen before, at the foot of the Mountain. But however that be, we are to consider in this place the Terrestrial New *Jerusalem* only, or that which is in the New Heavens and New Earth. And as St. *John* hath joyned these two together, so the Prophet *Isaiah* had done the same thing before; when he had promised *New Heavens and a New Earth*, he calls them, under another name, *Jerusalem*: and they both use the same character in effect, in the description of their *Jerusalem*. *Isaiah* says, *And I will rejoyce in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.* S. *John* says also in his Jerusalem, *God shall dwell with them, and they shall be his people: And he shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.* Now in both these Prophets, when they treat upon this subject, we find they make frequent allusions to Paradise and a Paradisiacal state; so as that may be justly taken as a Scripture-Character of the *New Heavens and the New Earth.* The Prophet *Isaiah* seems plainly to point at a Paradisiacal state, throughout that Chapter, by an universal innocency, and harmlessness of animals; and peace, plenty, health, longævity or immortality of the inhabitants. S. *John* also hath several allusions to Paradise, in those two Chapters where he describes the New Jerusalem. And in his discourse to the seven Churches, in one place (ch. 2. 7.) *To him that overcometh* is promised *to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.* And in another place (ch. 3. 12.) *to him that overcometh* is promised, *to have the name of the New Jerusalem writ upon him.* These I take to be the same thing, and the same reward of Christian Victors, The *New Jerusalem* or the New Heavens and New Earth, and the *Paradise of God.* Now this being the general Character of the New Earth, That it is *Paradisiacal*: and the particular Character, That it *hath no Sea*: and both these agreeing with our Hypothesis, as apparently deducible from those principles and that manner of its formation which we have set down: We

Ch. 65. 17, 18. *Ver. 19.* *Apoc. 21. 3, 4.* *Ch. 21. & ch. 22.*

cannot

cannot but allow, that the Holy Scriptures and the Natural Theory agree in their Testimony, as to the conditions and properties of the *New Heavens and New Earth.*

From what hath been said in this and the precedent Chapter, it will not be hard to interpret what S. *Paul* meant by his *Habitable Earth to come*: which is to be subjected to our Saviour, and not to the Angels. In the second chapter to the *Hebrews*, ver. 5. he says, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in subjection the WORLD TO COME.* So we read it, but, according to the strictest and plainest Translation, it should be *The habitable Earth to come.* Now what Earth is this, where our Saviour is absolute Soveraign: and where the Government is neither Humane, nor Angelical, but peculiarly Theocratical? In the first place, this cannot be the present World or the present Earth, because the Apostle calls it *Future*, or the *Earth to come.* Nor can it be understood of the days of the Gospel: seeing the Apostle acknowledges, *ver.* 8. That this subjection, whereof he speaks, is not yet made. And seeing Antichrist will not finally be destroy'd till the appearance of our Saviour, (2 *Thess.* 2. 8.) nor Satan bound, while Antichrist is in power: during the reign of these two, (who are the Rulers of the darkness of the World) our Saviour cannot properly be said to begin his reign here. 'Tis true, He exercises his Providence over his Church, and secures it from being destroy'd: He can, by a power paramount, stop the rage either of Satan or Antichrist; *Hitherto shall you go and no further.* As sometimes when he was upon Earth, he exerted a Divine Power, which yet did not destroy his state of Humiliation; so he interposes now when he thinks fit, but he does not finally take the power out of the hands of his Enemies, nor out of the hands of the Kings of the Earth. The *Kingdom is not deliver'd up to him*, and all *dominion, and power*; That *all Tongues and Nations should serve him.* For S. *Paul* can mean no less in this place than that Kingdom in *Daniel*: Seeing he calls it *putting all things in subjection under his feet*, and says that it is not yet done. Upon this account also, as well as others, our Saviour might truly say to *Pilate* (*Joh.* 18: 36.) *my kingdom is not of this World.* And to his Disciples, *The Son of man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister*, *Matt.* 20. 28. When he comes to receive his Kingdom, he comes in the clouds of Heaven (*Dan.* 7. 13, 14.) not in the womb of a Virgin. He comes with the equipage of a King and Conqueror; with thousands and ten thousands of Angels: not in the form of a Servant, or of a weak Infant; as he did at his first coming.

Ch. 7. 13, 25, 26. *Hebr. 2. 8.*

I allow the phrase αἰὼν μέλλων, or in the *Hebrew* עולם הבא, *The World to come*, is sometimes us'd in a large sence, as comprehending all the days of the Messiah, whether at his First or Second Coming, (for these two Comings are often undistinguish'd in Scripture) and respect the Moral World as well as the Natural. But the word οἰκουμένη, *Orbis habitabilis*, which S. *Paul* here uses, does primarily signifie the Natural World, or the Habitable Earth, in the proper use of the word amongst the *Greeks*, and frequently in Scripture, *Luke* 4. 5. and 21. 26. *Rom.* 10. 18. *Heb.* 1. 6. *Apoc.* 3. 10. Neither do we here exclude the Moral World, or the Inhabitants of

Τὴν οἰκουμένην τ μέλλ. πατὴρ τ μέλ. λουσ Θ αἰῶνος, *Isa.* 9. 6. *Ephes.* 6. 12.

the Earth, but rather neceſſarily include them. Both the Natural and Moral *World to come*, will be the ſeat and ſubject of our Saviour's Kingdom and Empire, in a peculiar manner. But when you underſtand nothing by this phraſe but the *preſent moral World*, it neither anſwers the proper ſignification of μέλλουσα nor of οἰκουμένη, of the firſt or ſecond part of the expreſſion; And tho ſuch like phraſes may be us'd for the Diſpenſation of the Meſſiah in oppoſition to that of the Law, yet the height of that diſtinction or oppoſition, and the fulfilling of the expreſſion, depends upon the ſecond coming of our Saviour; and upon the *Future Earth* or habitable World, where he ſhall Reign, and which does peculiarly belong to Him and His Saints.

Neither can this *World to come*, or this *Earth to come*, be underſtood of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the Greek word will not bear that ſence, nor is it ever us'd in Scripture for *Heaven*. Beſides, the Kingdom of Heaven, when ſpoken of as *future*, is not properly till the laſt reſurrection and final judgment. Whereas *This World to come*, which our Saviour is to govern, muſt be before that time, and will then expire. For all his Government, as to this World, expires at the day of Judgment, and *he will then deliver up the kingdom into the hands of his father: that he may be all in all.* Having reigned firſt himſelf, *and put down all rule and all authority and power.* So that S. *Paul*, in theſe two places of his Epiſtles, refers plainly to the ſame time and the ſame reign of Christ; which muſt be in a *future World*, and before the *laſt day of Judgment*: and therefore according to our deductions, in the New Heavens and the New Earth.

1 Cor. 15. 24, &c.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Inhabitants of the New Earth. That Natural Reaſon cannot determine this point. That according to Scripture; The Sons of the firſt Reſurrection, or the Heirs of the Millennium, *are to be the Inhabitants of the New Earth. The Teſtimony of the Philoſophers, and of the Chriſtian Fathers, for the Renovation of the World. The firſt Propoſition laid down.*

THUS we have ſetled the True Notion, according to Reaſon and Scripture, of the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. But where are the Inhabitants, you'l ſay? You have taken the pains to make us a New World, and now that it is made, it muſt ſtand empty. When the firſt World was deſtroyed, there were Eight Perſons preſerv'd, with a Set of Living Creatures of every Kind, as a Seminary or foundation of another World: But the Fire, it ſeems, is more mercileſs than the Water; for in this deſtruction of the

the World, it does not appear that there is one living Soul left, of any ſort, upon the face of the Earth. No hopes of poſterity, nor of any continuation of Mankind, in the uſual way of propagation. And Fire is a barren Element, that breeds no living Creatures in it, nor hath any nouriſhment proper for their food or ſuſtenance.

We are perfectly at a loſs, therefore, ſo far as I ſee, for a new race of Mankind, or how to People this new-form'd World. The Inhabitants, if ever there be any, muſt either come from Heaven, or ſpring from the Earth: There are but theſe two ways. But *Natural Reaſon* can determine neither of theſe: ſees no tract to follow in theſe unbeaten paths, nor can advance one ſtep further. Farewel then, dear Friend, I muſt take another Guide: and leave you here, as *Moſes* upon Mount *Piſgah*, only to look into that Land, which you cannot enter. I acknowledge the good ſervice you have done, and what a faithful Companion you have been, in a long journey; from the beginning of the World to this hour, in a tract of time of ſix thouſand years. We have travel'd together through the dark regions of a Firſt and Second *Chaos*: ſeen the World twice ſhipwrackt. Neither Water, nor Fire, could ſeparate us. But now you muſt give place to other Guides.

Welcom, *Holy Scriptures*, The Oracles of God, a Light ſhining in darkneſs, a Treaſury of hidden Knowledge, and, where *humane faculties* cannot reach, a ſeaſonable help and ſupply to their defects. We are now come to the utmoſt bounds of their dominion: They have made us a New World, but, how it ſhall be inhabited, they cannot tell: know nothing of the Hiſtory or affairs of it. This we muſt learn from other Maſters, inſpir'd with the knowledge of things to come. And ſuch Maſters we know none, but the holy Prophets and Apoſtles. We muſt therefore now put our ſelves wholly under their conduct and inſtruction, and from them only receive our information concerning the moral ſtate of the futute habitable Earth.

In the firſt place therefore, The Prophet *Iſaiah* tells us, as a preparation to our further enquiries, *The Lord God created the Heavens, God himſelf that formed the Earth, He created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* This is true, both of the preſent Earth and the *Future*, and of every habitable World whatſoever. For to what purpoſe is it made habitable, if not to be inhabited? That would be, as if a man ſhould manure, and plough, and every way prepare his ground for ſeed, but never ſow it. We do not build houſes that they ſhould ſtand empty, but look out for Tenants as faſt as we can; as ſoon as they are made ready, and become Tenantable. But if man could do things in vain and without uſe or deſign, yet God and Nature never do any thing *in vain*; much leſs ſo great a work as the making of a World. Which if it were in vain, would comprehend ten thouſand vanities or uſeleſs preparations in it. *We* may therefore in the firſt place, ſafely conclude, *That the New Earth will be inhabited.*

Iſa. 45. 18.

But *by whom will it be inhabited*? This makes the ſecond enquiry. S. *Peter* anſwers this queſtion for us, and with a particular application to this very ſubject of the New Heavens and New Earth. They

ſhall be inhabited, he ſays, by the *Juſt* or the *Righteous*. His words, which we cited before, are theſe: When he had deſcrib'd the Conflagration of the World, he adds, But we *expect New Heavens and a New Earth, WHEREIN DWELLETH RIGHTEOUSNESS.* By *Righteouſneſs* here, it is generally agreed muſt be underſtood Righteous Perſons. For Righteouſneſs cannot be without Righteous Perſons: It cannot hang upon Trees, or grow out of the ground; 'Tis the endowment of reaſonable Creatures. And theſe Righteous Perſons are eminently ſuch, and therefore call'd Righteouſneſs in the abſtract, or purely Righteous without mixture of Vice.

So we have found Inhabitants for the New Earth: Perſons of an high and noble Character. Like thoſe deſcrib'd by S. *Peter*, (1 Ep. 2. 9.) *A choſen generation, a Royal Prieſthood, an Holy Nation, a peculiar People.* As if into that World, as into S. *John's New Jeruſalem*, nothing impure or unrighteous was to be admitted. Theſe being then the happy and holy Inhabitants: The next enquiry is, *Whence do they come?* From what off-ſpring, or from what Original? We noted before, that there was no remnant of Mankind left at the Conflagration, as there was at the Deluge: nor any hopes of a Reſtauration that way. Shall we then imagine that theſe New Inhabitants are a Colony wafted over from ſome neighbouring World: as from the Moon, or Mercury, or ſome of the higher Planets. You may imagine what you pleaſe, but that ſeems to me not imaginary only but impracticable; And that the Inhabitants of thoſe Planets are Perſons of ſo great accompliſhments, is more than I know; but I am ſure they are not the Perſons here underſtood. For theſe muſt be ſuch as inhabited this Earth before. WE look for New Heavens and New Earth, ſays the Apoſtle: Surely to have ſome ſhare and intereſt in them; otherwiſe there would be no comfort in that expectation. And the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaid before, I create New Heavens and a New Earth, and the former ſhall come no more into remembrance: But be *YOu glad and rejoyce for ever in that which I create.* The truth is, none can have ſo good pretenſions to this ſpot of ground we call the Earth, as the Sons of Men, ſeeing they once poſſeſt it. And if it be reſtor'd again, 'tis their propriety and inheritance. But 'tis not Mankind in general that muſt poſſeſs this New World, but the *Iſrael of God*, according to the Prophet *Iſaiah*; or the *Juſt*, according to S. *Peter*. And eſpecially thoſe that have ſuffer'd for the ſake of their Religion. For this is that *Palingeneſia*, as we noted before, that *Renovation*, or *Regeneration* of all things, where our Saviour ſays, Thoſe, that ſuffer loſs for his ſake, ſhall be recompenced: *Matt.* 19. 28, 29.

Apoc 21. 27.

But they muſt then be raiſed from the Dead. For all Mankind was deſtroy'd at the Conflagration: and there is no reſource for them any other way, than by a Reſurrection. 'Tis true: and S. *John* gives us a fair occaſion to make this ſuppoſition, *That* there will be ſome raiſed from the Dead, before the General Day of Judgment. For he plainly diſtinguiſheth of a *Firſt* and *Second* Reſurrection, and makes the Firſt to be a Thouſand Years before the Second, and before the general Day of Judgment. Now, If there be truly and really

Apoc. 20.

really a two-fold Reſurrection, as St. *John* tells us; and at a thouſand Years diſtance from one another: It may be very rationally preſum'd, that, Thoſe that are raiſed in the firſt Reſurrection, are thoſe *Juſt* that will inhabit the *New Heavens and new Earth*. Or whom our Saviour promis'd to reward in the Renovation of the World.

For otherwiſe, who are thoſe *Juſt* that ſhall inhabit the *New Earth*, and whence do they come? Or when is that Reſtauration which our Saviour ſpeaks of, wherein thoſe that ſuffer'd for the ſake of the Goſpel ſhall be rewarded? St. *John* ſays, the *Martyrs*, at this firſt Reſurrection, ſhall live again and reign with Chriſt. Which ſeems to be the reward promis'd by our Saviour, to thoſe that ſuffer'd for his ſake: and the ſame Perſons in both places. *And I ſaw the Souls of them*, ſays St. *John*, *that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, and for the Word of God: and which had not worſhipped the Beaſt*, &c. *and They lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years.* Theſe, I ſay, ſeem to be the ſame Perſons to whom Chriſt had before promis'd and appropriated a particular reward. And this reward of theirs, or this Reign of theirs, is upon *Earth*: upon ſome Earth, new or old: not in Heaven. For, beſides that we read nothing of their Aſcenſion into Heaven after their Reſurrection: There are ſeveral marks that ſhew it muſt neceſſarily be underſtood of a ſtate upon Earth. For *Gog* and *Magog* came from the *four quarters of the Earth*, and beſieged the *Camp of the Saints, and the beloved City.* That Camp and that City therefore were upon the Earth. And *fire came down from Heaven and devoured them.* If it came down from Heaven, it came upon the Earth. Furthermore, thoſe Perſons that are rais'd from the Dead, are ſaid to be *Prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and to reign with him a thouſand years.* Now theſe muſt be the ſame Perſons with the *Prieſts* and *Kings*, mention'd in the Fifth Chapter: which are there ſaid expreſly *to reign upon Earth*; or that they ſhould *reign upon Earth*. It remains therefore only to determine, *What Earth* this is, where the *Sons of the firſt Reſurrection* will live and reign. It cannot be the preſent Earth, in the ſame ſtate, and under the ſame circumſtances it is now. For what happineſs or priviledge would that be, to be call'd back into a mortal life, under the neceſſities and inconveniences of ſickly Bodies, and an incommodious World? ſuch as the preſent ſtate of mortality is, and muſt continue to be, till ſome change be made in Nature. We may be ſure therefore, that a change will be made in Nature before that time, and that the ſtate they are rais'd into, and the Earth they are to inhabit, will be, at leaſt, *Paradiſiacal*: And conſequently can be no other than the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, which we are to expect after the Conflagration.

Apoc. 20. 4.

Ver. 9.

Ver. 6.

Ver. 29.

From theſe Conſiderations, there is a great fairneſs to conclude, both as to the Characters of the Perſons, and of the place or ſtate, that *the Sons of the firſt Reſurrection*, will be Inhabitants of the *New Earth*, and reign there with Chriſt a thouſand years. But ſeeing this is one of the principal and peculiar Concluſions of this Diſcourſe, and bears a great part in this laſt Book of the Theory of the Earth, it will deſerve a more full explication, and a more ample proof, to make it out. We muſt therefore take a greater compaſs

in

in our diſcourſe, and give a full account of that State which is uſually call'd the *Millennium*: The Reign of the Saints a thouſand years, or the Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth. But before we enter upon this new Subject, give me leave to cloſe our preſent Argument, about the *Renovation of the World*, with ſome Teſtimonies of the Ancient Philoſophers, to that purpoſe. 'Tis plain to me, that there were amongſt the Ancients ſeveral Traditions, or traditionary concluſions, which they did not raiſe themſelves, by reaſon and obſervation, but receiv'd them from an unknown Antiquity. An inſtance of this is the *Conflagration of the World*: A Doctrine, as ancient, for any thing I know, as the World it ſelf. At leaſt as ancient as we have any Records. And yet none of thoſe Ancients that tell us of it, give any argument to prove it. Neither is it any wonder, for they did not invent it themſelves, but receiv'd it from others without proof, by the ſole authority of Tradition. In like manner the *Renovation of the World*, which we are now ſpeaking of, is an ancient Doctrine: both amongſt the *Greeks* and *Eaſtern* Philoſophers: But they ſhew us no method *how* the World may be *renew'd*, nor make any proof of its future Renovation; For it was not a diſcovery which they firſt made, but receiv'd it, with an implicite faith, from their Maſters and Anceſtors. And theſe Traditionary Doctrines were all fore-runners of that Light that was to ſhine more clearly at the opening of the Chriſtian diſpenſation; to give a more full account of the fate and revolutions of the Natural World, as well as of the Moral.

The *Jews*, 'tis well known, held the *Renovation* of the World, and a *Sabbath* after ſix thouſand years: according to the Prophecy that was currant amongſt them, whereof we have given a larger account in the precedent Book, *ch.* 5. And that future ſtate they call'd *Olam Hava*, or the *World to come*, which is the very ſame with St. *Paul's Habitable Earth to come*, *Heb.* 2. 6. Neither can I eaſily believe, that thoſe conſtitutions of *Moſes* that proceed ſo much upon a *Septenary*, or the number *Seven*, and have no ground or reaſon, in the nature of the thing, for that particular number: I cannot eaſily believe, I ſay, that they are either accidental or humourſome: without deſign or ſignification. But that they are typical, or repreſentative of ſome *Septenary* ſtate, that does eminently deſerve and bear that Character. *Moſes*, in the Hiſtory of the Creation, makes ſix days work, and then a Sabbath. Then, after ſix years, he makes a *Sabbath-year*: and after a Sabbath of years a year of Jubilee, *Levit.* 25. All theſe leſſer revolutions ſeem to me to point at the grand Revolution, the great *Sabbath* or *Jubilee*, after ſix Millenaries, which as it anſwers the type in point of time, ſo likewiſe in the nature and contents of it: Being a ſtate of Reſt from all labour and trouble and ſervitude: a ſtate of joy and triumph: and a ſtate of *Renovation*, when things are to return to their firſt condition and priſtine order. So much for the *Jews*.

עולם הבא

a οἰκουμένη
ἢ μέλλουσα.

The Heathen Philoſophers, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, had the ſame doctrine of the *Renovation* of the *World*, currant amongſt them. And that under ſeveral names and phraſes; as of the *Great Year*, the *Reſtauration*, the *Mundane periods*, and ſuch like. They ſuppos'd ſtated

ſtated and fix'd periods of time, upon expiration whereof there would always follow ſome great revolution of the World, and the face of Nature would be renew'd. Particularly after the Conflagration, the *Stoicks* always ſuppos'd a new World to ſucceed, or another frame of Nature to be erected in the room of that which was deſtroy'd. And they uſe the ſame words and phraſes upon this occaſion that Scripture uſeth; *Chryſippus* calls it *Apocataſtaſis*, as St. *Peter* does, *Act.* 3. 21. *Marcus Antoninus* in his *Meditations*, ſeveral times calls it *Palingeneſia*, as our Saviour does, *Mat.* 19. 28. And *Numenius* hath two Scripture-words, *Reſurrection* and *Reſtitution*, to expreſs this renovation of the World. Then as to the *Platonicks*, that Revolution of all things, hath commonly been call'd the *Platonick* year, as if *Plato* had been the firſt author of that opinion; But that's a great miſtake; he receiv'd it from the *Barbarick* Philoſophers, and particularly from the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, amongſt whom he liv'd ſeveral years, to be inſtructed in their learning. But I do not take *Plato* neither to be the firſt that brought this doctrine into *Greece*: for, beſides that the Sibylls, whoſe antiquity we do not well know, ſung this Song of old, as we ſee it copyed from them by *Virgil* in his fourth Eclogue; *Pythagoras* taught it before *Plato*: and *Orpheus* before them both. And that's as high as the *Greek* Philoſophy reaches.

Lact. l. 7. c. 23.

Euſeb. præp. Ev. l. 7. c. 23.

The Barbarick Philoſophers were more ancient: namely the *Ægyptians*, *Perſians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indian Brackmans*, and other Eaſtern Nations. Their Monuments indeed are in a great meaſure loſt, yet from the remains of them, which the *Greeks* have tranſcrib'd, and ſo preſerv'd, in their writings, we ſee plainly they all had this doctrine of the *Future Renovation*. And to this day the poſterity of the *Brackmans* in the *Eaſt Indies*, retain the ſame notion, *That* the World will be renewed after the laſt Fire. You may ſee the citations, if you pleaſe, for all theſe Nations, in the *Latin* Treatiſe, *Ch.* 5. Which I thought would be too dry and tedious to be render'd into *Engliſh*.

To theſe Teſtimonies of the Philoſophers of all Ages, for the Future Renovation of the World, we might add the Teſtimonies of the Chriſtian Fathers: *Greek* and *Latin*, ancient and modern. I will only give you a bare Liſt of them, and refer you to the *Latin* Treatiſe for the words or the places. Amongſt the *Greek* Fathers, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*; The Fathers of the *Council of Nice*, *Euſebius*, *Baſil*; The two *Cyrils*, of *Jeruſalem* and *Alexandria*; The two *Gregorys*, *Nazianzen* and *Nyſſen*; S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Zacharias Mitylenenſis*; and of later date, *Damaſcen*, *Oecumenius*, *Euthymius*, and others. Theſe have all ſet their hands and Seals to this Doctrine. Of the *Latin* Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, S. *Hilary*, S. *Ambroſe*, S. *Auſtin*, S. *Jerome*; and many later Eccleſiaſtical Authors. Theſe, with the Philoſophers before mentioned, I count good authority, Sacred and Prophane: which I place here as an out-guard upon Scripture, where our principal force lies. And theſe three united and acting in conjunction, will be ſufficient to ſecure this firſt poſt, and to prove our firſt Propoſition, which is this: *That after the Conflagration of this World, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth: and that Earth will be inhabited.*

Chap. 9.

Propoſ. I.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The proof of a Millennium, *or of a bleſſed Age to come, from Scripture. A view of the Apocalypſe, and of the Prophecies of* Daniel, *in reference to this Kingdom of Chriſt and of his Saints.*

WE have given fair preſumptions, if not proofs, in the precedent Chapter, That the Sons of the firſt Reſurrection will be the perſons that ſhall inhabit the *New Earth*, or the World to come. But to make that proof compleat and unexceptionable, I told you it would be neceſſary to take a larger compaſs in our diſcourſe, and to examine what is meant by *That Reign with Chriſt a thouſand years*, which is promis'd to the Sons of the *firſt Reſurrection*; by St. *John* in the *Apocalypſe*; and in other places of Scripture is uſually call'd the *Kingdom of Chriſt*, and the reign of the Saints. And by Eccleſiaſtical Authors, in imitation of S. *John*, it is commonly ſtyled the *Millennium*. We ſhall indifferently uſe any of theſe words or phraſes; and examine, Firſt, the truth of the Notion and Opinion; whether in Scripture there be ſuch an happy ſtate promiſed to the Saints, under the conduct of Chriſt. And then we will proceed to examine the nature, characters, place and time of it. And I am in hopes when theſe things are duly diſcuſs'd and ſtated, you will be ſatisfied that we have found out the true Inhabitants of the New Heavens and New Earth: and the true myſtery of that ſtate which is call'd the *Millennium*, or the Reign of Chriſt and of his Saints.

We begin with S. *John*; whoſe words, in the twentieth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*, are expreſs, both as to the firſt Reſurrection, and as to the reign of thoſe Saints, that riſe, with Chriſt, for a thouſand years. Satan in the mean time being bound; or diſabled from doing miſchief and ſeducing mankind. The words of the Prophet are
Ver. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6. theſe, *And I ſaw an Angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan; and bound him a thouſand years. And I ſaw Thrones, and they ſat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I ſaw the Souls of them that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, and for the word of God, and which had not worſhipped the beaſt, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their fore-heads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years. But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed. This is the firſt Reſurrection. Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt Reſurrection: on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power, but they ſhall be prieſts of God, and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.* Theſe words do fully expreſs a Reſurrection, and a reign with Chriſt a thouſand years. As for that particular ſpace of time, of a *thouſand years*, it is not much material to our preſent purpoſe: but the Reſurrection here ſpoken of, and the reign with

with Chriſt, make the ſubſtance of the controverſie, and in effect prove all that we enquire after at preſent. This Reſurrection, you ſee, is call'd the *Firſt Reſurrection*, by way of diſtinction from the Second and general Reſurrection; which is to be plac'd a thouſand years after the Firſt. And both this First Reſurrection and the Reign of Chriſt, ſeem to be appropriated to the Martyrs in this place. For the Prophet ſays, *I ſaw the Souls of thoſe that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, &c. They lived and reigned with Chriſt a thouſand years.* From which words, if you pleaſe, we will raiſe this Doctrine: That, *Thoſe that have ſuffered for the ſake of Chriſt and a good Conſcience, ſhall be raiſed from the dead a thouſand years before the general Reſurrection, and reign with Chriſt in an happy ſtate.* This Propoſition ſeems to be plainly included in the words of S. *John*, and to be the intended ſence of this Viſion: but you muſt have patience a little as to your enquiry into particulars, till, in the progreſs of our diſcourſe, we have brought all the parts of this concluſion into a fuller light.

In the mean time, there is but one way, that I know of, to evade the force of theſe words, and of the concluſion drawn from them; and that is, by ſuppoſing that the *Firſt Reſurrection* here mentioned, is not to be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, but is Allegorical and myſtical; ſignifying only a Reſurrection from ſin to a Spiritual Life. As we are ſaid to be *dead in ſin*, and to be *riſen with Chriſt*, by Faith and Regeneration. This is a manner of Speech which S. *Paul* does ſometimes uſe: as *Epheſ.* 2. 6. and 5. 14. and *Col.* 3. 1. But how can this be applyed to the preſent caſe? Were the Martyrs dead in ſin? 'Tis they that are here rais'd from the dead. Or, after they were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, naturally dead and laid in their graves, were they then regenerate by Faith? There is no congruity in allegories ſo applyed. Beſides, Why ſhould they be ſaid to be regenerate a thouſand years before the day of Judgment: Or, to reign with Chriſt, after this Spiritual Reſurrection, ſuch a limited time, a Thouſand Years? Why not to Eternity? For in this allegorical ſence of *riſing* and *reigning*, they will reign with him for everlaſting. Then, after a Thouſand Years muſt all the wicked be regenerate, and riſe into a Spiritual Life? 'Tis ſaid here, *The reſt of the Dead lived not again, until the thouſand years were finiſhed.* That implyes, that at the end of theſe thouſand ver. 5. years, the reſt of the dead did live again; which, according to the Allegory muſt be, that, after a thouſand years, all the wicked will be regenerate, and rais'd into a Spiritual Life. Theſe abſurdities ariſe upon an allegorical expoſition of this Reſurrection, if apply'd to ſingle Perſons.

But Dr. *Hammond*, a Learned and worthy Divine, (but one that loves to contract and cramp the ſence of Prophecies) making this Firſt Reſurrection allegorical, applies it not to ſingle Perſons, but to the ſtate of the Church in general; The Chriſtian Church, he ſays, ſhall have a Reſurrection for a thouſand years: that is, ſhall riſe out of Perſecution, be in a proſperous condition, and an undiſturb'd profeſſion of the true Religion, for ſo long a time. But this agrees with the Prophecy as little as the former; If it be a ſtate of the Church in general, and of the Church then in being, why

is this Resurrection apply'd to the Martyrs? Why are they said to rise? seeing the state they liv'd in, was a troublesome state of the Church, and it would be no happiness to have that reviv'd again. Then as to the Time of this Resurrection of the Church, where will you fix it? The Prophet *Daniel* places this Reign of Christ, at, or after the dissolution of the fourth Monarchy: and S. *John* places it a thousand years before the last Day of Judgment: How will you adjust the Allegorical Resurrection of the Church to these limits? Or if, in point of time, you was free, as to Prophecy; yet how would you adjust it to History? Where will you take these thousand years of happiness and prosperity to the Church? These Authors suppose them past, and therefore must begin them either from the first times of the Gospel, or from the time of *Constantine*. Under the first Ages of the Gospel, were, you know, the great Persecutions by the *Heathen* Emperours: Could those be call'd the Reign of Christ and of His Saints? Was Sathan then bound? or was this Epocha but a thousand years before the Day of Judgment? And if you begin this Resurrection of the Church from the days of *Constantine*, when the Empire became Christian, how will you reckon a thousand years from that time, for the continuance of the Church in *peace* and *purity*? for the reign of Christ and of his Saints must necessarily imply both those Characters. Besides, who are the *rest of the Dead*, that liv'd after the expiration of those thousand years, if they begun at *Constantine*? And why is not the Second Resurrection and the Day of Judgment yet come? Lastly, You ought to be tender of interpreting the First Resurrection in an Allegorical sence, lest you expose the second Resurrection to be made an allegory also.

ver. 5.

To conclude, The words of the Text are plain and expres for a literal Resurrection, as to the First, as well as the Second; and there is no Allegorical interpretation that I know of, that will hold through all the particulars of the Text, consistently with it self and with History. And when we shall have prov'd this future Kingdom of Christ from other places of the Apocalypse, and of Holy Writ, you will the more easily admit the literal sence of this place: Which, you know, according to the receiv'd rule of Interpreters, is never to be quitted or forsaken, without necessity. But when I speak of confirming this Doctrine from other passages of Scripture, I do not mean as to that definite time of a *thousand years*, for that is no where else mention'd in the Apocalypse or in Scripture, that I know of; and seems to be mention'd here, in this close of all things, to mind us of that type that was propos'd in the beginning of all things, *Of Six days and a Sabbath*. Whereof each Day comprehends a thousand years, and the *Sabbath*, which is the *Millennial state*, hath its thousand. According to the known Prophecy of *Elias*, which, as I told you before, was not only receiv'd amongst the *Jews*, but also own'd by very many of the Christian Fathers.

Book 3. ch. 5.

To proceed therefore to other parts of S. *John*'s Prophecies, that set forth this Kingdom of Christ. The Vision of the *Seven Trumpets* is one of the most remarkable in the Apocalypse; and the Seventh Trumpet, which plainly reaches to the end of the World, and

and the Resurrection of the Dead, opens the Scene to the *Millennium*. Hear the sound of it. *The seventh Angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty Elders, which sat before God on their Seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God: Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned. And the Nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the Dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy Name, small and great, and shouldest destroy them that destroy the Earth,* &c. This is manifestly the Kingdom of Christ: and with this is joyn'd the Resurrection of the Dead, and the rewarding of the suffering Prophets and Saints; as in the 20*th. Chapter*. This is that *mystery of God that was to be finish'd in the days of the voice of the seventh Angel:* as is said in the 20*th.* Chap. ver. 7. *As he hath declared to his servants the Prophets*. Namely, the mystery of this Kingdom, which was foretold by the Prophets of the Old Testament: and more especially by *Daniel*, as we shall see hereafter.

Ch. 11. 15, 16, 17, 18.

The *New Jerusalem*, (as it is set down, *Apoc.* 21. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.) is another instance or image of this Kingdom of Christ. And the *Palm-bearing Company*, Chap. 7. 9, &c. are some of the Martyrs that shall enjoy it. They are plainly describ'd there as Christian Martyrs; (*ver.* 14.) And their reward, or the state of happiness they are to enjoy, (*ver.* 15, 16, 17.) is the same with that of the Inhabitants of the *New Jerusalem:* Ch. 21. 2, 3, 4, &c. as, upon comparing those two places, will easily appear. Furthermore, at the opening of the *Seals, Chap.* 5. which is another principal Vision, and reaches to the end of the World, there is a prospect given us of this Kingdom of Christ, and of that reward of his Saints. For when they sing the new Song to the Lamb, (*ver.* 9, 10.) they say, *Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the Seals thereof: For thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood. And hast made us unto our God Kings and Priests: and we shall reign on the Earth.* This must be the same state, and the same thousand-years-reign mention'd in the 20*th.* Chapter. Where 'tis said, (*ver.* 6.) the partakers of it *shall be Priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.*

Another completory Vision, that extends it self to the end of the World, is that of the *seven Vials, Ch.* 15, & 16. And as at the opening of the Seals, so at the pouring out of the Vials, a triumphal Song is sung, and 'tis call'd the *Song of Moses and of the Lamb*. 'Tis plainly a Song of Thanksgiving for a Deliverance: but I do not look upon this deliverance as already wrought, before the pouring out of the Vials, though it be plac'd before them: as often the grand design and issue of a Vision is plac'd at the beginning. It is wrought by the Vials themselves, and by their effusion, and therefore upon the pouring out of the last Vial, The Voice came out of the Temple of Heaven, from the Throne, saying, *Consummatum est: It is done*. Now the Deliverance is wrought, now the work is at an end: or, *The mystery of God is finish'd*, as the phrase was before, concerning the 7*th.*

ch. 15. 3.

ch. 16. 17.

Trumpet: *Ch.* 10.7. You ſee therefore this terminates upon the ſame time, and conſequently upon the ſame ſtate, of the *Millennium*. And that they are the ſame Perſons that triumph here, and reign there, *Ch.* 20. You may ſee by the ſame Characters given to both
ch. 15.2. of them. Here, thoſe that triumph, are ſaid *to have gotten the victory* over the Beaſt, and over his Image, *and over his mark, and over*
ch. 20.4. *the number of his name.* And there, Thoſe that reign with Chriſt, are ſaid to be thoſe *that had not worſhipped the Beaſt, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands.* Theſe are the ſame Perſons therefore, triumphing over the ſame Enemies, and enjoying the ſame reward.

And you ſhall ſeldom find any *Doxology* or *Hallelujah* in the Apocalypſe, but 'tis in proſpect of the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the *Millennial* ſtate. That is ſtill the burthen of the Sacred Song: The complement of every grand Viſion, and the life and ſtrength of the whole Syſteme of Prophecies in that Book. Even thoſe *Halleluja's*
ch. 19.6,7. that are ſung at the deſtruction of *Babylon*, in the 19*th.* Chapter, are rais'd upon the view of the ſucceeding ſtate, *the Reign of Chriſt.* For the Text ſays, *And I heard as it were a voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, ſaying, Hallelujah. FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH. Let us be glad and rejoyce and give honour to him: FOR THE MARRIAGE OF THE LAMB IS COME, AND HIS WIFE HATH MADE HER SELF READY.* This appears plainly to be the *New Jeruſalem*, if you conſult the 21*th. ch. ver.* 2. *And I John ſaw the Holy City, New Jeruſalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, PREPARED AS A BRIDE ADORNED FOR HER HUSBAND.* 'Tis, no doubt, the ſame Bride and Bridegroom, in both places; the ſame marriage or preparations for marriage; which are compleated in the Millennial bliſs, in the Kingdom of Chriſt and of his Saints.

I muſt ſtill beg your patience a little longer, in purſuing this argument throughout the Apocalypſe. As towards the latter end of S. *John*'s Revelation this Kingdom of Chriſt ſhines out in a more full glory, ſo there are the dawnings of it in the very beginning and entrance into his Prophecies. As at the beginning of a Poem, we have commonly in a few words the deſign of the Work, in like
ch. 1.5,6. manner S. *John* makes this Preface to his Prophecies, *From Jeſus Chriſt, who is the faithful witneſs, the firſt begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the Kings of the Earth: unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own bloud: And hath made us Kings and Prieſts unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. Behold, he cometh in the clouds,* &c. In this Prologue the grand argument is pointed at, and that happy Cataſtrophe and laſt Scene which is to crown the Work: The Reign of Chriſt and of his Saints at his ſecond coming. He hath *made us Kings and Prieſts unto God:* This is always the Characteriſtick of thoſe that are to enjoy the Millennial Happineſs, as you may ſee at the opening of the Seals, *ch.* 5. 10. and in the Sons of the *Firſt Reſurrection*, *ch.* 20.6. And this being joyned to the coming of our Saviour, puts it ſtill more out of doubt. That expreſſion alſo, of being *waſht from*

from our ſins in his bloud, is repeated again both at the opening of the Seals, *Chap.* 5. 9. and in the *Palm-bearing* Company, *Chap.* 7. 14. both which places we have cited before as referring to the Millennial State.

Give me leave to add further, that as in this general Preface, ſo alſo in the Introductory viſions of the *Seven Churches*, there are, covertly or expreſly, in the concluſion of each, glances upon the *Millennium.* As in the firſt to *Epheſus*, the Prophet concludes, *He that*
Ch. 2.7. *hath an ear, let him hear, what the Spirit ſays to the Churches: TO HIM THAT OVERCOMETH WILL I GIVE TO EAT OF THE TREE OF LIFE, WHICH IS IN THE MIDST OF THE PARADISE OF GOD.* This is the Millennial happineſs which is promiſed to the Conquerour; as we noted before concerning that phraſe. In like manner in the ſecond to *Smyrna*, He concludes: *He that over-*
Ch. 2.11. *cometh, ſhall not be hurt of the ſecond death.* This implyes, he ſhall be partaker of the *firſt Reſurrection*, for that's the thing underſtood; as you may ſee plainly by their being joyn'd in the 20*th. Ch. ver.* 6. *Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt Reſurrection: on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power: but they ſhall be Prieſts of God and of Chriſt, and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.* In the 3*d* to *Pergamus*, the
Ch. 2.17. promiſe is, *to eat of the hidden Manna, to have a white ſtone, and a new name written in it.* But ſeeing the Prophet adds, *which no man knoweth ſaving he that receiveth it*, we will not preſume to interpret that new ſtate, whatſoever it is. In *Thyatira*, the reward is, *To*
Ch. 2.26,27. *have power over the Nations*, and to have the *Morning Star.* Which is to reign with Chriſt, who is the Morning Star, in his Millennial Empire: both theſe phraſes being us'd in that ſence in the cloſe of this Book. In *Sardis* the promiſe is, *To be clothed in white raiment, and*
Ch. 3.5. *not to be blotted out of the Book of Life.* And you ſee afterwards the *Palm-bearing* Company are clothed in *white robes*; and thoſe that are
Ch. 7.9,14. admitted into the *New Jeruſalem*, are ſuch as are *written in the*
Ch. 3.12. *Lamb's book of life, Ch.* 21. 27. Then as to *Philadelphia*, the reward promiſed there does openly mark the Millennial ſtate, by the *City of God, New Jeruſalem which cometh down out of Heaven from God:* compar'd with *Chap.* 21. 2. Laſtly, to the Church of *Laodicea* is ſaid,
Ch. 3.21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to ſit with me in my Throne.* And that is the uſual phraſe to expreſs the dignity of thoſe that reign with Chriſt, in his Millennial Kingdom: as you may ſee, *Apoc.* 20.4. *Mat.* 19.28. *Dan.* 7.9, 13, 14. So all theſe promiſes to the Churches aim at one and the ſame thing, and terminate upon the ſame point; 'Tis the ſame reward expreſs'd in different ways; and ſeeing 'tis ſtill fixt upon a victory, and appropriated to thoſe that overcome, it does the more eaſily carry our thoughts to the *Millennium*, which is the proper reward of Victors, that is, of Martyrs and Confeſſors.

Thus you ſee how this notion and myſtery of the Millennial Kingdom of Chriſt, does both begin and end the *Apocalypſe*, and run thorough all its parts: As the Soul of that Body of Prophecies: A Spirit or ferment that actuates the whole maſs. And if we could thoroughly underſtand that illuſtrious Scene at the opening of this Apocalyptical Theatre in the 4*th.* and 5*th. Chap.* I do not doubt but we ſhould find it a Repreſentation of the Majeſty of our Saviour in the

the Glory of his future Kingdom. But I dare not venture upon the explication of it, there are ſo many things of difficult and dubious interpretation, coucht under thoſe Schemes. Wherefore having made theſe obſervations upon the Prophecies of St. *John*, we will now add to them ſome reflections upon the Prophecies of *Daniel*. That by the agreement and concurrence of theſe two great Witneſſes, the Concluſion we pretend to prove, may be fully eſtabliſhed.

In the Prophecies of *Daniel* there are two grand Viſions, that of the *Statue* or Image, *Chap.* 2. and that of the four Beaſts, *Chap.* 7. And both theſe Viſions terminate upon the *Millennium*, or the Kingdom of Chriſt. In the Viſion of the Statue, repreſenting to us the four great Monarchies of the World ſucceſſively, (whereof, by the general conſent of Interpreters, The *Roman* is the fourth and laſt) after the diſſolution of the laſt of them, a fifth Monarchy, the Kingdom of Chriſt, is openly introduc'd, in theſe words: *And in the*
Ch. 2. v. 44. *days of theſe kingdoms, ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyd, and the kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all thoſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever.* This may be verified, in ſome meaſure, by the firſt coming of our Saviour in the days of the 4*th.* Kingdom; when his Religion from ſmall beginnings, in a ſhort time overſpread the greateſt part
Ver. 34, 35. of the known World. As the *ſtone cut out without hands*, became a great *mountain and filled the whole Earth.* But the full and final accompliſhment of this Prophecy cannot be till the ſecond coming of our Saviour. For not till then, will he *break in pieces and conſume all thoſe*
Ver. 35. *kingdoms; and that in ſuch a manner, that they ſhall become like the chaff of the Summer threſhing-floor, carried away by the wind: ſo as no place ſhall be found for them.* This, I ſay, will not be done, nor an everlaſting Kingdom erected in their place, over all the Nations of the Earth, till his Second Coming, and his Millennial Reign.

But this Reign is declared more expreſly, in the Viſion of the four Beaſts, *Chap.* 7. For after the deſtruction of the fourth Beaſt,
Ch. 7. 13. the Prophet ſays, *I ſaw in the night, Viſions, and behold one like the Son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him: And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages ſhould ſerve him: His dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away: and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroy'd.* Accordingly he ſays, ver. 21,22. *The laſt Beaſt and the little Horn made war againſt the Saints, until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the moſt High; and the time came that the Saints poſſeſſed the kingdom.* And laſtly, in purſuit ſtill of the ſame argument, he concludes to the ſame effect in fuller words, ver. 26, 27. *But the Judgment ſhall ſit, and they ſhall take away his dominion, to conſume and to deſtroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven, ſhall be given to the people of the Saints of the moſt High: whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him.*

Ch. 7. 28. *Here is the end of the matter:* ſays the Prophet. Here is the up-
Ch. 12. 13. ſhot and reſult of all. Here terminate both the Prophecies of *Daniel* and St. *John:* and all the affairs of the Terreſtrial World. *Daniel* brings

brings in this kingdom of Chriſt, in the concluſion of two or three Viſions; but St. *John* hath interwoven it every where with his Prophecies, from firſt to laſt. And you may as well open a Lock without a Key, as interpret the *Apocalypſe* without the *Millennium*. But after theſe two great Witneſſes, the one for the Old Teſtament, the other for the New, we muſt look into the reſt of the Sacred Writers; for tho' every ſingle Author there, is an Oracle, yet the concurrence of Oracles is ſtill a further demonſtration, and takes away all remains of doubt or incredulity.

CHAP. V.

A View of other places of Scripture concerning the Millennium or future Kingdom of Chriſt. In what ſence all the Prophets have born Teſtimony concerning it.

THE Wife of *Zebedee* came to our Saviour, and begg'd of him, like a fond Mother, that her two Sons might ſit, one at his right hand, th'other at his left, when he came into his Kingdom. *Mat. 20. 21.* Our Saviour does not deny the ſuppoſition, or general ground of her requeſt, that *he was to have a Kingdom*; but tells her, The honours of that Kingdom were not then in his diſpoſal. He had not drunk his Cup, nor been baptiz'd with his laſt Baptiſm: which were conditions, both to him and others, of entring into that Kingdom. Yet, in another place, our Saviour is ſo well aſſur'd of his intereſt *Mat. 19. 28.* and authority there, by the good will of his Father, that he promiſes to his Diſciples and followers, that for the loſſes they ſhould ſuſtain here, upon his account, and for the ſake of his Goſpel, they ſhould receive there an hundred fold, and ſit upon Thrones with him, judging the Tribes of *Iſrael*. The words are theſe: *And Jeſus ſaid unto them, verily I ſay unto you, that ye which have followed me,* in the Regeneration or Renovation, *when the Son of man ſhall ſit in the Throne of his glory, ye alſo ſhall ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael.* Theſe Thrones, in all reaſon, muſt be underſtood to be the ſame with thoſe which we mention'd in the foregoing Chapter, out of *Daniel* and the *Apocalypſe*: and therefore mark the *Dan. 7. 9.* ſame time and the ſame ſtate. And ſeeing, in thoſe places, they *Apoc. 20. 4.* plainly ſignified the *Millennial* ſtate, or the Kingdom of Chriſt and of his Saints, they muſt here ſignifie the ſame, in this promiſe of our Saviour to his ſuffering Followers. And as to the word *Palingeneſia*, which is here tranſlated *Regeneration*, 'tis very well known, that, both the *Greek* Philoſophers, and *Greek* Fathers, uſe that very word for the *Renovation of the World*. Which is to be, as we ſhall hereafter make appear, at or before the *Millennial* ſtate.

Our Saviour alſo, in his Divine Sermon upon the Mount, makes this one of his *Beatitudes*, *Bleſſed are the Meek, for they ſhall inherit the Earth.* But *how*, I pray, or *where*, or *when*, do the Meek inherit the

the Earth, neither at preſent, I am ſure, nor in any paſt Ages. 'Tis the Great Ones of the World, ambitious Princes and Tyrants, that ſlice the Earth amongſt them: and thoſe that can flatter them beſt, or ſerve them in their intereſts or pleaſures, have the next beſt ſhares. But a meek, modeſt, and humble Spirit, is the moſt unqualified Perſon that can be for a Court, or a Camp: to ſcramble for Preferment, or Plunder. Both He, and his ſelf-denying notions, are ridicul'd, as things of no uſe, and proceeding from meanneſs and poorneſs of Spirit. *David*, who was a Perſon of an admirable devotion, but of an unequal Spirit; ſubject to great dejections, as well as elevations of mind; was ſo much affected with the proſperity of the wicked in this World, that he could ſcarce forbear charging Providence with injuſtice. You may ſee ſeveral touches of a repining Spirit in his Pſalms: and in the Seventy-third *Pſalm*, compos'd upon that Subject, you have both the wound and the cure. Now this Beatitude pronounc'd here by our Saviour, was ſpoken before by *David*, *Pſal.* 37. 11. The ſame *David* that was always ſo ſenſible of the hard uſage of the Juſt in this life. Our Saviour alſo, and his Apoſtles, preach the Doctrine of the Croſs every where, and foretell the ſufferings that ſhall attend the Righteous, in this World. Therefore neither *David*, nor our Saviour, could underſtand this *inheritance of the Earth*, otherwiſe than of ſome future ſtate, or of a ſtate yet to come. But as it muſt be a future ſtate, ſo it muſt be a Terreſtrial ſtate; for it could not be call'd the *inheritance of the Earth*, if it was not ſo. And 'tis to be a ſtate of *peace*, as well as *plenty*, according to the words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *But the meek ſhall inherit the Earth, and ſhall delight themſelves in the abundance of peace.* It follows therefore from theſe premiſſes, that; both our Saviour, and *David*, muſt underſtand ſome future ſtate of the Earth, wherein the *Meek* will enjoy both peace and plenty. And this will appear to be the future Kingdom of Chriſt, when, upon a fuller deſcription, we ſhall have given you the marks and characters of it.

In the mean time, why ſhould we not ſuppoſe, this Earth, which the Meek are to inherit, to be that *habitable Earth to come*, which St. *Paul* mentions (*Hebr.* 2. 6.) and repreſents as ſubject to our Saviour in a peculiar manner: at his diſpoſal and under his Government, as his Kingdom? Why ſhould not that Earth be the ſubject of this Beatitude: The promis'd Land, the Lot of the Righteous? This I am ſure of, that both this Text and the former deſerve our ſerious thoughts; and tho' they do not expreſly, and in terms, prove the future Kingdom of our Saviour, yet upon the faireſt interpretations they imply ſuch a ſtate. And it will be very uneaſie to give a ſatisfactory account, either of the *Regeneration* or *Renovation*, when our Saviour and his Diſciples ſhall ſit upon Thrones: Or of that *Earth* which the *Meek ſhall inherit*: Or laſtly, of that *Habitable World*, which is peculiarly ſubject to the dominion of Jeſus Chriſt, without ſuppoſing, on this ſide Heaven, ſome other reign of Chriſt and his Saints, than what we ſee, or what they enjoy, at preſent.

But to proceed in this argument. It will be neceſſary, as I told you, to ſet down ſome notes and characters of this Reign of Chriſt and of his Saints, whereby it may be diſtinguiſh'd from the preſent ſtate,

ſtate, and preſent Kingdoms of the World. And theſe characters are chiefly three, *Juſtice*, *Peace*, and *Divine Preſence* or Conduct; which uſes to be called *Theocraſie*. By theſe characters it is ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd from the Kingdoms of this World; which are generally unjuſt in their titles or exerciſe: ſtain'd with bloud: and ſo far from being under a particular Divine Conduct, that humane paſſions and humane vices, are the Springs that commonly give motion to their greateſt deſigns. But more particularly and reſtrainedly, the Government of Chriſt, is oppoſed to the Kingdom and Government of Antichriſt, whoſe characters are diametrically oppoſite to theſe, being *injuſtice*, *cruelty*, and *humane or diabolical artifices*.

Upon this ſhort view of the Kingdom of Chriſt, let us make enquiry after it amongſt the Prophets of the Old Teſtament. And we ſhall find, upon examination, that there is ſcarce any of them, greater or leſſer, but take notice of this myſtical kingdom; either expreſly, or under the types of *Iſrael*, *Sion*, *Jeruſalem*, and ſuch like. And therefore I am apt to think, that, when S. *Peter* in his Sermon to the *Jews*, *Act.* 3. ſays, All the holy Prophets ſpoke of *The Reſtitution of all things*, he does not mean the Renovation of the World ſeparately from the Kingdom of Chriſt, but complexly, as it may imply both. For there are not many of the old Prophets that have ſpoken of the Renovation of the *Natural* World; but a great many have ſpoken of the Renovation of the *Moral*, in the Kingdom of Chriſt. Theſe are S. *Peter*'s words: *Act.* 3. 19, 20, 21. *Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out, when the times of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord. And he ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt which before was preached unto ye: whom the heavens muſt receive until the times of* RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS. The Apoſtle here mentions three things, The *Times of refreſhing*, The *Second Coming* of our Saviour, And the *Times of Reſtitution of all things*. And to the laſt of theſe he immediately ſubjoyns, *which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, ſince the world began.* This *Reſtitution of all things*, I ſay, muſt not be underſtood abſtractly from the reign of Chriſt, but as in conjunction with it; and in that ſence, and no other, it is the general ſubject of the Prophets.

To enter therefore into the Schools of the Prophets, and enquire their ſence concerning this Myſtery, let us firſt addreſs our ſelves to the Prophet *Iſaiah*, and the Royal Prophet *David*; who ſeem to have had many noble thoughts, or inſpirations, upon this ſubject. *Iſaiah* in the *65th chap.* from the *17th ver.* to the end, treats upon this argument: and joyns together the Renovation of the Natural and Moral World; as S. *Peter*, in the place forementioned, ſeems to do. And accordingly the Prophet, having ſet down ſeveral natural characters of that State, as indolency and joy, longevity, eaſe, and plenty, from *ver.* 18. to the *24th*. He there begins the moral characters, of divine favour, and ſuch a particular protection, that they are heard and anſwer'd before they pray. And laſtly, He repreſents it as a ſtate of univerſal peace and innocency, *ver.* 23. *The Wolf and the Lamb ſhall feed together*, &c.

This laſt character, which comprehends *Peace*, *Juſtice*, and *Innocency*, is more fully diſplay'd by the ſame Prophet, in the *11th. chap.* where he treats alſo of the Kingdom of Chriſt. Give me leave to ſet down his words, *ver.* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *But with Righteouſneſs ſhall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the Earth: and he ſhall ſmite the Earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips ſhall he ſlay the wicked. And righteouſneſs ſhall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulneſs the girdle of his reins. The Wolf alſo ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhall lye down with the Kid: and the Calf and the young Lyon, and the fatling together, and a little child ſhall lead them. And the Cow and the Bear ſhall feed, their young ones ſhall lye down together: and the Lyon ſhall eat ſtraw like the Ox. And the ſuckling child ſhall play on the hole of the Aſp, and the weaned child ſhall put his hand on the Cockatrice-den. They ſhall not hurt, nor deſtroy in all my holy mountain: for the Earth ſhall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea.* Thus far the Prophet: Now if we joyn this to what we noted before, from his *65th. chap.* concerning the ſame ſtate, 'twill be impoſſible to underſtand it of any order of things, that is now, or hath been hitherto in the World. And conſequently it muſt be the Idea of ſome ſtate to come, and particularly of that which we call the Future Kingdom of Chriſt.

The ſame pacifick temper, Innocency and Juſtice, are celebrated by this Prophet when the *Mountain of the Lord ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the top of the mountains*, chap. 2. 2, 4. *And he ſhall judge amongſt the nations, and ſhall rebuke many people; and they ſhall beat their ſwords into plow-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks. Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learn war any more.* And as to righteouſneſs, he ſays in the 23. chap. *Behold a King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and Princes ſhall rule in judgment*, &c. Theſe places, I know, uſually are applyed to the firſt coming of our Saviour; the peaceableneſs of his doctrine, and the propagation of it through all the World. I willingly allow this to be a true ſence, ſo far as it will go. But 'tis one thing to be a true ſence, to ſuch a degree; and another thing to be the final ſence and accompliſhment of a Prophecy. The affairs of the firſt and ſecond coming of our Saviour are often mingled together in the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament; but in that mixture there are ſome characters whereby you may diſtinguiſh what belongs to his firſt, and what to his ſecond coming; what to the time when he came to ſuffer, and what to the time when he ſhall come to reign. For inſtance, In theſe Prophecies recited, though there are many things very applicable to his firſt coming, yet that *Regality* which is often ſpoken of, and that univerſal Peace and Innocency that will accompany it, cannot be verified of his coming in the fleſh. Seeing it is plain, that in his ſtate of humiliation he did not come as a King, to rule over the Nations of the Earth. And he ſays himſelf expreſly, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, *John* 18.36. And the Prayer of *Salome*, and of the good Thief upon the Croſs, ſuppoſe it not then preſent, but to come. Then as to the eſtabliſhment of *Peace* in his Kingdom, it does not at all appear to me that there is more Peace in the World now than there

Matt. 20. 21. *Luk.* 23. 42.

there was before our Saviour came into it; or that the Chriſtian parts of the World are more peaceable than the unchriſtian. Therefore theſe great promiſes of a *Pacifick Kingdom*, which are expreſt in terms as high and emphatical as can be imagin'd, muſt belong to ſome other days, and ſome other ages, than what we have ſeen hitherto.

You'l ſay, it may be, 'tis not the fault of the Goſpel that the World is not peaceable, but of thoſe that profeſs it, and do not practiſe it. This is true, but it does not anſwer the Prophecy; for that makes no ſuch exception. And by ſuch a reſerve as this, you may elude any Prophecy. So the *Jews* ſay, Their *Meſſiah* defers his coming beyond the time appointed by Prophecy, becauſe of their ſins: but we do not allow this for a good reaſon. The *Iſraelites* had their promiſed *Canaan*, tho' they had render'd themſelves unworthy of it; and by this method of interpreting Prophecies, all the happineſs and glory promiſed in the Millennial Kingdom of Chriſt may come to nothing, upon a pretended forfeiture. Threatnings indeed may have a tacit condition; God may be better than his word, and, upon repentance, divert his judgments; but he cannot be worſe than his word, or fail of performance, when, without any condition expreſt, he promiſes or propheſies good things to come. This would deſtroy all aſſurance of Hope or Faith. Laſtly, This Prophecy concerning Pacifick times or a *Pacifick Kingdom*, is in the *65th. chap.* joyn'd to the *Renovation of the Heavens and the Earth*, and ſeveral marks of a change in the Natural World; which things we know did not come to paſs at the firſt coming of our Saviour: there was no change of Nature then, nor has been ever ſince. And therefore this happy change, both in the Natural and Moral World, is yet to come. *Iſa.* 65.

But, as we ſaid before, we do not ſpeak this excluſively of the firſt coming of our Saviour, as to other parts of theſe Prophecies; for no doubt that was one great deſign of them. And in the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, there are often three gradations, or gradual accompliſhments; The firſt, in ſome King of *Iſrael*, or ſome Perſon or affair relating to *Iſrael*, as National only. The ſecond, in the Meſſiah at his firſt coming. And the laſt, in the Meſſiah, and his Kingdom at his ſecond coming. And that which we affirm and contend for, is, that the Prophecies foremention'd have not a final and total accompliſhment, either in the Nation of the *Jews*, or at the firſt coming of our Saviour. And this we bide by.

The next Prophet that we mention'd as a witneſs of the future Kingdom of Chriſt, is *David*. Who, in his Pſalms, ſeems to be pleas'd with this ſubject above all others; And when he is moſt exalted in his thoughts and Prophetical raptures, the Spirit carries him into the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, to contemplate its glory, to ſing praiſes to its King, and triumph over his Enemies: *Pſal.* 68. *Let God ariſe, let his enemies be ſcattered: Let them alſo that hate him flie before him. As Smoke is driven away, ſo drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, ſo let the wicked periſh at the preſence of God. But let the Righteous be glad*, &c. The plain ground he goes upon in this Pſalm, is the Deliverance out of *Ægypt*, and bringing the *Iſraelites*

unto the Land of *Canaan*; But when he is once upon the wing, he ſoars to an higher pitch: from the type to the Antitype: To the days of the Meſſiah, the Aſcenſion of our Saviour; and, at length, to his Kingdom and Dominion over all the Earth. The 45*th.* Pſalm is an *Epithalamium* to Chriſt and the Church, or to the *Lamb* and his *Spouſe*. And when that will be, and in what ſtate, we may learn from S. *John*, *Apoc.* 19. 7, 8. and *ch.* 21. 2, 9. Namely, after the deſtruction of *Babylon*, in the *New Jeruſalem* glory. The words and matter of the Two Prophets anſwer to one another; Here, in this Pſalm, there is a Fight and Victory celebrated as well as a Marriage: and ſo there is in that 19*th.* Chapter of S. *John*. Here, the Prophet ſays, *Gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, O moſt Mighty, with thy glory and thy Majeſty. And in thy Majeſty ride proſperouſly, becauſe of truth and meekneſs and righteouſneſs: and thy right hand ſhall teach thee terrible things. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, &c.* There S. *John* ſays, having deſcrib'd a Conquerour on a white Horſe, *Out of his mouth goeth a ſharp Sword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the Nations: and he ſhall rule them with a rod of Iron: and he treadeth the Wine-preſs of the fierceneſs and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his veſture, and on his thigh a Name written* KING *of* KINGS, *and* LORD *of* LORDS. This is the ſame glorious Conqueror and Bridegroom in both places: and this Victory is not gain'd, nor theſe Nuptials compleated till the ſecond coming of our Saviour.

In many other Pſalms, there are reflections upon this happy Kingdom, and the triumph of Chriſt over his Enemies: as *Pſal.* 2. *Pſal.* 9. *Pſal.* 21. and 24. and 47. and 85. and 110. and others. In theſe, and ſuch like Pſalms, there are lineaments and colours of a fairer ſtate, than any we have yet ſeen upon Earth. Not but that in their firſt inſtances and grounds they may ſometimes reſpect the ſtate of *Iſrael*, or the Evangelical ſtate: but the eye of the Prophet goes further, this does not terminate his ſight; His Divine Enthuſiaſm reaches into another World: A World of *Peace* and *Juſtice*, and *Holineſs*: of Joy, and Victory, and Triumph over all the wicked: and conſequently ſuch a World, as neither we, nor our Fathers, have yet ſeen.

This is an account of Two Prophets, *David* and *Iſaiah*: and of what they have more openly declar'd concerning the future Kingdom of Chriſt. But to veriſie S. *Peter*'s words, in that forementiond place, *Act.* 3. 21. *viz.* That all the *Holy Prophets ſince the World began*, have ſpoken of the Reſtauration of all things at the ſecond coming of Chriſt. I ſay, to veriſie this aſſertion of S. *Peter*'s, we muſt ſuppoſe, that, where the Prophets ſpeak of the Reſtauration and future glory of *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, they do, under thoſe Types, repreſent to us the glory and happineſs of the Church in the future Kingdom of Chriſt. And moſt of the Prophets, in this ſence, and under theſe forms, have ſpoken of this Kingdom: In foretelling the Reſtauration of *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*; and happy days, peace, plenty, and proſperity to the People of *Iſrael*.

Moſt of the Prophets, I ſay, from *Moſes* to *Malachy*, have ſpoken of this *Reſtauration*. *Moſes* in the 30*th.* of *Deut. ver.* 4, 5, 9. *David*, in many

many of thoſe Pſalms we have cited. *Iſaiah*, beſides the places forementiond, treats amply of this ſubject, *Chap.* 51. and in ſeveral other places *. So likewiſe the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Micah*, *Zephany*, *Haggai*, *Zachary*, *Malachy*. All theſe have, either expreſly, or under the Types of *Jeruſalem* and *Sion*, foretold happy days, and a glorious triumph to the Church of God. And ſeeing in the New Teſtament, and in the Prophecies of St. *John*, the Chriſtian Church is ſtill repreſented, as under perſecution and diſtreſs, till the fall of Antichriſt, and the Millennial Kingdom; 'Tis then, and not till then, that we muſt expect the full accompliſhment of theſe Prophecies; The *Reſtauration* that St. *Peter* ſays was ſpoken of, by *all the Prophets*: and the *myſtery*, which St. *John* ſays, (*Apoc.* 10. 7.) was *declared by his Servants the Prophets*, and would be finiſh'd under the *Seventh Trumpet*, which uſhers in the Kingdom of Chriſt.

It would be too long to examine all theſe places in the Prophets, which you may conſult at leiſure. However it cannot ſeem ſtrange that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be us'd in a typical or allegorical ſence, ſeeing we often find ſuch applications of it in the New Teſtament: as *Gal.* 4. 26. *Heb.* 12. 22. *Apoc.* 3. 12. And 'tis very natural that *Jeruſalem reſtor'd*, ſhould ſignifie the ſame thing as *New Jeruſalem*; and therefore that S. *John*, by his *New Jeruſalem*, intended the ſame thing, or the ſame ſtate, that the ancient Prophets did by their Reſtauration of *Jeruſalem*. And if neither can be underſtood in a literal ſence, which, I believe, you will not contend for; they muſt both be interpreted of the future happineſs and glory of the Church in the Kingdom of Chriſt.

But to conclude this point wholly as to Scripture; If we make reflection upon all the paſſages alledg'd in this and the foregoing Chapter, whether out of the Old or New Teſtament, we muſt at leaſt acknowledge thus much; That there are happy days, at one time or other: Days of Peace and Righteouſneſs; of Joy and Triumph: of external Proſperity and internal Sanctity: when Vertue and Innocency ſhall be in the Throne, and Vice and vitious Men out of power or credit. That there are ſuch happy days Propheſied of in Scripture, and promiſed to the Church of God. Whether you call this the *Reign of Chriſt* and of his Saints, or by any other name, it is not material at preſent to determine; let the title be what you will, as to the ſubſtance it cannot be denied to be a general Doctrine of Prophetical Scripture. And we muſt not imagine, that the Prophets writ like the Poets: feigned an Idea of a Romantick ſtate, that never was, nor ever will be; only to pleaſe their own fancies, or the credulous people. Neither is it the ſtate of Heaven and eternal life that is here meant or intended: For, beſides that they had little or no light concerning thoſe Notions, in the Old Teſtament: The Prophets generally in their deſcription of this happineſs, either expreſs the Earth, or at leaſt give plain marks of a Terreſtrial ſtate. Wherefore the only queſtion that remains, is this, *Whether* theſe happy Days are paſt already, or to come: Whether this bleſſed ſtate of the Church is behind us, or before us: whether our Predeceſſors have enjoy'd it, or our poſterity is to expect it? For we are very ſure that it is not preſent; The World is full of Wars, and

rumours

* *Iſaiah ch.* 11. *ch.* 43. *ch.* 49. 13, *&c. ch.* 66. *Ezekiel, ch.* 28. *ch.* 37. *Hoſ. ch.* 3. *& ch.* 14. *Joel* 3. 18. *Amos, ch.* 9. *Obad. ver.* 17, *&c. Mich. ch.* 4. *ch.* 5. *Zeph.* 3. 14, *&c. Hag. ch.* 2. *Zac.* 2. 10, *&c. & ch.* 9. 9, *&c. & ch.* 14. *Mal. ch.* 3. *ch.* 4.

rumours of Wars: of Vice and Knavery, of Oppreſſion and Perſecution: and theſe are things directly contrary to the genius and characters of the ſtate which we look after.

And if we look for it in times paſt, we can go no further back than the beginning of Chriſtianity. For S. *John*, the laſt of the Apoſtles, Propheſied of theſe times, as to come: and plac'd them at the end of his ſyſteme of Prophecies; whereby one might conclude that they are not only within the compaſs of the Chriſtian ages, but far advanc'd into them. But however, not to inſiſt upon that at preſent, where will you find a thouſand years, from the birth of Chriſtianity to this preſent age, that deſerves the name, or anſwers to the characters of this *Pure* and *Pacifick* ſtate of the Church. The firſt ages of Chriſtianity, as they were the moſt pure, ſo likewiſe were they the leaſt peaceable. Continually, more or leſs, under the Perſecution of the Heathen Emperours; and ſo far from being the Reign and Empire of Chriſt and his Saints over the Nations, that Chriſtians were then, every where, in ſubjection or ſlavery; A poor, feeble, helpleſs people, thruſt into Priſons, or thrown to the Lyons, at the pleaſure of their Princes or Rulers. 'Tis true, when the Empire became Chriſtian under *Conſtantine*, in the fourth Century, there was, for a time, peace and proſperity in the Church, and a good degree of Purity and Piety. But that peace was ſoon diſturb'd, and that piety ſoon corrupted. The growing pride and ambition of the Eccleſiaſticks, and their eaſineſs to admit or introduce Superſtitious Practices, deſtroy'd the purity of the Church. And as to the peace of it, Their conteſts about Opinions and Doctrines, tore the Chriſtians themſelves into pieces; and, ſoon after, an inundation of Barbarous People fell into Chriſtendom, and put it all into flames and confuſion. After this Eruption of the Northern Nations, *Mahometaniſm* roſe in the Eaſt; and ſwarms of *Saracens*, like armies of Locuſts, invaded, conquer'd, and planted their Religion in ſeveral parts of the *Roman* Empire, and of the Chriſtianiz'd World. And can we call ſuch times the Reign of Chriſt, or the impriſonment of Satan? In the following ages, the *Turks* over-run the Eaſtern Empire and the *Greek* Church, and ſtill hold that miſerable people in ſlavery. Providence ſeems to have ſo order'd affairs, that the Chriſtian World ſhould never be without a WOE upon it, leſt it ſhould fanſie it ſelf already in thoſe happy days of Peace and Proſperity, which are reſerv'd for future times. Laſtly, whoſoever is ſenſible of the corruptions and perſecutions of the Church of *Rome*, ſince ſhe came to her greatneſs; whoſoever allows her to be *myſtical Babylon*, which muſt fall before the Kingdom of Chriſt comes on; will think that Kingdom duly plac'd by S. *John* at the end of his Prophecies, concerning the Chriſtian Church: and that there ſtill *remains*, *according* to the words of St. *Paul*, (Hebr. 4. 9.) *a Sabbatiſm to the people of God.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The ſence and teſtimony of the Primitive Church concerning the* Millennium, *or future Kingdom of Chriſt: from the times of the Apoſtles to the* Nicene *Council. The ſecond Propoſition laid down. When, by what means, and for what reaſons, that doctrine was afterwards neglected or diſcountenanc'd.

You have heard the voice of the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles*, declaring the future Kingdom of Chriſt. Next to theſe, the *Primitive Fathers* are accounted of good authority; Let us therefore now enquire into their Sence concerning this Doctrine, that we may give ſatisfaction to all parties; And both thoſe that are guided by Scripture alone, and thoſe that have a Veneration for Antiquity, may find proofs ſuitable to their inclinations and judgment.

And to make few words of it, we will lay down this Concluſion, *That the Millennial Kingdom of Chriſt was the general Doctrine of the Primitive Church, from the times of the Apoſtles to the* Nicene *Council*; incluſively. S. *John* out-liv'd all the reſt of the Apoſtles, and towards the latter end of his life, being baniſh'd into the Iſle of *Pathmos*, he writ his *Apocalypſe*; wherein he hath given us a more full and diſtinct account of the Millennial Kingdom of Chriſt, than any of the Prophets or Apoſtles before him. *Papias*, Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, and Martyr; one of S. *John*'s Auditors, as *Irenæus* teſtifies; taught the ſame Doctrine after S. *John*. He was the familiar friend of *Polycarp*, another of S. *John*'s Diſciples; and either from him, or immediately from S. *John*'s mouth, he might receive this Doctrine. That he taught it in the Church, is agreed on by all hands; both by thoſe that are his followers, as *Irenæus*; and thoſe that are not well-wiſhers to this Doctrine, as *Euſebius* and *Jerome*. *Iren. Lib. 5. c. 33.*

There is alſo another chanel wherein this Doctrine is Traditionally deriv'd from S. *John*, namely by the Clergy of *Aſia*; as *Irenæus* tells us in the ſame Chapter. For, arguing the point, he ſhows that the Bleſſing promis'd to *Jacob* from his Father *Iſaac*, was not made good to him in this life, and therefore he ſays, *without doubt thoſe words had a further aim and proſpect upon the times of the Kingdom*: (ſo they us'd to call the Millennial ſtate) *when the Juſt riſing from the dead, ſhall reign: and when Nature renew'd and ſet at liberty, ſhall yield plenty and abundance of all things; being bleſt with the dew of Heaven, and a great fertility of the Earth. According as has been related by thoſe Eccleſiaſticks or Clergy, who ſee St.* John, *the Diſciple of Chriſt; and heard of him WHAT OUR LORD HAD TAUGHT CONCERNING THOSE TIMES.* This, you ſee, goes to the Fountain-head. The Chriſtian Clergy receive it from St. *John*, and St. *John* relates it from the mouth of our Saviour.

So much for the Original authority of this Doctrine, as a Tradition: that it was from St. *John*, and by him from Chriſt. And as to

to the propagation and prevailing of it in the Primitive Church, we can bring a witneſs beyond all exception, *Juſtin Martyr*, Contemporary with *Irenæus*, and his Senior. He ſays, *that himſelf, and all the Orthodox Chriſtians of his time, did acknowledge the Reſurrection of the fleſh* (ſuppoſe the firſt Reſurrection) *and a thouſand years reign in Jeruſalem reſtor'd*, or in the New Jeruſalem. *According as the Prophets, Ezekiel, and Iſaiah, and Others, atteſt with common conſent.* As St. *Peter* had ſaid before, *Act.* 3. 21. *That all the Prophets had ſpoken of it.* Then he quotes the *65th. Chapter* of *Iſaiah*, which is a bulwark for this Doctrine, that never can be broken. And to ſhew the *Jew*, with whom he had this diſcourſe, that it was the ſence of our Prophets, as well as of theirs, He tells him, that *a certain Man amongſt us Chriſtians, by name John, one of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in a Revelation made to him did propheſie, that the faithful believers in Chriſt ſhould live a thouſand years in the New Jeruſalem; and after that ſhould be the general Reſurrection and day of Judgment.* Thus you have the thoughts and ſentiment of *Juſtin Martyr*, as to himſelf: as to all the reputed Orthodox of his time; As to the ſence of the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, and as to the ſence of St. *John* in the *Apocalypſe*. All conſpiring in confirmation of the Millenary Doctrine.

Dial. with Tryphon *the Jew.*

To theſe three Witneſſes, *Papias*, *Irenæus*, and *Juſtin Martyr*, we may add two more within the ſecond Age of the Church: *Melito*, Biſhop of *Sardis*, and St. *Barnabas*, or whoſoever was the Author of the Epiſtle under his name. This *Melito*, by ſome is thought to be the Angel of the Church of *Sardis*, to whom St. *John* directs the Epiſtle to that Church: *Apoc.* 3. 1. But I do not take him to be ſo ancient; However he was Biſhop of that place, at leaſt in the ſecond Century, and a Perſon of great Sanctity and Learning. He writ many Books, as you may ſee in St. *Jerome*: and, as He notes out of *Tertullian, was by moſt Chriſtians reputed a Prophet.* He was alſo a declar'd *Millenary*, and is recorded as ſuch, both by *Jerome* and *Gennadius*. As to the Epiſtle of *Barnabas*, which we mention'd, it muſt be very ancient, whoſoever is the Author of it, and before the third Century; ſeeing it is often cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who was himſelf within the ſecond Century. The genius of it is very much Millenarian, in the interpretation of the *Sabbath*, the *promis'd Land*, a *Day* for a *thouſand years*, and concerning the *Renovation of the World*. In all which, He follows the foot-ſteps of the Orthodox of thoſe times: that is, of the *Millenarians*.

De Script. Eccleſ.

Dogm. Eccl. c. 55.

So much for the firſt and ſecond Centuries of the Church. By which ſhort account it appears, that the Millenary Doctrine was *Orthodox* and *Catholick* in thoſe early days. For theſe Authors do not ſet it down as a private opinion of their own, but as a *Chriſtian Doctrine*, or an *Apoſtolical Tradition*. 'Tis remarkable what *Papias* ſays of himſelf, and his way of Learning, in his Book call'd, *The Explanation of the Words of the Lord*, as St. *Jerome* gives us an account of it: He ſays in his Preface, *He did not follow various opinions, but had the Apoſtles for his Authors. And that he conſider'd what* Andrew, *what* Peter *ſaid*; *what* Philip, *what* Thomas, *and other Diſciples of the Lord. As alſo what* Ariſtion, *and* John *the Senior, Diſciples of the Lord, what they ſpoke. And that he did not profit ſo much by reading Books, as by the living*

De Script. Eccleſ.

living voice of theſe perſons which reſounded from them to that day. This hath very much the air of Truth and Sincerity, and of a Man, that, in good earneſt, ſought after the Chriſtian Doctrine, from thoſe that were the moſt Authentick Teachers of it. I know *Euſebius* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, gives a double Character of this *Papias*; in one place, he calls him, *A very eloquent Man in all things, and ſkilful in Scripture*; and in another, he makes him a Man of a *ſmall underſtanding*. But what reaſon there is to ſuſpect *Euſebius* of partiality in this point of the *Millennium*; we ſhall make appear hereafter. However, We do not depend upon the Learning of *Papias*, or the depth of his underſtanding: allow him but to be an honeſt Man, and a fair Witneſs, and 'tis all we deſire. And we have little reaſon to queſtion his teſtimony in this point, ſeeing it is backt by others of good credit; and alſo becauſe there is no counter-evidence, nor any witneſs that appears againſt him. For there is not extant, either the Writing, Name, or Memory, of any Perſon, that conteſted this doctrine in the firſt or ſecond Century. I ſay, that call'd in queſtion this Millenary Doctrine, propos'd after a Chriſtian manner; unleſs ſuch Hereticks as deny'd the Reſurrection wholly: or ſuch Chriſtians as deny'd the Divine Authority of the Apocalypſe.

Vide Hieron. Epiſt. 28. *ad Lucinium.*

We proceed now to the Third Century. Where you find *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Victorinus*, Biſhop and Martyr: *Nepos*, *Ægyptius*, *Cyprian*, and, at the end of it, *Lactantius*: All openly profeſſing, or implicitly favouring the Millenary Doctrine. We do not mention *Clemens Alexandrinus*, contemporary with *Tertullian*, becauſe he hath not any thing, that I know of, expreſly either for, or againſt the *Millennium*. But he takes notice that the *Seventh Day* hath been accounted *Sacred*, both by the Hebrews and Greeks, becauſe of the *Revolution* of the *World*, and the *Renovation of all things*. And giving this as a reaſon why they kept that day *Holy*, ſeeing there is not a Revolution of the World every ſeven days, it can be in no other ſence than as the *Seventh Day* repreſents the *ſeventh Millenary*, in which the Renovation of the World and the Kingdom of Chriſt, is to be. As to *Tertullian*, S. *Jerome* reckons him, in the firſt place, amongſt the Latin *Millenaries*. And tho' his Book, about the *Hope* of the *Faithful*, as alſo that about *Paradiſe*, which ſhould have given us the greateſt light in this affair, be both loſt or ſuppreſs'd; yet there are ſufficient indications of his Millenary opinion in his Tracts againſt *Marcion*, and againſt *Hermogenes*. S. *Cyprian* was *Tertullian*'s admirer, and inclines to the ſame opinion, ſo far as one can judge, in this particular; for his period of *Six Thouſand Years*, and making the *Seventh Millenary* the Conſummation of all, is wholly according to the Analogy of the Millenary Doctrine. As to the Two Biſhops, *Victorinus* and *Nepos*, S. *Jerome* vouches for them. The Writings of the one are loſt, and of the other ſo chang'd, that the ſence of the Author does not appear there now. But *Lactantius*, whom we nam'd in the laſt place, does openly and profuſely teach this doctrine, in his *Divine Inſtitutions*: and with the ſame aſſurance that he does other parts of the Chriſtian Doctrine. For he concludes thus, ſpeaking of the *Millennium*, *This is the doctrine of the Holy Prophets, which we Chriſtians follow. This is our wiſdom*, &c. Yet he acknowledges

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there that it was kept as a myſtery or ſecret amongſt the Chriſtians, leſt the Heathens ſhould make any perverſe or odious interpretation of it. And for the ſame or like reaſon, I believe, The Book of the *Apocalypſe* was kept out of the hands of the Vulgar for ſome time, and not read publickly, leſt it ſhould be found to have ſpoken too openly of the fate of the *Roman* Empire, or of this Millennial State.

So much for the Firſt, Second, and Third Century of the Church. But, by our concluſion, we engag'd to make out this proof as far as the *Nicene Council*, incluſively, The *Nicene Council* was about the year of Chriſt 325, and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, *Lactantius* was then living; at leaſt he came within the time of *Conſtantine*'s Empire. But however the Fathers of that Council are themſelves our witneſſes in this point. For, in their *Eccleſiaſtical Forms* or *Conſtitutions*, in the *chapter about the Providence of God*, and *about the World*, They ſpeak thus; *The World was made meaner or leſs perfect, providentially; for God foreſee that man would ſin. Wherefore we expect New Heavens and a New Earth, according to the Holy Scriptures: at the appearance and Kingdom of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* And then, as *Daniel* ſays (ch. 7. 18.) *The Saints of the moſt High ſhall take the Kingdom. And the Earth ſhall be Pure, Holy, the Land of the Living, not of the dead.* Which David *foreſeeing by the eye of Faith*, cryes out (Pſ. 27. 13.) *I believe to ſee the good things of the Lord, in the Land of the Living.* Our Saviour ſays, *Happy are the meek, for they ſhall inherit the Earth*, Matt. 5. 5. and the Prophet Iſaiah ſays, (*chap.* 26. 6.) *the feet of the meek and lowly ſhall tread upon it.* So you ſee, according to the judgment of theſe Fathers, there will be a Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth, and moreover, that it will be in the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*. And, in both theſe points, they cite the Prophets and our Saviour in confirmation of them.

Thus we have diſcharg'd our promiſe, and given you an account of the doctrine of the *Millennium*, or future Kingdom of Chriſt, throughout the Three Firſt Ages of the Church, before any conſiderable corruptions were crept into the Chriſtian Religion. And thoſe Authorities of ſingle and ſucceſſive Fathers, we have ſeal'd up all together, with the declaration of the *Nicene* Fathers, in a Body. Thoſe that think Tradition a Rule of Faith, or a conſiderable motive to it, will find it hard to turn off the force of theſe Teſtimonies. And thoſe that do not go ſo far, but yet have a reverence for Antiquity and the Primitive Church, will not eaſily produce better Authorities, more early, more numerous, or more uncontradicted, for any Article that is not Fundamental. Yet theſe are but Seconds to the Prophets and Apoſtles, who are truly the Principals in this Cauſe. I will leave them altogether, to be examin'd and weigh'd by the Impartial Reader. And becauſe they ſeem to me to make a full and undeniable proof, I will now at the foot of the account ſet down our ſecond Propoſition, which is this, *That there is a Millennial State, or a Future Kingdom of Chriſt and his Saints, Propheſied of and Promiſed, in the Old and New Teſtament; and receiv'd by the Primitive Church as a Chriſtian and Catholick Doctrine.*

Propoſ. 2.

HAVING

HAVING diſpatch'd this main point. To conclude the Chapter and this Head of our Diſcourſe, it will be ſome ſatisfaction poſſibly to ſee, *How* a Doctrine ſo generally receiv'd and approv'd, came to decay and almoſt wear out of the Church, in following Ages. The Chriſtian Millenary Doctrine was not call'd into queſtion, ſo far as appears from Hiſtory, before the middle of the third Century; when *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* writ againſt *Nepos*, an *Ægyptian* Biſhop, who had declar'd himſelf upon that ſubject. But we do not find that this Book had any great effect; for the declaration or conſtitution of the *Nicene Fathers* was after: and in S. *Jerome*'s time, who writ towards the end of the fourth Century, this Doctrine had ſo much Credit, that, He, who was its greateſt adverſary, yet durſt not condemn it, as he ſays himſelf. *Quæ licet non ſequamur, tamen damnare non poſſumus; quiâ multi Eccleſiaſticorum virorum & Martyres iſta dixerunt.* Which things, or doctrines, ſpeaking of the Millennium, *tho' we do not follow, yet we cannot condemn. Becauſe many of our Church-men, and Martyrs, have affirmed theſe things.* And when *Apollinarius* replyed to that Book of *Dionyſius*, S. *Jerome* ſays, that, *not only thoſe of his own Sect, but a great multitude of other Chriſtians did agree with* Apollinarius *in that particular. Ut præſagâ mente jam cernam, quantorum in me rabies concitanda ſit. That I now foreſee, how many will be enrag'd againſt me, for what I have ſpoken againſt the Millenary Doctrine.*

We may therefore conclude that in S. *Jerome*'s time the Millenaries made the greater party in the Church; for a little matter would not have frighted him from cenſuring their opinion. S. *Jerome* was a rough and rugged Saint, and an unfair adverſary, that uſually run down, with heat and violence, what ſtood in his way. As to his unfairneſs, he ſhews it ſufficiently in this very cauſe, for he generally repreſents the Millenary Doctrine after a Judaical rather than a *Chriſtian* manner. And in reckoning up the chief Patrons of it, he always skips *Juſtin Martyr*. Who was not a Man ſo obſcure as to be over-look'd: and he was a Man that had declar'd himſelf ſufficiently upon this point, for he ſays, *both himſelf and all the Orthodox of his time, were of that judgment*, and applyes both the *Apocalypſe* of S. *John*, and the *65th chap.* of *Iſaiah*, for the proof of it. As we noted before.

As S. *Jerome* was an open enemy to this Doctrine, ſo *Euſebius* was a back friend to it; and repreſented every thing to its diſadvantage, ſo far as was tolerably conſiſtent with the fairneſs of an Hiſtorian. He gives a ſlight character of *Papias*, without any authority for it; and brings in one *Gaius* that makes *Cerinthus* to be the Author of the *Apocalypſe* and of the *Millennium*: and calls the Viſions there *monſtrous ſtories*. He himſelf is willing to ſhuffle off that Book from *John* the *Evangeliſt* to another *John* a *Presbyter*: and to ſhew his skill in the interpretation of it, he makes the *New Jeruſalem* in the

Eccleſ. Hiſt. 3. 22. Τεχνολογίας.

l. 3. 32. *de vit. Conſtan.*

the 21*th chap.* to be *Conſtantine*'s *Jeruſalem*, when he turn'd the Heathen Temples there into Chriſtian. A wonderful invention. As S. *Jerome* by his flouts, ſo *Euſebius* by ſiniſter inſinuations, endeavour'd to leſſen the reputation of this Doctrine; and the Art they both us'd, was, to miſrepreſent it as *Judaical*. But we muſt not caſt off every doctrine which the Jews believ'd, only for that reaſon; for we have the ſame Oracles which they had, and the ſame Prophets: and they have collected from them the ſame general doctrine that we have, namely, that *There will be an happy and pacifick ſtate of the Church, in future times.* But as to the circumſtances of this ſtate we differ very much; They ſuppoſe the Moſaical Law will be reſtor'd, with all its pomp, rites, and ceremonies: whereas we ſuppoſe the Chriſtian Worſhip, or ſomething more perfect, will then take place. Yet S. *Jerome* has the confidence, even there where he ſpeaks of the many Chriſtian Clergy and Martyrs that held this doctrine: has the confidence, I ſay, to repreſent it, as if they held that *Circumciſion*, *Sacrifices*, and all the Judaical rites, ſhould then be reſtor'd. Which ſeems to me to be a great ſlander, and a great inſtance how far mens paſſions will carry them, in miſrepreſenting an opinion which they have a mind to diſgrace.

But as we have reaſon to blame the partiality of thoſe that oppoſed this doctrine, ſo, on the other hand, we cannot excuſe the Patrons of it from all indiſcretions. I believe they might partly themſelves make it obnoxious; by mixing ſome things with it, from pretended Traditions, or the Books of the Sibylls, or other private Authorities, that had ſo ſufficient warrant from Scripture; and things, ſometimes, that Nature would not eaſily bear. Beſides, in later ages, they ſeem to have dropt one half of the doctrine, namely, the *Renovation of Nature*, which *Irenæus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, and the Antients, join inſeparably with the Millennium. And by this omiſſion, the doctrine hath been made leſs intelligible, and one part of it inconſiſtent with another. And when their pretenſions were to reign upon this preſent Earth, and in this preſent ſtate of Nature, it gave a jealouſie to Temporal Princes, and gave occaſion likewiſe to many of Fanatical Spirits, under the notion of Saints, to aſpire to dominion, after a violent and tumultuary manner. This I reckon as one great cauſe that brought the doctrine into diſcredit. But I hope by reducing of it to the true ſtate, we ſhall cure this and other abuſes, for the future.

Laſtly, It never pleas'd the Church of *Rome*; and ſo far as the influence and authority of that would go, you may be ſure it would be depreſt and diſcountenanc'd. I never yet met with a Popiſh Doctor that held the *Millennium*; and *Baronius* would have it paſs for an Hereſie, and *Papias* for the Inventor of it; whereas, if *Irenæus* may be credited, it was receiv'd from S. *John*, and by him from the mouth of our Saviour. And neither S. *Jerome*, nor his friend Pope *Damaſus*, durſt ever condemn it for an *hereſie*. It was always indeed uneaſie, and gave offence, to the Church of *Rome*, becauſe it does not ſuit to that Scheme of Chriſtianity, which they have drawn. They ſuppoſe Chriſt reigns already, by his Vicar, the Pope: and treads upon the Necks of Emperors and Kings. And if they could but ſuppreſs

ſuppreſs the *Northern Hereſie*, as they call it, they do not know what a *Millennium* would ſignifie, or how the Church could be in an happier condition than ſhe is. The *Apocalypſe* of St. *John* does ſuppoſe the true Church under hardſhip and perſecution, more or leſs, for the greateſt part of the Chriſtian Ages; namely for 1260 years, while the Witneſſes are in Sack-cloth. But the Church of *Rome* hath been in proſperity and greatneſs, and the commanding Church in Chriſtendom, for ſo long or longer, and hath rul'd the Nations with a Rod of Iron; ſo as that mark of the true Church, does not favour her at all. And the *Millennium* being properly a reward and triumph for thoſe that come out of Perſecution, ſuch as have liv'd always in pomp and proſperity can pretend to no ſhare in it, or benefit by it. This has made the Church of *Rome* have always an ill eye upon this Doctrine, becauſe it ſeem'd to have an ill eye upon her. And as ſhe grew in ſplendor and greatneſs, ſhe eclips'd and obſcur'd it more and more, ſo that it would have been loſt out of the World as an obſolete errour, if it had not been reviv'd by ſome of the Reformation.

CHAP. VII.

The true ſtate of the Millennium, according to Characters taken from Scripture; ſome miſtakes concerning it, examin'd.

WE have made ſufficient proof of a Millennial ſtate, from Scripture and Antiquity; and upon that firm Baſis have ſetled our ſecond Propoſition. We ſhould now determine the *Time* and *Place* of this future Kingdom of Chriſt: Not whether it is to be in Heaven, or upon Earth: for that we ſuppoſe determin'd already; but whether it is to be in the preſent Earth, and under the preſent conſtitution of Nature, or in the *New Heavens*, and *New Earth*, which are promis'd after the *Conflagration*. This is to make our *Third Propoſition*: and I ſhould have proceeded immediately to the examination of it, but that I imagine it will give us ſome light in this affair, if we enquire further into the true ſtate of the *Millennium*, before we determine its Time and Place.

We have already noted ſome *moral* Characters of the *Millennial* ſtate; And the great *Natural* Character of it, is this in general, That it will be *Paradiſiacal*. Free from all inconveniences, either of external Nature, or of our own Bodies. For my part, I do not underſtand how there can be any conſiderable degree of happineſs without *Indolency*: nor how there can be Indolency, while we have ſuch Bodies as we have now, and ſuch an external conſtitution of Nature. And as there muſt be *Indolency*, where there is happineſs; ſo there muſt not be *Indigency*, or want of any due comforts of life; For where there is *Indigency*, there is ſollicitude, and diſtraction, and uneaſineſs, and fear: Paſſions, that do as naturally diſquiet the Soul, as

as pain does the Body. Therefore Indolency and Plenty ſeem to be two eſſential Ingredients of every happy ſtate; and theſe two in conjunction make that ſtate we call *Paradiſiacal*.

Now the Scripture ſeems plainly to exempt the Sons of the *New Jeruſalem*, or of the *Millennium*, from all *pain* or *want*, in thoſe words, *Apoc.* 21. 4. *And God ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes. And there ſhall be no more death, neither ſorrow, nor crying: neither ſhall there be any more pain: for the former things are paſſed away.* And the Lord of that Kingdom, *He that ſate upon the Throne*, ſaid, *Behold I make all things new*, ver. 5. This Renovation is a reſtauration to ſome former ſtate: and I hope not to that ſtate of indigency, and miſery, and diſeaſedneſs, which we languiſh under at preſent. But to that priſtine Paradiſiacal ſtate, which was the bleſſing of the firſt Heavens and the firſt Earth.

As Health and Plenty are the Bleſſings of Nature; ſo, in Civil affairs, *Peace* is the greateſt bleſſing. And this is inſeparably annext to the *Millennium*: an indelible character of the Kingdom of Chriſt. And by *Peace* we underſtand, not onely freedom from Perſecution upon religious accounts, but that *Nation ſhall not riſe up againſt Nation*, upon any account whatſoever. That bloody Monſter, *War*, that hath devour'd ſo many Millions of the Sons of *Adam*, is now at length to be chain'd up: and the Furies, that run throughout the Earth, with their Snakes and Torches, ſhall be thrown into the Abyſs, to ſting and prey upon one another. All evil and miſchievous paſſions ſhall be extinguiſh'd: and that not in men onely, but even in Brute creatures, according to the Prophets. *The Lamb and the Lyon ſhall lie down together, and the ſucking Child ſhall play with the Baſilisk.* Happy days, when not onely the Temple of *Janus* ſhall be ſhut up for a thouſand years, and the *Nations ſhall beat their ſwords into plow-ſhares*: but all enmities and antipathies ſhall ceaſe, all acts of hoſtility, throughout all nature. And this Univerſal Peace is a demonſtration alſo of the former character, *Univerſal Plenty*: for where there is want and neceſſitouſneſs, there will be quarrelling.

Fourthly, 'Tis a Kingdom of Righteouſneſs, as well as of Peace. Theſe alſo muſt go together; for unrighteous Perſons will not live long in peace, no more than indigent Perſons. The *Pſalmiſt* therefore joyns them together: and *Plenty* alſo, as their neceſſary preſervative: in his deſcription of the Kingdom of Chriſt: Pſal. 85. 10, 11, 12. *Mercy and truth are met together: Righteouſneſs and peace have kiſſed each other. Truth ſhall ſpring out of the Earth, and righteouſneſs ſhall look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord ſhall give good, and our Land ſhall yield her increaſe.* This will not be a medley-ſtate, as the preſent World is, good and bad mingled together; but a *choſen generation, a royal Prieſthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar people.* Thoſe that have a part in the firſt Reſurrection, the Scripture pronounceth them *Holy and Bleſſed*: and ſays, *the ſecond death ſhall have no power over them.* Satan alſo is bound and ſhut up in the bottomleſs Pit, and has no liberty of tempting or ſeducing this People, for a thouſand years: but at the end of that time, he will meet with a degenerate crew, ſeparate and aliens to the Holy City, that will make war againſt it, *Apoc.* 5. 9, and periſh in the attempt. In a word, thoſe that are to enjoy this ſtate,

ſtate, are always diſtinguiſh'd from the multitude, as People redeem'd from the Earth; That have waſh'd their Robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; and are repreſented as Victors over the World; with ſuch other Characters as are incompetible to any but the righteous. *Ch.* 7. 14. *Ch.* 14. 3, 4. *Ch.* 21. 27.

Fifthly, This will be a ſtate under a peculiar divine preſence and conduct. It is not eaſie indeed to determine the manner of this preſence, but the Scripture plainly implies ſome extraordinary divine preſence to enligh.en and enliven that ſtate. When the *New Jeruſalem* was come down, St. *John* ſays, *And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, ſaying, Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men: and he will dwell with them, and they ſhall be his people: and God himſelf ſhall be with them and be their God.* And the like is promis'd to the Palm-bearing Company, *Chap.* 7. 15. where they are admitted to the priviledges of the *New Jeruſalem*. When our Saviour was incarnate, and vouchſafed to dwell amongſt the Children of Men, the ſame phraſe is us'd by this ſame Author, *Joh.* 1. 14. *The Word was made fleſh, and Tabernacled amongſt us: and we beheld his glory*, &c. We read it, *He dwelt amongſt us*, but render'd more cloſely, it is, *He* ſet *his Tabernacle amongſt us*. And that which the *Hebrews* call the *Shekinah*, or *divine preſence*, comes from a word of the like ſignification and ſound with the *Greek* word here us'd. Therefore there will be a *Shekinah* in that Kingdom of Chriſt; but as to the mode of it, I am very willing to confeſs my ignorance. *Apoc.* 21. 3. ἐσκήνωσεν. שכינה *Maimon. Mor. Nev. par.* 1. *c.* 25.

The laſt Character that belongs to this ſtate, or rather to thoſe that enjoy it, is, that they are *Kings and Prieſts unto God*. This is a character often repeated in Scripture, and therefore the more to be regarded. It occurs thrice in the *Apocalypſe* in formal terms, *Ch.* 1. 6. *Ch.* 5. 10. *Ch.* 20. 6. And as to the Regal dignity apart, that is further expreſt, either by the *Donation of a Kingdom*, as in *Daniel's* phraſe, *Chap.* 7. 18, 22, 27. Or by *placing upon Thrones*, with a judicial power; which is the New Teſtament ſtyle, *Mat.* 19. 28. *Luk.* 22. 29, 30. *Revel.* 20. 4. Theſe two Titles, no doubt, are intended to comprehend the higheſt honours that we are capable of: theſe being the higheſt dignities in every Kingdom; and ſuch as were by the Ancients, both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt, commonly united in one and the ſame Perſon. Their Kings being Prieſts, like *Melchiſedeck*: or as the *Roman* Emperour was *Pontifex Maximus*. But as to the Sacerdotal character, that ſeems chiefly to reſpect the temper of the mind; to ſignifie a People dedicated to God and his Service: Separate from the World, and from ſecular affairs: Spending their time in devotion and contemplation, which will be the great employments of that happy ſtate. For where there is eaſe, peace, and plenty of all things; refin'd Bodies, and purified Minds, there will be more inclination to intellectual exerciſes and entertainments: which they may attend upon, without any diſtraction, having neither want, pain, nor worldly buſineſs.

The Title of *King* implies a confluence of all things that conſtitute temporal happineſs. 'Tis the higheſt thing we can wiſh any in this World, to be a King. So as the *Regal* dignity ſeems to comprehend all the Goods of Fortune, or external felicity: And the *Sacerdotal*, the

the Goods of the Mind, or internal: Both which concur in the conſtitution of true happineſs. There is alſo a further force and emphaſis in this notion, *of the Saints being made Kings*, if we conſider it *comparatively*, with reſpect to what they were before in this World; where they were not only mean and deſpicable, in ſubjection and ſervility, but often under perſecution, abus'd and trampled upon, by the ſecular and Eccleſiaſtical Powers. But now the Scene is chang'd, and you ſee the reverſe of Providence, according as *Abraham* ſaid to the Rich *man, Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedſt thy good things, and likewiſe Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* Now they are ſet upon Thrones and Tribunals, who were before arraigned as Criminals, and brought before tyrannical Judicatures. They are now Laws and Law-givers to themſelves: in a true ſtate of Royal Liberty, neither under the domination of evil men, nor of their own evil paſſions.

Some poſſibly may think, that this high character of *being made Prieſts* and *Kings to God*, is not general to all that enjoy the *Millennium*, but a prerogative belonging to the Apoſtles and ſome of the chief Martyrs, who are eminently rewarded for their eminent ſervices. But Scripture, as far as I perceive, applyes it to all that inherit that Kingdom. *The redeemed out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation*, are made *Kings and Prieſts to God, and ſhall reign on the earth, Apoc.* 5. 9, 10. And in the 20*th chap. ver.* 6. all the Sons of the firſt Reſurrection are made *Prieſts of God and ſhall reign with him a thouſand years.* Here is no diſtinction or diſcrimination thus far. Not that we ſuppoſe an univerſal equality of conditions in the Millennial ſtate, but as to all theſe characters which we have given of it, I do not perceive that they are reſtrain'd or confin'd by Scripture to ſingle perſons, but make the general happineſs of that ſtate, and are the portion of every one that is admitted into the New Jeruſalem.

Others poſſibly may think that this priviledge of the *firſt Reſurrection* is not common to all that enjoy the Millennial State. For tho' S. *John*, who is the only perſon that hath made expreſs mention of the *firſt Reſurrection*, and of the *thouſand years reign* of Chriſt, does joyn theſe two as the ſame thing, and common to the ſame perſons; yet I know there are ſome that would diſtinguiſh them as things of a different extent, and alſo of a different nature. They ſuppoſe the Martyrs only will riſe from the dead; and will be immediately tranſlated into Heaven, and there paſs their *Millennium* in celeſtial glory. While the Church is ſtill here below, in her *Millennium*, ſuch as it is; a ſtate indeed bet er than ordinary, and free from perſecution: but obnoxious to all the inconveniences of our preſent mortal life, and a medly of good and bad people, without ſeparation. This is ſuch an Idea of the *Millennium*, as, to my eye, hath neither beauty in it, nor foundation in Scripture. That the Citizens of the *New Jeruſalem* are not a miſcellaneous company, but a Community of righteous perſons, we have noted before: and that the ſtate of nature will be better than it is at preſent. But, beſides this, what warrant have they for this Aſcenſion of the Martyrs into Heaven at that time?

time? Where do we read of that in Scripture? And in thoſe things that are not matters of Natural Order, but of Divine Oeconomy, we ought to be very careful how we add to Scripture.

The Scripture ſpeaks only of the Reſurrection of the Martyrs, *Apoc.* 20.45. But not a word concerning their Aſcenſion into Heaven. Will that be viſible? We read of our Saviour's Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, and therefore we have reaſon to affirm them both. We read alſo of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of the *Witneſſes*, (*Apoc.* 11.) in a figurate ſence, and in that ſence we may aſſert them upon good grounds. But as to the Martyrs, we read of their Reſurrection only, without any thing expreſt or imply'd about their Aſcenſion. By what Authority then ſhall we add this New Notion to the Hiſtory or Scheme of the Millennium? The Scripture on the contrary, makes mention of the deſcent of the *New Jeruſalem*, *Apoc.* 21.2. making the Earth the Theatre of all that affair. And the Camp of the Saints is upon the Earth, *ver.* 9. and theſe Saints are the ſame perſons, ſo far as can be collected from the text, that riſe *from the dead, and reign'd with Chriſt*, and were *Prieſts to God*, *ver.* 4, 5, 6. Neither is there any diſtinction made, that I find, by S. *John*, of two ſorts of Saints in the *Millennium*, the one in Heaven, and the other upon Earth. Laſtly, The four and twenty Elders, *ch.* 5.10. tho' they were *Kings* and *Prieſts unto God*, were content to reign upon Earth. Now who can you ſuppoſe of a ſuperiour order to theſe four and twenty Elders: Whether they repreſent the twelve Patriarchs and twelve Apoſtles, or whomſoever they repreſent, they are plac'd next to him that ſits upon the Throne, and they have Crowns of Gold upon their heads, *ch.* 4. 4. There can be no marks of honour and dignity greater than theſe are; and therefore ſeeing theſe higheſt Dignitaries in the Millennium or future Kingdom of Chriſt, are to reign upon Earth, there is no ground to ſuppoſe the aſſumption of any other into Heaven upon that account, or upon that occaſion. *ch.* 11. 12.

This is a ſhort and general draught of the Millennial ſtate, or future Reign of the Saints, according to Scripture. Wherein I have endeavour'd to rectifie ſome miſtakes or miſconceptions about it: That viewing it in its true Nature, we may be the better able to judge, when and where it will obtain. Which is the next thing to be conſider'd.

CHAP. VIII.

The Third Propoſition laid down, concerning the Time and Place of the Millennium. *Several Arguments us'd to prove that it cannot be till after the Conflagration: and that the New Heavens and the New Earth are the true Seat of the bleſſed* Millennium.

WE come now to the Third and laſt head of our Diſcourſe: To determine the *Time* and *Place* of the *Millennium*. And ſeeing it is indifferent whether the proofs lead or follow the Concluſion, we will lay down the Concluſion in the firſt place, that our buſineſs may be more in view; and back it with proofs in the following part of the Chapter. Our Third and laſt Propoſition therefore is this; *That the Bleſſed Millennium*, (properly ſo called) *according as it is deſcrib'd in Scripture, cannot obtain in the preſent Earth, nor under the preſent conſtitution of Nature and Providence; but is to be celebrated in the New Heavens and New Earth, after the Conflagration.* This Propoſition, it may be, will ſeem a Paradox or ſingularity to many, even of thoſe that believe a *Millennium*; We will therefore make it the buſineſs of this Chapter, to ſtate it, and prove it; by ſuch Arguments as are manifeſtly founded in Scripture and in Reaſon.

Propoſ. 3.

And to prevent miſtakes, we muſt premiſe this in the firſt place; That, tho' the Bleſſed *Millennium* will not be in this Earth, yet we allow that the ſtate of the Church here, will grow much better than it is at preſent. There will be a better Idea of Chriſtianity, and according to the Prophecies, a full *Reſurrection of the Witneſſes*, and an *Aſcenſion* into power, and the tenth part of the City will fall; which things imply eaſe from Perſecution, The Converſion of ſome part of the Chriſtian World to the reformed Faith, and a conſiderable diminution of the power of Antichriſt. But this ſtill comes ſhort of the happineſs and glory wherein the future Kingdom of Chriſt is repreſented. Which cannot come to paſs till the *Man of Sin* be deſtroy'd, with a total deſtruction. After the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes, there is a Third *WOE* yet to come: and how long that will laſt, does not appear. If it bear proportion with the preceding *WOES*, it may laſt ſome hundreds of years. And we cannot imagine the *Millennium* to begin till that *WOE* be finiſh'd. As neither till the *Vials* be poured out, in the *15th. chap.* which cannot be all pour'd out till after the Reſurrection of the Witneſſes; thoſe *Vials* being the laſt plagues that compleat the deſtruction of Antichriſt. Wherefore allowing that the Church, upon the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of the Witneſſes, will be advanc'd into a better condition, yet that condition cannot be the Millennial ſtate; where the Beaſt is utterly deſtroy'd, and Satan bound, and caſt into the bottomleſs pit.

This being premis'd, let us now examine what grounds there are for the Tranſlation of that bleſſed ſtate into the New Heavens and New

New Earth: ſeeing that Thought, it may be, to many perſons, will appear new and extraordinary. In the firſt place, We ſuppoſe it out of diſpute, that there will be New Heavens and a New Earth after the Conflagration. This was our firſt Propoſition, and we depend upon it, as ſufficiently prov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. This being admitted, How will you ſtock this New Earth? What uſe will you put it to? 'Twill be a much nobler Earth, and better built than the preſent; and 'tis pity it ſhould only float about, empty and uſeleſs, in the wild Air. If you will not make it the ſeat and habitation of the Juſt in the bleſſed *Millennium*, what will you make it? How will it turn to account? What hath Providence deſign'd it for? We muſt not ſuppoſe New Worlds made without counſel or deſign. And as, on the one hand, you cannot tell what to do with this New Creation, if it be not thus employ'd: ſo, on the other hand, it is every way fitted and ſuited to be an happy and Paradiſiacal habitation, and anſwers all the natural Characters of the Millennial ſtate; which is a great preſumption that it is deſign'd for it.

But to argue this more cloſely upon Scripture-grounds. S. *Peter* ſays, the Righteous ſhall inhabit the New Heavens and the New Earth: 2 *Pet.* 3. 13. *Nevertheleſs, according to his promiſe, we look for New Heavens and New Earth, WHEREIN DWELLETH RIGHTEOUSNESS:* that is, a Righteous People, as we have ſhewn before. But who are theſe Righteous People? That's the great queſtion. If you compare S. *Peter's* New Heavens and New Earth with S. *John's*, *Apoc.* 21. 1, 2, it will go far towards the reſolution of this queſtion: For S. *John* ſeems plainly to make the Inhabitants of the *New Jeruſalem* to be in this *New Earth*. *I ſaw*, ſays he, *New Heavens and a New Earth*; and the *New Jeruſalem deſcending from God out of Heaven*; therefore deſcending into this *New Earth*, which he had mention'd immediately before. And there *the Tabernacle of God was with men*, *ver.* 3. and there He that ſat upon the Throne, ſaid, *Behold I make all things New*. Referring ſtill to this New Heavens and New Earth, as the Theatre where all theſe things are acted, or all theſe Scenes exhibited: from the firſt Verſe to the eighth. Now the New Jeruſalem ſtate being the ſame with the Millennial, if the one be in the New Heavens and New Earth, the other is there alſo. And this interpretation of S. *John's* word is confirm'd and fully aſſur'd to us by the Prophet *Iſaiah*; who alſo placeth the joy and rejoycing of the *New Jeruſalem* in the New Heavens and New Earth: Chap. 65. 17, 18. *For behold I create new Heavens and a new Earth: and the former ſhall not be remembred: but be you glad and rejoyce for ever in that which I create: for behold, I create Jeruſalem a rejoycing, and her people a joy.* Namely, in that New Heavens and New Earth. Which anſwers to S. *John's* Viſion of the New *Jeruſalem* being let down upon the New Earth.

To theſe Reaſons, and deductions from Scripture, we might add the teſtimony of ſeveral of the Fathers; I mean of thoſe that were Millenaries. For we are ſpeaking now to ſuch as believe the *Millennium*, but place it in the preſent Earth before the Renovation; whereas the ancient Millenaries ſuppos'd the regeneration and renovation

novation of the World before the Kingdom of Christ came. As you may see in * *Irenæus*, (a) *Justin Martyr*, (b) *Tertullian*, (c) *Lactantius*, and (d) the Author *ad Orthodoxos*. And the neglect of this, I look upon as one reason, as we noted before, that brought that doctrine into discredit and decay. For when they plac'd the Kingdom of the Saints upon this Earth, it became more capable of being abus'd, by fanatical spirits, to the disturbance of the World, and the invasion of the rights of the Magistrates, Civil or Ecclesiastical, under that notion of Saints. And made them also dream of sensual pleasures, such as they see in this life: Or at least gave an occasion and opportunity to those, that had a mind to make the doctrine odious, of charging it with these consequences. All these abuses are cut off, and these scandals prevented, by placing the Millennium aright. Namely, not in this present Life, or on this present Earth, but in the New Creation, where Peace and Righteousness will dwell. And this is our first Argument why we place the Millennium in the New Heavens and New Earth: and 'tis taken partly, you see, from the reason of the thing it self, the difficulty of assigning any other use of the New Earth, and its fitness for this; and partly from Scripture-evidence, and partly from Antiquity.

* *Li.* 5. *ch.* 32, *&c.*
(a) *Dial. cum* Tryph.
(b) *Contra Marc.*
(c) *Li.* 7.
(d) *Quæst. & respon.* 93.

The second argument for our opinion, is this; The present constitution of Nature will not bear that happiness, that is promis'd in the Millennium, or is not consistent with it. The diseases of our Bodies, the disorders of our Passions, the incommodiousness of external Nature; Indigency, servility, and the unpeaceableness of the World; These are things inconsistent with the happiness that is promis'd in the Kingdom of Christ. But these are constant attendants upon this Life, and inseparable from the present state of Nature. Suppose the Millennium was to begin Nine or Ten Years hence, as some pretend it will. How shall this World, all on a sudden, be metamorphos'd into that happy state? No more *sorrow, nor crying, nor pain, nor death*, says S. *John*: *All former things are past away*. But how past away? Shall we not have the same Bodies: and the same external Nature: and the same corruptions of the Air: and the same excesses and intemperature of Seasons? Will there not be the same barrenness of the ground: the same number of People to be fed: and must they not get their living by the sweat of their brows, with servile labour and drudgery? How then are all former evils past away? And as to publick affairs, while there are the same necessities of humane Life, and a distinction of Nations, those Nations sometimes will have contrary interests, will clash and interfere one with another: whence differences, and contests, and Wars will arise, and the *Thousand Years Truce*, I am afraid, will be often broken. We might add also, that if our Bodies be not chang'd, we shall be subject to the same appetites, and the same passions: and upon those, vices will grow: as bad fruit upon a bad Tree. To conclude, so long as our Bodies are the same: external Nature the same: The necessities of humane Life the same: which things are the roots of evil; you may call it a *Millennium*, or what you please, but there will be still diseases, vices, wars, tears and cries, pain and sorrow in this *Millenuium*; and if so, 'tis a *Millennium* of your own

Apoc. 21. 4.

own making; for that which the Prophets describe is quite another thing.

Furthermore, if you suppose the Millennium will be upon this Earth, and begin, it may be, ten or twenty years hence, How will it be introduc'd; how shall we know when we are in it, or when we enter upon it? If we continue the same, and all Nature continue the same, we shall not discern when we slip into the Millennium. And as to the Moral state of it, shall we all, on a sudden, *become Kings and Priests to God?* wherein will that change consist, and how will it be wrought? St. *John* makes the *First Resurrection* introduce the Millennium; and that's a conspicuous mark and boundary. But as to the modern or vulgar Millennium, I know not how 'tis usher'd in. Whether they suppose a visible resurrection of the Martyrs, and a visible Ascension: and that to be a Signal to all the World that the Jubilee is beginning: or whether 'tis gradual and creeps upon us insensibly: or the fall of the Beast marks it. These things need both explication and proof; for to me they seem either arbitrary, or unintelligible.

But to pursue our design and Subject. That which gives me the greatest scandal in this doctrine of the vulgar Millennium, is, their joyning things together that are really inconsistent; a natural World of one colour, and a moral World of another. They will make us happy in spight of Nature: as the Stoicks would make a man happy in *Phalaris his Bull*; so must the Saints be in full bliss in the Millennium, tho' they be under a fit of the Gout, or of the Stone. For my part, I could never reconcile pain to happiness: It seems to me to destroy and drown all pleasure, as a loud noise does a still voice. It affects the Nerves with violence, and over-bears all other motions. But if, according to this modern supposition, they have the same Bodies, and breath the same air, in the Millennium, as we do now, there will be both private and Epidemical distempers, in the same manner as now; Suppose then a Plague comes and sweeps away half an hundred thousand Saints in the Millennium, is this no prejudice or dishonour to the State? Or a War makes a Nation desolate: or, in single Persons, a lingring disease makes life a burthen: or a burning Fever, or a violent Colick tortures them to death. Where such evils as these reign, christen the thing what you will, it can be no better than a Mock-Millennium. Nor shall I ever be perswaded that such a state as our present life, where an akeing Tooth, or an akeing Head, does so discompose the Soul, as to make her unfit for business, study, devotion, or any useful employment: And that all the powers of the mind, all its vertue, and all its wisdom, are not able to stop these little motions, or to support them with tranquillity: I can never perswade my self, I say, that such a state was designed by God or Nature, for a state of happiness.

Our third argument is this: The future Kingdom of Christ will not take place, till the Kingdom of Antichrist be wholly destroy'd. But that will not be wholly destroy'd till the end of the World, and the appearing of our Saviour. Therefore the Millennium will not be till then. Christ and Antichrist cannot reign upon Earth together: their Kingdoms are opposite, as Light to darkness. Besides, the

the Kingdom of Christ is universal, extends to all the Nations, and leaves no room for other Kingdoms at that time. Thus it is describ'd in *Daniel*, in the place mention'd before, *Chap.* 7. 13, 14. *I saw in the Night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man, came with the Clouds of Heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; And there was given him dominion and glory, and a Kingdom; that all People, Nations, and Language, should serve him.* And again, ver. 27. *And the Kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High, whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.* The same character of universality is given to the Kingdom of Christ by *David*, *Isaiah*, and other Prophets. But the most direct proof of this, is from the *Apocalypse*; where the *Beast* and *false Prophet* are thrown into the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, (*Chap.* 19.20.) before the Millennium comes on: *vid.* 20. This, *being cast into a Lake of fire burning with brimstone*, must needs signifie utter destruction. Not a diminution of power only, but a total perdition and consumption. And that this was before the Millennium, both the order of the narration shows, and its place in the Prophecy; And also because notice is taken, at the end of the Millennium, of the Beast and false Prophet's being in the Lake of fire, as of a thing past, and formerly transacted. For when Satan, at length, is thrown into the same Lake, 'tis said, He is thrown into the Lake of fire and brimstone, *where the Beast and false Prophet are*: *Apoc.* 20. 10. They were there before, it seems; namely, at the beginning of the Millennium; and now at the conclusion of it, the Devil is thrown in to them. Besides, the Ligation of Satan proves this point effectually. For so long as Antichrist reigns, Satan cannot be said to be bound; but he is bound at the beginning of the Millennium, therefore Antichrist's reign was then totally expir'd. Lastly, the destruction of *Babylon*, and the destruction of Antichrist go together: but you see *Babylon* utterly and finally destroy'd, (*Apoc.* 18. *and* 19.) before the Millennium comes on. I say *utterly and finally destroy'd*. For she is not only said to be made an utter desolation, but to be consum'd by fire: and absorpt as a Milstone thrown into the Sea: and that he shall be found no more at all, *Chap.* 18. 21. Nothing can express a total and universal destruction more effectually, or more emphatically. And this is before the Millennium begins; as you may see both by the order of the Prophecies, and particularly, in that upon this destruction, the Hallelujah's are sung, *Chap.* 19. and concluded thus, (*ver.* 6, 7.) *Hallelujah, for the God omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoyce and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made her self ready.* This, I suppose, every one allows to be the Millennial state, which now approaches, and is making ready, upon the destruction of *Babylon*.

Psal. 2. & *Psal.* 72. *Isa.* 2. 2.

Thus much for the first part of our argument, That the Kingdom of Christ will not take place, till the Kingdom of Antichrist be wholly destroy'd. We are now to prove the second part: That the Kingdom of Antichrist will not be wholly destroy'd till the end of the World, and the coming of our Saviour. This, one would think, is sufficiently prov'd from St. *Paul*'s words alone, 2 *Thess.* 2. 8. *The Lord*

Lord shall consume the man of sin, who is suppos'd the same with Antichrist, *with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming*. He will not then be destroy'd before the coming of our Saviour: and that will not be till the end of the World. For St. *Peter* says, *Act.* 3. 21. *The Heaven must receive him*, speaking of Christ, *until the times of restitution of all things*: that is, the renovation of the World. And if we consider that our Saviour's coming will be in *flames of fire*, as the same Apostle St. *Paul* tells us, 2 *Thess.* 1. 7, 8. 'tis plain that his coming will not be till the Conflagration: in which last flames Antichrist will be universally destroy'd. This manner of destruction agrees also with the *Apocalypse*, and with *Daniel*, and the Prophets of the Old Testament. As to the Apocalypse, *Babylon*, the seat of Antichrist, is represented there as destroy'd by Fire, *Chap.* 18. 8, 18. *Chap.* 14. 11. *Chap.* 19. 3, 20. And in *Daniel*, when the Beast is destroy'd, *Chap.* 7. 11. *His body was given to the burning flame*. Then as to the other Prophets, they do not, you know, speak of Antichrist or the Beast in terms: but under the Types of *Babylon*, *Tyre*, and such like; and these places or Princes are represented by them as to be destroy'd by fire, *Isa.* 13. 19. *Jer.* 51. 25. *Ezek.* 28. 18.

So much for this third Argument. The fourth Argument is this: The Future Kingdom of Christ will not be till the day of Judgment and the Resurrection. But that will not be till the end of the World. Therefore neither the Kingdom of Christ. By the day of Judgment here I do not mean the final and universal Judgment: Nor by the Resurrection, the final and universal Resurrection: for these will not be till after the Millennium. But we understand here the first day of Judgment and the first Resurrection, which will be at the end of this present World; according as S. *John* does distinguish them, in the 20*th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypse*. Now that the Millennium will not be till the day of Judgment in this sence, we have both the Testimonies of *Daniel* and of S. *John*. *Daniel* in the 7*th. Chap.* supposes the Beast to rule *till judgment shall sit*, and then *they shall take away his dominion*, and it shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High. S. *John* makes an explicite declaration of both these, in his 20*th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypse*, which is the great Directory in this point of the Millennium; He says there were Thrones set, as for a Judicature. Then there was a Resurrection from the Dead: and those that rise, reigned with Christ a Thousand years. Here's a Judicial Session, a Resurrection, and the reign of Christ joyned together. There is also another passage in S. *John*, that joyns the judgment of the Dead with the Kingdom of Christ. 'Tis in the 11*th. Chap.* under the seventh Trumpet. The words are these, *ver.* 15. *And the seventh Angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty Elders*, &c. *And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the Dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy name*. Here are two things plainly express'd and link'd together, *The judging of the Dead*, and the *Kingdom of Christ*; where-

Ver. 9, &c. *Ver.* 26, &c.

Ver. 4.

in

in the Prophets and Saints are rewarded. Now as the *judging of the Dead* is not in this life, ſo neither is the reward of the Prophets and Saints in this life: as we are taught ſufficiently in the Goſpel and by the Apoſtles, *Mat.* 19. 28. 1 *Theſſ.* 1. 7. 2 *Tim.* 4. 8. 1 *Pet.* 1. 7. *and Ch.* 5. 4.) Therefore the Reign and Kingdom of Chriſt which is joyned with theſe two, cannot be in this life, or before the end of the world. And as a further teſtimony and confirmation of this, we may obſerve that S. *Paul* to *Timothy*, hath joyn'd together theſe three things; The *appearance of Chriſt*, the *Reign of Chriſt*, and the *judging of the Dead. I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and his Kingdom*, 2 Tim. 4. 1.

This might alſo be prov'd from the order, extent, and progreſs, of the Prophecies of the *Apocalypſe*; whereof ſome are ſuch as reach to the end of the World, and yet muſt be accompliſh'd before the Millennium begin: as the Vials. Others are ſo far already advanc'd towards the end of the World, as to leave no room for a thouſand years reign; as the Trumpets. But becauſe every one hath his own interpretation of theſe Prophecies, and it would be tedious here to prove any ſingle Hypotheſis in contradiſtinction to all the reſt, we will therefore leave this remark, to have more or leſs effect, according to the minds it falls upon. And proceed to our fifth Argument.

Fifthly, The *New Jeruſalem*-ſtate is the ſame with the Millennial ſtate: But the *New Jeruſalem* ſtate will not be till the end of the World, or till after the Conflagration: Therefore neither the Millennium. That the *New Jeruſalem*-ſtate is the ſame with the Millennium, is agreed upon, I think, by all Millenaries, Ancient and Modern, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, ſpeak of it in that ſence; and ſo do the later Authors, ſo far as I have obſerv'd. And St. *John* ſeems to give them good authority for it. In the 20*th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypſe*, he ſays, the *Camp of the Saints*, and *the Beloved City* were beſieg'd by Satan and his Gigantick crew at the end of the Millennium. That *Beloved City* is the *New Jeruſalem*, and you ſee it is the ſame with the Camp of the Saints, or, at leaſt, contemporary with it. Beſides, the Marriage of the Lamb was in, or at the appearance of the New Jeruſalem, for that was the *Spouſe of the Lamb*, *Apoc.* 21. 2. Now this Spouſe was ready, and this Marriage was ſaid to be come, at the deſtruction of *Babylon*: which was the beginning of the Millennium, *Chap.* 18. 7. Therefore the New Jeruſalem run all along with the Millennium, and was indeed the ſame thing under another name. Laſtly, What is this New Jeruſalem, if it be not the ſame with the Millennial ſtate? It is promis'd as a reward to the ſufferers for Chriſt, *Apoc.* 3. 12. and you ſee its wonderful priviledges, *Ch.* 21. 3, 4. and yet it is not Heaven and eternal Life; for it is ſaid to come down from God out of Heaven, *Ch.* 21. 2. and *Ch.* 3. 12. It can therefore be nothing but the glorious Kingdom of Chriſt upon Earth, where the Saints ſhall reign with him a Thouſand Years.

Now

Now as to the ſecond part of our Argument, that the New Jeruſalem will not come down from Heaven till the end of the World: of this S. *John* ſeems to give us a plain proof or demonſtration: for he places the New Jeruſalem in the New Heavens and New Earth, which cannot be till after the Conflagration. Let us hear his words; *Apoc.* 21. 1, 2. *And I ſaw a New Heaven and a New Earth, for the firſt heaven and the firſt earth were paſſed away, and there was no more ſea. And I John ſaw the Holy City, New Jeruſalem, coming down from God out of Heaven: prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband.* When the New Earth was made, he ſees the New Jeruſalem coming down upon it; and this Renovation of the Earth not being till the Conflagration, The New Jeruſalem could not be till then, neither. The Prophet *Iſaiah* had long before ſaid the ſame thing, though not in terms ſo expreſs; He firſt ſays, *Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, wherein you ſhall rejoyce.* Then ſubjoyns immediately, *Behold, I create Jeruſalem a rejoycing.* This rejoycing is ſtill in the ſame place; in the New Heavens and New Earth, or in the New Jeruſalem. And S. *John* in a like method, firſt ſets down the New Earth, then the New Jeruſalem; and expreſſes the mind of the Prophet *Iſaiah* more diſtinctly. *Iſa.* 65. 17, 18.

This leads me to a Sixth Argument to confirm our Concluſion. The time of the *Reſtitution* or *Reſtauration of all things*, ſpoken of by S. *Peter* and the Prophets, is the ſame with the Millennium: But that Reſtauration will not be till the coming of Chriſt, and the end of the World: Therefore neither the Millennium. That this Reſtitution of all things will not be till the coming of our Saviour, S. *Peter* declares in his Sermon, *Act.* 3. 21. and that the coming of our Saviour will not be till the end of the World, or till the Conflagration, both S. *Paul* and S. *Peter* ſignifie to us, 1 *Theſſ.* 1. 7, 8. 2 *Pet.* 3. 10. Therefore it remains only to prove, that this Reſtitution of all things ſpoken of here by the Apoſtle, is the ſame with the Millennium. I know that which it does directly and immediately ſignifie, is the Renovation of the World: but it muſt include the Moral World as well as the Natural; otherwiſe it cannot be truly ſaid, as S. *Peter* does there, that all the Prophets have ſpoken of it. And what is the Renovation of the Natural and Moral World, but the New Jeruſalem or the Millennium.

Theſe Arguments, taken together, have, to me, an irreſiſtible evidence for the proof of our Concluſion; That the Bleſſed Millennium cannot obtain in the preſent Earth, or before the Conflagration; But when Nature is renew'd, and the Saints and Martyrs rais'd from the Dead, then they ſhall reign together with Chriſt, in the New Heavens and New Earth, or in the New Jeruſalem; Satan being bound for a Thouſand Years.

CHAP. IX.

The chief employment of the Millennium, DEVOTION *and* CONTEMPLATION.

WE have now done with the ſubſtance of our Diſcourſe; which is comprehended in theſe Three Propoſitions:

I. *After the Conflagration of this World, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth: and That Earth will be inhabited.*

II. *That there is an happy Millennial ſtate; Or a future Kingdom of Chriſt and his Saints, propheſied of and promis'd in the Old and New Teſtament: and receiv'd by the Primitive Church, as a Chriſtian and Catholick Doctrine.*

III. *That this bleſſed Millennial ſtate, according as it is deſcrib'd in Scripture, cannot take place in the preſent Earth, nor under the preſent conſtitution of Nature and Providence: But is to be celebrated in the New Heavens and New Earth, after the Conflagration.*

Theſe Three Propoſitions ſupport this Work; and if any of them be broken, I confeſs my deſign is broken, and this Treatiſe is of no effect. But what remains to be ſpoken to in theſe laſt Chapters, is more circumſtantial or modal; and an error or miſtake in ſuch things, does not wound any vital part of the Argument. You muſt now therefore lay aſide your ſeverity, and rigorous cenſures; we are very happy, if, in this Life, we can attain to the ſubſtance of truth: and make rational conjectures concerning modes and circumſtances; where every one hath right to offer his ſence, with modeſty and ſubmiſſion. Revelations made to us from Heaven in this preſent ſtate, are often incompleat, and do not tell us all: as if it was on purpoſe to ſet our thoughts a-work to ſupply the reſt; which we may lawfully do, provided it be according to the analogy of Scripture and Reaſon.

To proceed therefore; We ſuppoſe, as you ſee, the *new Heavens* and the *new Earth* to be the ſeat of the *Millennium*: and that new Creation to be *Paradiſiacal*. Its Inhabitants alſo to be Righteous Perſons, the Saints of the moſt High. And ſeeing the ordinary employments of our preſent Life, will then be needleſs and ſuperſeded, as Military affairs, Sea-affairs, moſt Trades and Manufactures, Law, Phyſick, and the laborious part of Agriculture: it may be wonder'd, how this Happy People will beſtow their time: What entertainment they will find in a ſtate of ſo much eaſe, and ſo little action. To this one might anſwer in ſhort, by another queſtion, *How* would they have entertain'd themſelves in Paradiſe, if Man had continued in Innocency? This is a revolution of the ſame ſtate, and therefore

fore they may paſs their time as well now as they could have done then. But to anſwer more particularly, beſides all innocent diverſions, ingenuous converſations, and entertainments of friendſhip, the greateſt part of their time will be ſpent in *Devotion* and *Contemplation*. O happy employment, and next to that of Heaven it ſelf. What do the Saints above, but ſing Praiſes unto God, and contemplate his Perfections. And how mean and deſpicable, for the moſt part, are the employments of this preſent Life, if compar'd with thoſe Intellectual Actions. If Mankind was divided into ten parts, nine of thoſe ten employ their time to get bread to their belly, and cloaths to their back; And what impertinences are theſe to a reaſonable Soul, if ſhe was free from the clog of a Mortal Body; or if that could be provided for, without trouble or loſs of time? Corporeal Labour is from need and neceſſity, but intellectual exerciſes are matter of choice, that pleaſe and perfect at the ſame time.

Devotion warms and opens the Soul, and diſpoſes it to receive Divine Influences. It ſometimes raiſes the mind into an heavenly ecſtaſie, and fills it with a joy that is not to be expreſt. When it is pure, it leaves a ſtrong impreſſion upon the heart, of Love to God; and inſpires us with a contempt of this World, having taſted the pleaſures of the World to come. In the ſtate which we ſpeak of, ſeeing the *Tabernacle of God will be with men*, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that there will be greater effuſions and irradiations of the Holy Spirit, than we have or can expect in this region of darkneſs: and conſequently, all the ſtrength and comfort that can ariſe from private devotion. *Apoc.* 21. 3.

And as to their publick Devotions, all beauties of Holineſs, all perfection of Divine Worſhip, will ſhine in their Aſſemblies. Whatſoever *David* ſays of *Sion* and *Jeruſalem*, are but ſhadows of this *New Jeruſalem*, and of the glory that will be in thoſe Solemnities. Imagine what a Congregation will be there of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Chriſtian Martyrs, and Saints of the firſt rank, throughout all Ages. And theſe all known to one another by their Names and Hiſtory. This very meeting together of ſuch Perſons, muſt needs create a joy unſpeakable: But when they unite in their praiſes to God and to the Lamb, with pure hearts full of divine Love: when they ſing their Hallelujahs to him that ſits upon the Throne, that hath waſh'd them in his blood, and redeem'd them out of every Kingdom, and Tongue and People, and Nation. When, with their Palms in their hands, they triumph over Sin, and Death, and Hell, and all the Powers of Darkneſs: can there be any thing, on this ſide Heaven, and a Quire of Angels, more glorious or more joyful? *Pſal.* 84. *Pſal.* 87.

But why did I except Angels? Why may not they be thought to be preſent at theſe Aſſemblies? In a Society of Saints and purified Spirits, Why ſhould we think their converſe impoſſible? In the Golden Age, the Gods were always repreſented, as having freer intercourſe with Men; and before the Flood, we may reaſonably believe it ſo. I cannot think, *Enoch* was tranſlated into Heaven without any converſe with its Inhabitants before he went thither. And ſeeing the Angels vouchſaf'd often, in former Ages, to viſit the Patriarchs upon Earth, we may with reaſon judge, that they will much

much more converse with the same Patriarchs and holy Prophets, now they are risen from the Dead, and cleans'd from their sins, and seated in the *New Jerusalem*. I cannot but call to mind upon this occasion, That representation which S. *Paul* makes to us, of a glorious state and a glorious Assembly, too high for this present Earth: 'Tis *Hebr.* 12. 22, &c. in these words: *But you are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels; To the general Assembly and Church of the First-born, which are written in Heaven; and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect.* This, I know, several apply to the Times and state of the Gospel, in opposition to that of the Law; and it is introduc'd in that manner: But here are several expressions too high for any present state of things; They must respect a future state, either of Heaven, or of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ. And to the later of these the expressions agree, and have a peculiar fitness and applicability to it. And what follows in the context, *ver.* 26, 27, 28. *About shaking the Heavens and the Earth once more:* Removing the former Scenes, and bringing on a New Kingdom that cannot be shaken: All this, I say, answers to the Kingdom of Christ, which is to be establish'd in the New Heavens and New Earth.

But to proceed in their Publick Devotions; Suppose this August Assembly, inflam'd with all Divine Passions, met together to celebrate the Name of God; with Angels intermixt, to bear a part in this Holy Exercise. And let this concourse be, not in any Temple made with hands, but under the great roof of Heaven, (the True Temple of the most High,) so as all the Air may be fill'd with the chearful harmony of their Hymns and Hallelujahs. Then, in the heighth of their Devotion, as they sing Praises to the Lamb, and to Him that sits upon the Throne, suppose the Heavens to open, and the Son of God to appear in his glory, with Thousands and Ten Thousands of Angels round about him; That their eyes may see him, who, for their sakes, was crucified upon Earth, now encircled with Light and Majesty. This will raise them into as great transports as humane nature can bear: They will wish to be dissolv'd, they will strive to fly up to him in the clouds, or to breath out their Souls in repeated doxologies of *Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, to him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.*

Apoc. 5. 11.

ch. 5. 13.

But we cannot live always in the flames of Devotion. The weakness of our Nature will not suffer us to continue long under such strong Passions, and such intenseness of Mind. The question is therefore, What will be the ordinary employment of that Life? How will they entertain their thoughts, or spend their time? For we suppose they will not have that multiplicity of frivolous business that we have now: About our Bodies, about our Children: in Trades and Mechanicks: in Traffick and Navigation: or Wars by Sea or Land. These things being swept away, wholly or in a great measure, what will come in their place? how will they find work or entertainment for a long life? If, we consider, who they are that will have a part in this first Resurrection, and be Inhabitants of that World that is to come, we may easily believe that the most constant employ-

employment of their life will be CONTEMPLATION. Not that I exclude any innocent diversions, as I said before: The entertainments of friendship, or ingenuous conversation, but the great business and design of that life is Contemplation; as preparatory to Heaven and eternal Glory. *Ita paulatim assuescant capere Deum,* as *Irenæus* says: That they may, by degrees, enlarge their capacities, fit and *accustom themselves to receive God.* Or, as he says in another place, *That they may become capable of the glory of the Father,* that is, capable of bearing the glory and presence of God: capable of the highest enjoyment of him, which is usually call'd the *Beatifical Vision*; and is the condition of the Blessed in Heaven. *L.* 5. *c.* 32.

It cannot be deny'd, that in such a Millennial state, where we shall be freed from all the incumbrances of this life, and provided of better Bodies and greater light of Mind: It cannot be doubted, I say, but that we shall then be in a disposition to make great proficiency in the knowledge of all things, Divine and Intellectual: and consequently of making happy preparations for our entring upon a further state of glory. For there is nothing certainly does more prepare the mind of man for the highest perfections, than Contemplation: with that Devotion which naturally flows from it, as heat follows light. And this Contemplation hath always a greater or less effect upon the mind according to the perfection of its object. So as the Contemplation of the Divine Nature, is, of all others, the most perfective in it self, and to us, according to our capacities and degree of abstraction. An *Immense Being* does strangely fill the Soul: and Omnipotency, Omniscience, and Infinite Goodness, do enlarge and dilate the Spirit, while it fixtly looks upon them. They raise strong passions of Love and Admiration, which melt our Nature, and transform it into the mould and image of that which we contemplate. What the Scripture says of our *Transformation* into the Divine likeness: what S. *John* and the *Platonists* say of our *Union* with God. And whatever is not Cant in the *Mystical Theology*, when they tell us of being Deified; all this must spring from these sources of Devotion and Contemplation. They will change and raise us from perfection to perfection, as from glory to glory: into a greater similitude and nearer station to the Divine Nature.

The Contemplation of God and his Works, comprehends all things. For, the one makes the uncreated World, and the other the Created. And as the Divine Essence and Attributes are the greatest object that the mind of man can set before it self; so next to that are the effects and emanations of the Divinity, or the Works of the Divine Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, in the Created World. This hath a vast extent and variety, and would be sufficient to entertain their time, in that happy state, much longer than a thousand years. As you will easily grant, if you allow me but to point at the several heads of those Speculations.

The Contemplation of the *Created World* divides it self into three parts, that of the *Intellectual* World: that of the *Corporal*: And the Government and Administration of both, which is usually call'd *Providence.* These three, drawn into one thought, with the reasons and proportions that result from them, compose that *GRAND IDEA,*

IDEA, which is the treasury and comprehension of all Knowledge. Whereof we have spoken more largely in the last Chapter of the Second Book of this *Theory*, under the name of the *Mundane Idea*. But at present we shall only mention such particulars, as may be thought proper subjects for the meditations and enquiries of those who shall enjoy that happy state, which we now treat of.

As to the Intellectual World, excepting our own Souls, we know little, in this region of darkness where we are at present, more than bare names. We hear of Angels and Archangels, of Cherubins and Seraphins, of Principalities and Powers and Thrones and Dominions. We hear the sound of these words with admiration, but we know little of their natures; wherein their general notion, and wherein their distinction, consists: what peculiar excellencies they have, what offices and employments: of all this we are ignorant. Only in general, we cannot but suppose that there are more orders and degrees of Intellectual Beings, betwixt us and the Almighty, than there are kinds or species of living Creatures upon the face of the Earth; betwixt Man, their Lord and Master, and the least worm that creeps upon the ground. Nay, than there are Stars in Heaven, or Sands upon the Sea-shore. For there is an infinite distance and interval betwixt us and God Almighty: and all that, is fill'd with created Beings of different degrees of perfection, still approaching nearer and nearer to their Maker. And when this invisible World shall be open'd to us: when the Curtain is drawn, and the Celestial Hierarchy set in order before our eyes, we shall despise our selves, and all the petty glories of a mortal life, as the dirt under our feet.

As to the Corporeal Universe, we have some share already in the Contemplation and knowledge of that: tho' little in comparison of what will be then discover'd. The doctrine of the Heavens, fix'd Stars, Planets and Comets, both as to their matter, motion and form, will be then clearly demonstrated: and what are mysteries to us now, will become matter of ordinary conversation. We shall be better acquainted with our neighbouring Worlds, and make new discoveries as to the state of their affairs. The Sun especially, the Great Monarch of the Planetary Worlds: whose Dominion reaches from Pole to Pole, and the greatness of his Kingdom is under the whole Heaven. Who sends his bright Messengers every day through all the regions of his vast Empire; throwing his beams of light round about him, swifter and further than a thought can follow. This noble Creature, I say, will make a good part of their study in the succeeding World. *Eudoxus* the Philosopher, wish'd he might die like *Phaeton*, in approaching too near to the Sun; provided he could fly so near it, and endure it so long, till he had discover'd its beauty and perfection. VVho can blame his curiosity: who would not venture far to see the Court of so great a Prince: who hath more VVorlds under his command than the Emperors of the Earth have Provinces or Principalities. Neither does he make his Subjects slaves to his pleasure, or tributaries to serve and supply his wants; on the contrary, They live upon him, he nourishes and preserves them: gives them fruits every year, corn, and wine, and all

all the comforts of life. This glorious Body, which now we can only gaze upon and admire, will be then better understood. A mass of Light and Flame, and Ethereal matter, ten thousand times bigger than this Earth: Enlightning and enlivening an Orb that exceeds the bulk of our Globe, as much as that does the least sand upon the Sea-shore, may reasonably be presum'd to have some great Being at the Centre of it. But what that is, we must leave to the enquiries of another life.

The *Theory of the Earth* will be a common lesson there: carried through all its vicissitudes and periods from first to last, till its entire revolution be accomplish'd. I told you in the Preface, The *Revolution of World* was one of the greatest Speculations that we are capable of in this life: and this little World where we are, will be the first and easiest instance of it; seeing we have Records, Historical or Prophetical, that reach from the Chaos to the end of the new Heavens and new Earth: which course of time makes up the greatest part of the Circle or Revolution. And as what was before the Chaos, was but, in my opinion, the first remove from a Fixt Star, so what is after the thousand years Renovation, is but the last step to it again.

The *Theory of humane Nature* is also an useful and necessary speculation, and will be carried on to perfection in that state. Having fixt the true distinction betwixt Matter and Spirit, betwixt the Soul and the Body, and the true nature and laws of their union: The original contract, and the terms ratified by Providence at their first conjunction: It will not be hard to discover the springs of action and passion: how the thoughts of our mind, and the motions of our body act in dependance one upon another. What are the primary differences of Genius's and complexions, and how our Intellectuals or Morals depend upon them. What is the Root of Fatality, and how far it extends. By these lights, they will see into their own and every Man's breast, and trace the foot-steps of the Divine wisdom in that strange composition of Soul and Body.

This indeed is a mixt speculation, as most others are: and takes in something of both Worlds, Intellectual and Corporeal: and may also belong in part to the Third Head we mention'd, *Providence*. But there is no need of distinguishing these Heads so nicely, provided we take in, under some or other of them, what may be thought best to deserve our knowledge, now, or in another World. As to *Providence*, what we intend chiefly by it here, is the general œconomy of our Religion, and what is reveal'd to us in Scripture, concerning God, Angels, and Mankind. These Revelations, as most in Sacred Writ, are short and incompleat: as being design'd for practice more than for speculation, or to awaken and excite our thoughts, rather than to satisfie them. Accordingly we read in Scripture of a Triune Deity: of God made flesh, in the Womb of a Virgin: Barbarously crucified by the *Jews*: Descending into Hell: rising again from the Dead: visibly ascending into Heaven: And sitting at the right hand of God the Father, above Angels and Arch-Angels. These great things are imperfectly reveal'd to us in this life; which we are to believe so far as they are reveal'd: In hopes these

mysteries

myſteries will be made more intelligible, in that happy ſtate to come, where Prophets, Apoſtles, and Angels, will meet in converſation together.

Mat. 3. 16. *Act.* 2. *Matt.* 1. 18. *Luk.* 1. 35.

In like manner, how little is it we underſtand concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*. That he deſcended like a *Dove* upon our Saviour: Like cloven Tongues of fire upon the Apoſtles; The Place being fill'd with a ruſhing mighty Wind: That he over-ſhadowed the Bleſſed Virgin, and begot the Holy Infant. That He made the Apoſtles ſpeak all ſort of Tongues and Languages *ex tempore*, and pour'd out ſtrange Vertues and Miraculous Gifts upon the Primitive Chriſtians. Theſe things we know as bare matter of fact, but the method of theſe operations we do not at all underſtand. Who can tell us now, what that is which we call *INSPIRATION?* VVhat change is wrought in the Brain, and what in the Soul: and how the effect follows? VVho will give us the juſt definition of a *Miracle?* VVhat the proximate Agent is above Man, and whether they are all from the ſame power? How the manner and proceſs of thoſe miraculous changes in matter, may be conceiv'd? Theſe things we ſee darkly, and hope they will be ſet in a clearer light, and the Doctrines of our Religion more fully expounded to us, in that Future VVorld. For as ſeveral things obſcurely expreſt in the Old Teſtament, are more clearly reveal'd in the New; So the ſame myſteries, in a ſucceeding ſtate, may ſtill receive a further explication.

The Hiſtory of the Angels, Good or bad, makes another part of this Providential Syſteme. Chriſtian Religion gives us ſome notices, of both kinds, but very imperfect; VVhat intereſt the Good Angels have in the Government of the VVorld, and in ordering the affairs of this Earth and Mankind: What ſubjection they have to our Saviour, and what part in his Miniſtry: Whether they are Guardians to particular Perſons, to Kingdoms, to Empires: All that we know at preſent, concerning theſe things, is but conjectural. And as to the bad Angels, who will give us an account of their Fall, and of their former condition? I had rather know the Hiſtory of *Lucifer*, than of all the *Babylonian* and *Perſian* Kings; Nay, than of all the Kings of the Earth. What the Birth-right was of that mighty Prince: what his Dominions: where his Imperial Court and Reſidence? How he was depos'd: for what Crime, and by what Power? How he ſtill wages War againſt Heaven, in his exile: What Confederates he hath: What is his Power over Mankind, and how limited? What change or damage he ſuffer'd by the coming of Chriſt, and how it alter'd the poſture of his affairs. Where he will be impriſon'd in the *Millennium*: and what will be his laſt fate and final doom: whether he may ever hope for a Revolution or Reſtauration? Theſe things lie hid in the ſecret Records of Providence, which then, I hope, will be open'd to us.

With the Revolution of *Worlds*, we mention'd before the Revolution of *Souls*; which is another great Circle of Providence, to be ſtudied hereafter. We know little here, either of the pre-exiſtence or poſt-exiſtence of our Souls. VVe know not what they will be, till the loud Trump awakes us, and calls us again into the Corporeal VVorld. VVho knows how many turns he ſhall take upon this ſtage

ſtage of the Earth, and how many trials he ſhall have, before his doom will be finally concluded. Who knows where, or what, is the ſtate of Hell: where the Souls of the wicked are ſaid to be for ever. What is the true ſtate of Heaven: What our Celeſtial Bodies: and What that Sovereign Happineſs that is call'd the *Beatifical Viſion?* Our knowledge and conceptions of theſe things, are, at preſent, very general and ſuperficial; but in the future Kingdom of Chriſt, which is introductory to Heaven it ſelf, theſe imperfections, in a great meaſure, will be done away; and ſuch preparations wrought, both in the Will and Underſtanding, as may fit us for the Life of Angels, and the enjoyment of God in Eternal Glory.

Thus you ſee in general, what will be the employment of the Saints in the bleſſed *Millennium*. And tho' they have few of the trifling buſineſſes of this life, they will not want the beſt and nobleſt of diverſions. 'Tis an happy thing when a Man's pleaſure is alſo his perfection: for moſt Men's pleaſures are ſuch as debaſe their nature. We commonly gratifie our lower faculties, our Paſſions, and our Appetites: and theſe do not improve, but depreſs the Mind. And beſides, they are ſo groſs, that the fineſt tempers are ſurfeited in a little time. There is no laſting pleaſure, but *Contemplation*. All others grow flat and inſipid upon frequent uſe; and when a Man hath run thorow a Sett of Vanities, in the declenſion of his Age, he knows not what to do with himſelf, if he cannot Think. He ſaunters about, from one dull buſineſs to another, to wear out time: And hath no reaſon to value Life, but becauſe he's afraid of Death. But Contemplation is a continual ſpring of freſh pleaſures. Truth is inexhauſted, and when you are once in the right way, the further you go, the greater diſcoveries you make, and with the greater joy. We are ſometimes highly pleas'd, and even tranſported, with little inventions in Mathematicks, or Mechanicks, or Natural Philoſophy. All theſe things will make part of their diverſion and entertainment in that ſtate; All the doctrine of Sounds and Harmony: Of Light, Colours, and Perſpective, will be known in perfection. But theſe I call Diverſions, in compariſon of their higher and more ſerious Speculations, which will be the buſineſs and happineſs of that Life.

Do but imagine, that they will have the Scheme of all humane affairs lying before them: from the Chaos to the laſt period. The univerſal hiſtory and order of Times. The whole œconomy of the Chriſtian Religion, and of all Religions in the World. The Plan of the undertaking of the Meſſiah: with all other parts and ingredients of the Providence of this Earth. Do but imagine this, I ſay, and you will eaſily allow, that when they contemplate the Beauty, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, of the whole deſign, it muſt needs raiſe great and noble Paſſions, and a far richer joy than either the pleaſures or ſpeculations of this Life can excite in us. And this being the laſt Act and cloſe of all humane affairs, it ought to be the more exquiſite and elaborate: that it may crown the work, ſatisfie the Spectators, and end in a general applauſe. The whole Theatre reſounding with the praiſes of the great Dramatiſt, and the wonderful Art and Order of the compoſition.

CHAP. X.

Objections againſt the Millennium, anſwer'd. With ſome Conjectures concerning the ſtate of things after the Millennium: and what will be the final Conſummation of this World.

YOU ſee how Nature and Providence have conſpir'd, to make the *Millennium* as happy a ſtate, as any Terreſtrial ſtate can be. For, beſides Health and Plenty; Peace, Truth, and Righteouſneſs will flouriſh there, and all the evils of this Life ſtand excluded. There will be no Ambitious Princes, ſtudying miſchief one againſt another; or contriving methods to bring their own Subjects into ſlavery. No mercenary Stateſmen, to aſſiſt and intrigue with them. No oppreſſion from the Powerful, no ſnares or traps laid for the Innocent. No treacherous Friends, no malicious Enemies. No Knaves, Cheats, Hypocrites; the Vermin of this Earth, that ſwarm every where. There will be nothing but Truth, Candor, Sincerity, and Ingenuity: as in a Society or Commonwealth of Saints and Philoſophers. In a word, 'twill be *Paradiſe reſtor'd*: both as to Innocency of Temper, and the Beauties of Nature.

I believe you will be apt to ſay, If this be not True, 'tis pity but that it ſhould be True. For 'tis a very deſirable ſtate, where all good People would find themſelves mightily at eaſe. What is it that hinders it then? It muſt be ſome ill *Genius*. For Nature tends to ſuch a Renovation, as we ſuppoſe: and Scripture ſpeaks loudly of an happy ſtate to be, ſome time or other, on this ſide Heaven. And what is there, pray, in this preſent World, Natural or Moral, if I may ask with reverence, that could make it worth the while for God to create it, if it never was better, nor ever will be better? Is there not more Miſery than Happineſs: Is there not more Vice than Virtue, in this World? as if it had been made by a *Manichean* God. The Earth barren, the Heavens inconſtant: Men wicked and God offended. This is the poſture of our Affairs: ſuch hath our World been hitherto: with Wars and Bloudſhed, Sickneſs and Diſeaſes, Poverty, ſervitude and perpetual Drudgery for the neceſſaries of a Mortal Life. We may therefore reaſonably hope, from a God infinitely good and powerful, for better Times and a better State, before the laſt period and conſummation of all things.

But it will be objected, it may be, that, according to Scripture, the vices and wickedneſs of Men will continue to the end of the World; and ſo there will be no room for ſuch an happy ſtate, as we hope for. Our Saviour ſays, *When the ſon of man cometh, ſhall he find faith upon the Earth?* They ſhall *eat and drink and play*, as before the deſtruction of the *old World*, or of *Sodom*, (*Luk.* 17:26, *&c.*) and the wickedneſs of thoſe Men, you know, continued to the laſt. This objection may pinch thoſe that ſuppoſe the Millennium to be in the preſent Earth, and a thouſand years before the coming of our

Luk. 18.8.

our Saviour: for his words ſeem to imply that the World will be in a ſtate of wickedneſs even till his coming. Accordingly Antichriſt or the *Man of Sin*, is not ſaid to be deſtroy'd till the coming of our Saviour, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 8. and till he be deſtroy'd, we cannot hope for a Millennium. Laſtly, The coming of our Saviour is always repreſented in Scripture as ſudden, ſurpriſing and unexpected. As *Lightning* breaking ſuddenly out of the clouds, (*Luk.* 17. 24. and *ch.* 21. 34, 35.) or as a *thief in the night*, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 2,3,4. 2 *Pet.* 3. 10. *Apoc.* 16. 15. But if there be ſuch a forerunner of it as the Millennial ſtate, whoſe bounds we know, according as that expires and draws to an end, Men will be certainly advertis'd of the approaching of our Saviour. But this objection, as I told you, does not affect our Hypotheſis, for we ſuppoſe the Millennium will not be till after the coming of our Saviour, and the Conflagration. And alſo that his coming will be ſudden and ſurpriſing: and that Antichriſt will continue in being, tho' not in the ſame degree of power, till that time. So that they that place the Millennium in the preſent Earth, are chiefly concern'd to anſwer this firſt objection.

But you will object, it may be, in the ſecond place, That this Millennium, whereſoever it is, would degenerate at length, into ſenſuality, and a Mahometan Paradiſe. For where there are earthly pleaſures and earthly appetites, they will not be kept always in order without any exceſs or luxuriancy: eſpecially as to the ſenſes of Touch and Taſte. I am apt to think this is true, if the Soul have no more power over the Body than ſhe hath at preſent: and our Senſes, Paſſions, and Appetites be as ſtrong as they are now. But according to our explication of the Millennium, we have great reaſon to hope, that the Soul will have a greater dominion over the Reſurrection-body, than ſhe hath over this. And you know we ſuppoſe that none will truly inherit the Millennium, but thoſe that riſe from the Dead. Nor do we admit any propagation there, nor the trouble or weakneſs of Infants. But that all riſe in a perfect age, and never die: being tranſlated, at the final judgment, to meet our Saviour in the clouds, and to be with him for ever. Thus we eaſily avoid the force of this objection. But thoſe that place the Millennium in this Life, and to be enjoy'd in theſe Bodies, muſt find out ſome new preſervatives againſt vice: otherwiſe they will be continually ſubject to degeneracy.

Another objection may be taken from the perſonal Reign of Chriſt upon Earth: which is a thing incongruous, and yet aſſerted by many modern Millenaries. That Chriſt ſhould leave that right hand of his Father, to come and paſs a thouſand years here below; living upon Earth in an heavenly Body: This, I confeſs, is a thing I never could digeſt, and therefore I am not concern'd in this objection; not thinking it neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould be perſonally preſent and reſident upon Earth in the Millennium. I am apt to believe that there will be then a Celeſtial Preſence of Chriſt, or a *Shekinah*, as we noted before: As the Sun is preſent to the Earth, yet never leaves its place in the Firmament; ſo Chriſt may be viſibly conſpicuous in his Heavenly Throne, as he was to S. *Stephen*: and yet never leave the right hand of his Father. And this would be a

Act. 7. 55, 56.

more glorious and illustrious presence, than if he should descend, and converse amongst Men in a personal shape. But these things not being distinctly reveal'd to us, we ought not to determine any thing concerning them, but with modesty and submission.

We have thus far pretty well escap'd, and kept our selves out of the reach of the ordinary objections against the Millennium. But there remains one, concerning a *double Resurrection*, which must fall upon every Hypothesis: and 'tis this. The Scripture, they say, speaks but of one Resurrection: whereas the doctrine of the Millennium supposes two; one at the beginning of the Millennium, for the Martyrs, and those that enjoy that happy state, and the other at the end of it; which is universal and final, in the last day of judgment. 'Tis true, Scripture generally speaks of the Resurrection in gross: without distinguishing first and second; and so it speaks of the *Coming* of our Saviour, without distinction of first or second; yet it does not follow from that, that there is but one Coming of our Saviour: so neither that there is but one Resurrection. And seeing there is one place of Scripture that speaks distinctly of two Resurrections, namely, the *20th chap.* of the *Apocalypse*: that is to us a sufficient warrant for asserting two. As there are some things in one Evangelist that are not in another, yet we think them Authentick if they be but in one. There are also some things in *Daniel*, concerning the *Messiah*, and concerning the *Resurrection*, that are not in the rest of the Prophets: yet we look upon his single testimony, as good authority. S. *John* writ the last of all the Apostles: and as the whole series of his Prophecies is new, reaching through the later times to the Consummation of all things; so we cannot wonder if he had something more particular reveal'd to him concerning the Resurrection; That which was spoken of before in general, being distinguish'd now into *First* and *Second*, or particular and universal, in this last Prophet. Some think S. *Paul* means no less, when he makes an *order* in the Resurrection: some rising sooner, some later: 1 *Cor.* 15. 23, 24. 1 *Thess.* 4. 14, 15, *&c.* but whether that be so or no, S. *John* might have a more distinct revelation concerning it, than S. *Paul* had, or any one before him.

See Mr. Mede.

After these Objections, a great many Queries and difficulties might be propos'd relating to the Millennium. But that's no more than what is found in all other matters, remote from our knowledge. Who can answer all the Queries that may be made concerning *Heaven*, or *Hell*, or *Paradise?* When we know a thing as to the substance, we are not to let go our hold, tho' there remain some difficulties unresolv'd: otherwise we should be eternally Sceptical in most matters of Knowledge. Therefore, tho' we cannot, for example, give a full account of the distinction of habitations and inhabitants in the *Future Earth*: or, of the order of the *First Resurrection*; whether it be performed by degrees and successively, or all the Inhabitants of the New Jerusalem rise at once, and continue throughout the whole Millennium. I say, tho' we cannot give a distinct account of these, or such like particulars, we ought not therefore to deny or doubt whether there will be a *New Earth*, or a *First Resurrection*. For the Revelation goes clearly so far: and the obscurity is only

only in the consequences and dependances of it. Which Providence thought fit, without further light, to leave to our search and disquisition.

Scripture mentions one thing, at the end of the Millennium, which is a common difficulty to all; and every one must contribute their best thoughts and conjectures towards the solution of it. 'Tis the strange doctrine of *Gog* and *Magog*; which are to rise up in rebellion against the Saints, and besiege the holy City, and the holy Camp. And this is to be upon the expiration of the thousand years, when Satan is loosen'd. For no sooner will his Chains be knock'd off, but he will put himself in the head of this Army of Gyants, or Sons of the Earth, and attack Heaven, and the Saints of the most High. But with ill success, for there will come down fire and lightning from Heaven, and consume them. This, methinks, hath a great affinity with the History of the Gyants, rebelling and assaulting Heaven and struck down by thunder-bolts. But that of setting mountains upon mountains, or tossing them into the Skie, that's the Poetical part, and we must not expect to find it in the Prophecy. The Poets told their Fable, as of a thing past, and so it was a Fable; But the Prophets speak of it, as of a thing to come, and so it will be a reality. But how and in what sence it is to be understood and explain'd, every one has the liberty to make the best judgment he can.

Apoc. 20. 8, 9.

Ezekiel mentions *Gog* and *Magog*: which I take to be only types and shadows of these which we are now speaking of: and not yet exemplified, no more than his Temple. And seeing this People is to be at the end of the *Millennium*, and in the same Earth with it, We must, according to our Hypothesis, plant them in the Future Earth; and therefore all former conjectures about the *Turks*, or *Scythians*, or other *Barbarians*, are out of doors with us, seeing the Scene of this action does not lie in the present Earth. They are also represented by the Prophet, as a People distinct and separate from the Saints, not in their manners only, but also in their seats and habitations; For they are said to come up from the four corners of the Earth, upon the breadth of the Earth: and there to besiege the *Camp of the Saints and the beloved City*: This makes it seem probable to me, that there will be a double race of Mankind in that *Future Earth*: very different one from another, both as to their temper and disposition, and as to their origine. The one born from Heaven, Sons of God, and of the Resurrection: who are the true Saints and heirs of the *Millennium*. The others born of the Earth, Sons of the Earth, generated from the slime of the ground, and the heat of the Sun, as brute Creatures were at first. This second Progeny or Generation of Men in the Future Earth, I understand to be signified by the Prophet under these borrowed or feigned names of *Gog* and *Magog*. And this Earth-born race, encreasing and multiplying after the manner of Men, by carnal propagation, after a thousand years, grew numerous, as the Sand by the Sea; and thereupon made an irruption or inundation upon the face of the Earth, and upon the habitations of the Saints; As the barbarous Nations did formerly upon Christendom: Or as the Gyants are said to have made War against

Ch. 38. *&* 39.

Apoc. 20. 8, 9

againſt the Gods. But they were ſoon confounded in their impious and ſacrilegious deſign, being ſtruck and conſum'd by fire from Heaven.

Some will think, it may be, that there was ſuch a double race of Mankind in the firſt VVorld alſo. *The Sons of Adam, and the Sons of God*: becauſe it is ſaid, *Gen. 6. When men began to multiply upon the face of the Earth*, that *the SONS OF GOD SAW THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN, that they were fair, and they took them Wives of all that they lik'd.* And it is added preſently, *ver.* 4. *There were Gyants in the Earth in thoſe days; and alſo after that, when the Sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the ſame became mighty men, which were of old men of renown.* Here ſeem to be two or three orders or races in this Ante-diluvian VVorld. *The Sons of God: The Sons and Daughters of Adam*: and a third ſort ariſing from the mixture and copulation of theſe, which are call'd *Mighty men of old*, or Hero's. Beſides, here are Gyants mention'd, and to which they are to be reduc'd, it does not certainly appear.

This mixture of theſe two Races, whatſoever they were, gave, it ſeems, ſo great offence to God, that he deſtroy'd that World upon it, in a Deluge of Water. It hath been matter of great difficulty to determine, who theſe *Sons of God* were, that fell in love with and married the daughters of men. There are two conjectures that prevail moſt: One, that they were Angels: and another, that they were of the Poſterity of *Seth*, and diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt, by their Piety, and the worſhip of the true God: ſo that it was a great crime for them to mingle with the reſt of mankind, who are ſuppos'd to have been Idolaters. Neither of theſe opinions is to me ſatisfactory. For as to Angels; Good Angels neither *marry, nor are given in marriage*; *Matt.* 22. 30. and bad Angels are not call'd the *Sons of God*. Beſides, if Angels were capable of thoſe mean pleaſures, we ought in reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there are female Angels, as well as male; for ſurely thoſe capacities are not in vain through a whole *Species* of Beings. And if there be female Angels, we cannot imagine, but that they muſt be of a far more charming beauty than the dowdy daughters of men. Then as to the line of *Seth*, It does not appear that there was any ſuch diſtinction of Idolaters and true Worſhippers before the Flood, or that there was any ſuch thing, as Idolatry, at that time: nor for ſome Ages after. Beſides, it is not ſaid, that the Sons of God fell in love with the Daughters of *Cain*, or of any degenerate race, but with the Daughters of *Adam*: which may be the Daughters of *Seth*, as well as of any other. Theſe conjectures therefore ſeem to be ſhallow and ill-grounded. But what the diſtinction was of thoſe two orders, remains yet very uncertain.

St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*, (*Chap.* 4. 21, 22, *&c.*) makes a diſtinction alſo of a double Progeny: that of *Sarah*, and that of *Hagar*. One was born according to the fleſh, after a natural manner: and the other by the divine power, or in vertue of the divine promiſe. This diſtinction of a natural and ſupernatural origine, and of a double progeny: the one born to ſervitude, the other to liberty: repreſents very

very well either the manner of our preſent birth, and of our future, at the Reſurrection: Or that double progeny and double manner of birth, which we ſuppoſe in the *Future Earth*. 'Tis true, St. *Paul* applies this to the Law and the Goſpel; but Typical things, you know, have different aſpects and completions: which are not excluſive of one another: and ſo it may be here. But however this double race of Mankind in the Future Earth, to explain the Doctrine of *Gog* and *Magog*, is but a conjecture: and does not pretend to be otherwiſe conſider'd.

The laſt thing that remains to be conſider'd and accounted for, is the upſhot and concluſion of all: namely, what will become of the Earth after the thouſand years expir'd? Or after the Day of Judgment paſt, and the Saints tranſlated into Heaven, what will be the face of things here below? There being nothing expreſly reveal'd concerning this, we muſt not expect a poſitive reſolution of it. And the difficulty is not peculiar to our hypotheſis: for though the *Millennium*, and the final Judgment were concluded in the preſent Earth, the Quære would ſtill remain, *What* would become of this Earth after the Laſt Day. So that all parties are equally concern'd, and equally free, to give their opinion, *What* will be the *laſt ſtate and conſummation* of this Earth. Scripture, I told you, hath not defin'd this point: and the Philoſophers ſay very little concerning it. The Stoicks indeed ſpeak of the final reſolution of all things into *Fire*, or into *Æther*: which is the pureſt and ſubtleſt ſort of fire. So that the whole Globe or Maſs of the Earth, and all particular bodies, will, according to them, be at laſt diſſolv'd into a liquid flame. Neither was this Doctrine firſt invented by the Stoicks: *Heraclitus* taught it long before them: and I take it to be as ancient as *Orpheus* himſelf: who was the firſt Philoſopher amongſt the *Greeks*. And he deriving his notions from the *Barbarick* Philoſophers, or the Sages of the Eaſt, that School of Wiſdom may be look'd upon as the true ſeminary of this Doctrine: as it was of moſt other natural knowledge.

But this diſſolution of the Earth into Fire, may be underſtood two ways; either that it will be diſſolv'd into a looſe flame, and ſo diſſipated and loſt as Lightning in the Air, and vaniſh into nothing; or that it will be diſſolv'd into a fixt flame, ſuch as the Sun is, or a fixt Star. And I am of opinion, that the Earth after the laſt Day of Judgment, will be chang'd into the nature of a Sun, or of a fixt Star; and ſhine like them in the Firmament. Being all melted down into a maſs of Æthereal matter, and enlightning a Sphere or Orb round about it. I have no direct and demonſtrative proof of this, I confeſs; But if Planets were once fixt Stars, as I believe they were; their revolution to the ſame ſtate again, in a great Circle of Time, ſeems to be according to the methods of Providence; which loves to recover what was loſt or decay'd, after certain periods: and what was originally good and happy, to make it ſo again; All Nature, at laſt, being transform'd into a like glory with the Sons of God. *Rom.* 8. 21.

I will not tell you what foundation there is in Nature, for this change or transformation; from the interiour conſtitution of the Earth,

Earth, and the inſtances we have ſeen of new Stars appearing in the Heavens. I ſhould lead the *Engliſh* Reader too far out of his way, to diſcourſe of theſe things. But if there be any paſſages or expreſſions in Scripture, that countenance ſuch a ſtate of things after the day of Judgment, it will not be improper to take notice of them. That radiant and illuſtrious *Jeruſalem*, deſcrib'd by St. *John*, *Apoc.* 21. *ver.* 10, 11, 12, *&c.* compos'd all of Gemms and bright materials, clear and ſparkling, as a Star in the Firmament: Who can give an account what that is? Its foundations, walls, gates, ſtreets, all the Body of it, reſplendent as light or fire. What is there in Nature, or in this Univerſe, that bears any reſemblance with ſuch a Phænomenon as this, unleſs it be a Sun or a fixt Star? Eſpecially if we
Ver. 23. add and conſider what follows, That *the City had no need of the Sun,*
Ver. 25. *nor of the Moon, to ſhine in it.* And that *there was no night there.* This can be no Terreſtrial Body; it muſt be a ſubſtance luminous in it ſelf, and a fountain of light, as a fixt Star. And upon ſuch a change of the Earth, or tranſformation, as this, would *be brought to paſs the ſaying that is written, DEATH IS SWALLOWED UP IN VICTORY.* Which indeed S. *Paul* ſeems to apply to our Bodies in particular, 1 *Cor.* 15. 54. But in the Eighth Chapter to the *Ro-*
Ver. 21. *mans* He extends it to all Nature. *The Creation it ſelf alſo ſhall be deliver'd from the bondage of Corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God.* And accordingly S. *John*, ſpeaking of the ſame time with St. *Paul* in that place to the *Corinthians*, namely of the general Reſurrection and day of Judgment, ſays, *Death* and *Hades*, which we
Apoc. 20. 14. render Hell, *were caſt into the lake of fire.* This is their being *ſwallowed up in victory*, which S. *Paul* ſpeaks of; when Death and Hades, that is, all the Region of mortality: The Earth and all its dependances: are abſorpt into a maſs of Fire; and converted, by a glorious Victory over the powers of darkneſs, into a Luminous Body and a region of Light.

This great Iſſue and Period of the Earth, and of all humane affairs, tho' it ſeem to be founded in nature, and ſupported by ſeveral expreſſions of Scripture; yet we cannot, for want of full inſtruction, propoſe it otherwiſe than as a fair Conjecture. The Heavens and the Earth ſhall flie away at the day of Judgment, ſays the Text: *Apoc.* 20. 11. *And their place ſhall not be found.* This muſt be underſtood of our Heavens and our Earth. And their *flying away* muſt be their removing to ſome other part of the Univerſe; ſo as their place or reſidence ſhall not be found any more here below. This is the eaſie and natural ſence of the Words; and this tranſlation of the Earth will not be without ſome change preceding, that makes it leave its place, and, with a lofty flight, take its ſeat amongſt the Stars.--------There we leave it; Having conducted it for the ſpace of Seven Thouſand Years, through various changes, from a *dark Chaos to a bright Star.*

F I N I S.

A

REVIEW

OF THE

THEORY

OF THE

EARTH,

And of its

PROOFS:

ESPECIALLY

IN REFERENCE TO

SCRIPTURE.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Biſhop's-Head in S. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1697.

A REVIEW OF THE THEORY OF THE EARTH.

TO take a review of this Theory of the Earth, which we have now finish'd, We must consider, first, the extent of it: and then the principal parts whereof it consists. It reaches, as you see, from one end of the World to the other: From the first Chaos to the last day, and the Consummation of all things. This, probably, will run the length of Seven Thousand Years; which is a good competent space of time to exercise our Thoughts upon, and to observe the several Scenes which Nature and Providence bring into View within the compass of so many Ages.

The matter and principal parts of this Theory, are such things as are recorded in Scripture. We do not feign a Subject, and then descant upon it, for diversion; but endeavour to give an intelligible and rational account of such matters of Fact, past or future, as are there specifi'd and declar'd. What it hath seem'd good to the Holy Ghost to communicate to us, by History or Prophecy, concerning the several States and general Changes of this Earth, makes the Argument of our Discourse. Therefore the things themselves must be taken for granted, in one sence or other: seeing besides all other proofs, they have the Authority of a Revelation; and our business is only to give such an explication of them, as shall approve it self to the faculties of Man, and be conformable to Scripture.

We will therefore first set down the things themselves, that make the subject matter of this Theory: and remind you of our explication of them. Then recollect the general proofs of that explication, from Reason and Nature: but more fully and particularly shew how it is grounded upon Scripture. The primary *Phænomena* whereof we are to give an account, are these Five or Six.

I. *The original of the Earth from a Chaos.*
II. *The state of Paradise, and the Ante-diluvian World.*
III. *The Universal Deluge.*
IV. *The Universal Conflagration.*
V. *The Renovation of the World, or the New Heavens and New Earth.*
VI. *The Consummation of all things.*

These are unquestionably in Scripture: and these all relate, as you see, to the several forms, states and revolutions of this Earth. We are therefore oblig'd to give a clear and coherent account of these Phænomena, in that order and consecution wherein they stand to one another.

There are also in Scripture some other things, relating to the same Subjects, that may be call'd the Secondary Ingredients of this Theory, and are to be referr'd to their respective primary heads. Such are, for instance

I. *The Longevity of the Ante-diluvians.*
II. *The Rupture of the Great Abyss, & the Deluge.*
III. *The appearing of the Rainbow after the Deluge: as a sign that there never should be a second Flood.*

These things Scripture hath also left upon record: as directions and indications how to understand the Ante-diluvian state, and the Deluge it self. Whosoever therefore shall undertake to write the Theory of the Earth, must think himself bound to give us a just explication of these secondary Phænomena, as well as of the primary; and that in such a dependance and connexion, as to make them give and receive light from one another.

The former part of the Task is concerning the World behind us, Times and Things past, that are already come to light. The later is concerning the World before us, Times and Things to come: That lie yet in the bosom of Providence, and in the seeds of Nature. And these are chiefly the *Conflagration* of the World, and the *Renovation* of it. When these are over and expir'd, then *comes the end*, as S. *Paul* says. Then *the Heavens and the Earth fly away*, as S. *John* says. Then is the *Consummation* of all things, and the last period of this sublunary World, whatsoever it is. Thus far the Theorist must go, and pursue the motions of Nature, till all things are brought to rest and silence. And in this latter part of the Theory, there is also a collateral Phænomenon, the *Millennium*, or Thousand Years Reign of Christ and his Saints, upon Earth, to be consider'd. For this according as it is represented in Scripture, does imply a change in the Natural World, as well as in the Moral: and therefore must be accounted for, in the Theory of the Earth. At least it must be there determin'd, whether that state of the World, which is singular and extraordinary, will be before or after the Conflagration.

1 Cor. 15.
Apoc. 20.

These are the Principals and Incidents of this Theory of the Earth, as to the Matter and Subject of it: which, you see, is both important, and wholly taken out of Scripture. As to our explication of these points, that is sufficiently known, being set down at large in four Books of this Theory. Therefore it remains only, having seen the Matter of the Theory, to examine the Form of it, and the proofs of it: for from these two things it must receive its censure. As to the form, the characters of a Regular Theory seem to be these three; *Few and easie Postulatums: Union of Parts:* and *a Fitness to answer, fully and clearly, all the Phænomena to which it is to be apply'd.*

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We think our Hypothesis does not want any of these Characters. As to the First, we take but one single *Postulatum* for the whole Theory: and that an easie one, warranted both by Scripture and Antiquity: Namely, *That this Earth rise, at first, from a Chaos.* As to the second, *Union of Parts*, The whole Theory is but one Series of Causes and Effects from that first Chaos. Besides, you can scarce admit any one part of it, first, last, or intermediate, but you must, in consequence of that, admit all the rest. Grant me but that the Deluge is truly explain'd, and I desire no more for proof of all the Theory. Or, if you begin at the other end, and grant the *New Heavens and New Earth* after the Conflagration, you will be led back again to the first Heavens and first Earth that were before the Flood. For St. *John* says, that *New Earth* was without a *Sea*: *Apoc.* 21. 1. And it was a *Renovation*, or *Restitution* to some former state of things: there was therefore some former Earth without a Sea; which not being the present Earth, it must be the Ante-diluvian. Besides, both St. *John*, and the Prophet *Isaiah*, have represented the New Heavens and New Earth, as *Paradisiacal*. According as is prov'd, *Book the 4th. chap.* 2. And having told us the form of the New future Earth, that it will have *no Sea*, it is a reasonable inference that there was no Sea in the *Paradisiacal Earth*. However from the form of this Future Earth, which St. *John* represents to us, we may at least conclude, That an *Earth without a Sea* is no Chimæra, or impossibility: but rather a fit seat and habitation for the Just and the Innocent.

Thus you see the parts of the Theory link and hold fast one another: according to the second character. And as to the third, of being *suited to the Phænomena*, we must refer that to the next head, of *Proofs*. It may be truly said, that bare coherence and union of parts is not a sufficient proof; The parts of a Fable or Romance may hang aptly together, and yet have no truth in them. This is enough indeed to give the title of a just Composition to any work, but not of a true one: till it appear that the conclusions and explications are grounded upon good natural evidence, or upon good Divine authority. We must therefore proceed now to the third thing to be consider'd in a Theory, *What* its Proofs are: or the grounds upon which it stands, whether Sacred or Natural.

According to Natural evidence, things are proved from their Causes or their Effects. And we think we have this double order of proofs for the truth of our Hypothesis. As to the method of Causes, we proceed from what is more simple, to what is more compound: and build all upon one foundation. Go but to the Head of the Theory, and you will see the Causes lying in a train before you, from first to last. And tho' you did not know the Natural History of the World, past or future, you might, by intuition, foretell it, as to the grand revolutions and successive faces of Nature, through a long series of Ages. If we have given a true account of the motions of the Chaos, we have also truly form'd the first habitable Earth. And if that be truly form'd, we have thereby given a true account of the state of Paradise, and of all that depends upon it. And not of that only, but also of the universal Deluge. Both these we have shewn in their causes. The one from the Form of that Earth, and

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the other from the Fall of it into the Abyſs. And tho' we had not been made acquainted with theſe things by Antiquity, we might, in contemplation of the Cauſes, have truly conceiv'd them, as properties or incidents to the Firſt Earth. But as to the Deluge, I do not ſay, that we might have calculated the Time, manner, and other circumſtances of it; Theſe things were regulated by Providence, in ſubordination to the Moral World. But that there would be, at one time or other, a diſruption of that Earth, or of the Great Abyſs: and in conſequence of it, an univerſal Deluge: So far, I think, the light of a Theory might carry us.

Theor. Book 3. ch. 7, & 8.

Furthermore, In conſequence of this diſruption of the Primeval Earth, at the Deluge, the preſent Earth was made hollow and cavernous; and by that means, (due preparations being uſed) capable of *Combuſtion*, or of periſhing by an univerſal Fire: Yet, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, This is as hard a ſtep to be made, in vertue of Natural cauſes, as any in the whole Theory. But in recompence of that defect, the Conflagration is ſo plainly and literally taught us in Scripture, and avow'd by Antiquity, that it can fall under no diſpute, as to the thing it ſelf. And as to a capacity or diſpoſition to it in the preſent Earth, that I think is ſufficiently made out.

Then, the Conflagration admitted, in that way it is explain'd in the Third Book: The Earth, you ſee, is, by that fire, reduc'd to a ſecond Chaos. A Chaos truly ſo call'd. And from that, as from the Firſt, ariſes another Creation, or *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*; By the ſame cauſes, and in the ſame form, with the Paradiſiacal. This is the *Renovation* of the World: The *Reſtitution* of all things: mentioned both by Scripture and Antiquity: And by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, St. *Peter* and St. *John*, call'd the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. With this, as the laſt period, and moſt glorious Scene of all humane affairs, our Theory concludes, as to this method of Cauſes, whereof we are now ſpeaking.

I ſay, here it ends as to the *method of Cauſes*. For tho' we purſue the Earth ſtill further, even to its laſt Diſſolution: which is call'd the Conſummation of all things: yet all, that we have ſuperadded upon that occaſion, is but Problematical: and may, without prejudice to the Theory, be argued and diſputed on either hand. I do not know, but that our conjectures there may be well grounded: but however, not ſpringing ſo directly from the ſame root, or, at leaſt, not by ways, ſo clear and viſible, I leave that part undecided. Eſpecially ſeeing we pretend to write no more than the Theory *of the Earth*, and therefore as we begin no higher than the *Chaos*, ſo we are not obliged to go any further than to the laſt ſtate of a Terreſtrial conſiſtency: which is that of the New Heavens and the New Earth.

This is the firſt natural proof, From the order of Cauſes. The ſecond is from the conſideration of Effects. Namely of ſuch effects as are already in being. And therefore this proof can extend only to that part of the Theory, that explains the preſent and paſt form and Phænomena of the Earth. What is Future, muſt be left to a further trial, when the things come to paſs, and preſent themſelves to be examin'd and compar'd with the Hypotheſis. As to the preſent Form

Form of the Earth, we call all Nature to witneſs for us: The Rocks and the Mountains, the Hills and the Valleys, the deep and wide Sea, and the Caverns of the Ground: Let theſe ſpeak, and tell their origine: How the Body of the Earth came to be thus torn and mangled: If this ſtrange and irregular ſtructure was not the effect of a ruine: and of ſuch a ruine as was univerſal over the face of the whole Globe. But we have given ſuch a full explication of this, in the firſt part of the Theory, from *Chapt. the 9th.* to the end of that Treatiſe, that we dare ſtand to the judgment of any that reads thoſe four Chapters, to determine if the Hypotheſis does not anſwer all thoſe Phænomena, eaſily and adequately.

The next Phænomenon to be conſider'd, is the *Deluge*, with its adjuncts. This alſo is fully explain'd by our Hypotheſis, in the *2d.* *3d.* and *6th.* Chapters of the firſt Book. Where it is ſhewn, that the *Moſaical Deluge*, that is, an univerſal Inundation of the whole Earth, above the tops of the higheſt Mountains, made by a breaking open of the Great Abyſs, (for thus far *Moſes* leads us) is fully explain'd by this Hypotheſis, and cannot be conceiv'd in any other method hitherto propos'd? There are no ſources or ſtores of Water ſufficient for ſuch an effect, that may be drawn upon the Earth, and drawn off again, but by ſuppoſing ſuch an Abyſs, and ſuch a Diſruption of it, as the Theory repreſents.

Laſtly, As to the Phænomena of Paradiſe and the Ante-diluvian World, we have ſet them down in order in the *2d.* Book: and apply'd to each of them its proper explication, from the ſame Hypotheſis. We have alſo given an account of that Character which Antiquity always aſſign'd to the firſt age of the World, or the Golden Age, as they call'd it: namely, *Equality of Seaſons* throughout the Year, or a perpetual Equinox. We have alſo taken in all the adjuncts or concomitants of theſe States, as they are mention'd in Scripture. *The Longevity* of the Ante-diluvians, and the declenſion of their age by degrees, after the Flood. As alſo that wonderful Phænomenon, the *Rainbow*: which appear'd to *Noah* for a Sign, that the Earth ſhould never undergo a ſecond Deluge. And we have ſhewn, wherein the force and propriety of that Sign conſiſted, for confirming *Noah*'s faith in the promiſe and in the divine veracity. *Theor. Book 2. chap. 5.*

Thus far we have explain'd the paſt Phænomena of the Natural World. The reſt are Futurities, which ſtill lie hid in their Cauſes; and we cannot properly prove a Theory from effects that are not yet in being. But ſo far as they are foretold in Scripture, both as to ſubſtance and circumſtance, in proſecution of the ſame Principles we have ante-datad their birth, and ſhew'd how they will come to paſs. We may therefore, I think, reaſonably conclude, That this Theory has performed its task, and anſwer'd its title: having given an account of all the general changes of the Natural World, as far as either Sacred Hiſtory looks backwards, or Sacred Prophecy looks forwards. So far as the one tells us what is paſt in Nature, and the other what is to come. And if all this be nothing but an appearance of truth, 'tis a kind of fatality upon us to be deceiv'd.

SO much for Natural Evidence, from the Cauſes or Effects. We now proceed to Scripture, which will make the greateſt part of this Review. The Sacred Baſis upon which the whole Theory ſtands, is the doctrine of S. *Peter*, deliver'd in his *Second Epiſtle* and *Third Chapter*, concerning the *Triple Order* and Succeſſion of the Heavens and the Earth. That comprehends the whole extent of our Theory: which indeed is but a large Commentary upon S. *Peter*'s Text. The Apoſtle ſets out a threefold ſtate of the Heavens and Earth: with ſome general properties of each: taken from their different Conſtitution and different Fate. The Theory takes the ſame threefold ſtate of the Heavens and the Earth: and explains more particularly, wherein their different Conſtitution conſiſts: and how, under the conduct of Providence, their different fate depends upon it. Let us ſet down the Apoſtle's words, with the occaſion of them: and their plain ſence, according to the moſt eaſie and natural explication.

2 Pet. 3. Ver. 3. *Knowing this firſt, that there ſhall come in the laſt days ſcoffers, walking after their own luſts.*

4. *And ſaying, Where is the promiſe of his coming? for ſince the fathers fell aſleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*

5. *For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God, the heavens were of old, and the earth conſiſting of water and by water.*

6. *Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, periſhed.*

7. *But the heavens and the earth that are now, by the ſame word, are kept in ſtore, reſerved unto fire againſt the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men.*——

10. *The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens ſhall paſs away with a great noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with fervent heat; the earth alſo and the works that are therein ſhall be burnt up.*

13. *Nevertheleſs we, according to his promiſe, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs.*

This is the whole Diſcourſe ſo far as relates to our Subject. S *Peter*, you ſee, had met with ſome that ſcoff'd at the future deſtruction of the World, and the coming of our Saviour; and they were men, it ſeems, that pretended to Philoſophy and Argument; and they uſe this argument for their opinion, *Seeing there hath been no change in Nature, or in the World, from the beginning to this time, why ſhould we think there will be any change for the future?*

The Apoſtle anſwers to this, That they willingly forget or are ignorant that there were Heavens of old, and an Earth, ſo and ſo conſtituted; conſiſting of Water and by Water; by reaſon whereof that World, or thoſe Heavens and that Earth, periſh'd in a Deluge of Water. But, ſaith he, the Heavens and the Earth that are now, are of another conſtitution, fitted and reſerved to another fate,

fate, namely, to periſh by Fire. And after theſe are periſh'd, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth, according to God's promiſe.

This is an eaſie Paraphraſe, and the plain and genuine ſence of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe; and no body, I think, would ever look after any other ſence, if this did not carry them out of their uſual road, and point to concluſions which they did not fancy. This ſence, you ſee, hits the objection directly, or the Cavil which theſe ſcoffers made, and tells them, that they vainly pretend that there hath been no change in the World ſince the beginning, for there was one ſort of Heavens and Earth before the Flood, and another ſort now; the firſt having been deſtroy'd at the Deluge. So that the Apoſtle's argument ſtands upon this Foundation, That there is a diverſity betwixt the preſent Heavens and Earth, and the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth; take away that, and you take away all the force of his Anſwer.

Then as to his *New Heavens* and *New Earth* after the Conflagration, they muſt be material and natural, in the ſame ſence and ſignification with the former Heavens and Earth; unleſs you will offer open violence to the Text. So that this Triplicity of the Heavens and the Earth, is the firſt, obvious, plain ſence of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe: which every one would readily accept, if it did not draw after it a long train of Conſequences, and lead them into other Worlds than they ever thought of before, or are willing to enter upon now.

But we ſhall have occaſion by and by, to examine this Text more fully in all its circumſtances. Give me leave in the mean time to obſerve, That S. *Paul* alſo implyes that *triple Creation* which S. *Peter* expreſſes. S. *Paul*, I ſay, in the 8*th Chap.* to the *Rom. ver.* 20, 21. tells us of a *Creation* that will be *redeem'd from Vanity*: which are the New Heavens and New Earth to come. *A Creation in ſubjection to Vanity*: which is the preſent ſtate of the World, And a *Creation* that was ſubjected to Vanity, in hopes of being reſtor'd: which was the firſt Paradiſiacal Creation. And theſe are the Three States of the Natural World, which make the ſubject of our Theory.

To theſe two places of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, I might add that third in S. *John*, concerning the New Heavens and New Earth; with that diſtinguiſhing Character, that the Earth was *without a Sea*. As this diſtinguiſheth it from the preſent Earth, ſo, being a *Reſtitution* or *Reſtauration*, as we noted before, it muſt be the ſame with ſome former Earth: and conſequently, it implies that there was another precedent ſtate of the Natural World, to which this is a Reſtitution. Theſe three places I alledge, as comprehending and confirming the Theory in its full extent. But we do not ſuppoſe them all of the ſame force and clearneſs. S. *Peter* leads the way, and gives light and ſtrength to the other two. When a Point is prov'd by one clear Text, we allow others, as auxiliaries, that are not of the ſame clearneſs; But being open'd, receive light from the primary Text, and reflect it upon the Argument.

So much for the Theory in general. We will now take one or two principal heads of it, which vertually contain all the reſt, and examine them more ſtrictly and particularly, in reference to their agreement with Scripture. The two Heads we pitch upon, ſhall be, our

Explication of the Deluge, and our Explication of the New Heavens and New Earth. We told you before, these Two were as the Hinges, upon which all the Theory moves, and which hold the parts of it in firm union one with another. As to the Deluge, if I have explain'd that aright, by the Disruption of the Great Abyss, and the Dissolution of the Earth that cover'd it, all the rest follows in such a chain of Consequences, as cannot be broken. Wherefore in order to the proof of that Explication, and of all that depends upon it, I will make bold to lay down this Proposition, *That our Hypothesis concerning the Universal Deluge, is not only more agreeable to Reason and Philosophy than any other yet propos'd to the World, but is also more agreeable to Scripture.* Namely, to such places of Scripture, as reflect upon the *Deluge*, the *Abyss*, and the form of the *first Earth*. And particularly, to the *History of Noah's Flood, as recorded by Moses*. If I can make this good, it will, doubtless, give satisfaction to all that are free and intelligent. And I desire their patience, if I proceed slowly and by several steps. We will divide our task into parts, and examine them separately. First, by Scripture in general, and then by *Moses* his History and description of the Flood.

Our Hypothesis of the Deluge consists of Three Principal Heads, or differs remarkably in Three things from the common Explication. First, In that we suppose the Ante-diluvian Earth to have been of another Form and Constitution from the present Earth: with the Abyss placed under it.

Secondly, In that we suppose the Deluge to have been made, not by any inundation of the Sea, or overflowing of Fountains and Rivers: nor (principally) by any excess of Rains: but by a real dissolution of the Exteriour Earth, and disruption of the Abyss which it cover'd. These are the two principal points, to which may be added, as a Corollary,

Thirdly, That the Deluge was not in the nature of a standing Pool: The Waters lying every where level, of an equal depth and with an uniform Surface: But was made by a fluctuation and commotion of the Abyss upon the disruption: Which commotion being over, the Waters retired into their Chanels, and let the dry Land appear.

These are the most material and fundamental parts of our Hypothesis: and these being prov'd consonant to Scripture, there can be no doubt of the rest.

We begin with the first: That the Ante-diluvian Earth was of another form and constitution from the present Earth, with the Abyss placed under it. This is confirm'd in Scripture, both by such places as assert a diversity in general: and by other places that intimate to us, wherein that diversity consisted, and what was the form of the first Earth. That discourse of S. *Peter's*, which we have set before you concerning the past, present, and future, Heavens and Earth, is so full a proof of this diversity in general, that you must either allow it, or make the Apostle's argumentation of no effect. He speaks plainly of the Natural World, *The Heavens and the Earth:* And he makes a plain distinction, or rather opposition, betwixt those before and after the Flood: so that the least we can conclude from his words, is a diversity betwixt them; in answer to that Identity or Immuta-

Immutability of Nature, which the Scoffers pretended to have been ever since the beginning.

But tho' the Apostle, to me, speaks plainly of the *Natural World*, and distinguishes that which was before the Flood, from the present: Yet there are some that will allow neither of these to be contain'd in S. *Peter's* words; and by that means would make this whole Discourse of little or no effect, as to our purpose. And seeing we, on the contrary, have made it the chief Scripture-basis of the whole Theory of the Earth, we are oblig'd to free it from those false glosses or mis-interpretations, that lessen the force of its testimony, or make it wholly ineffectual.

These Interpreters say, That S. *Peter* meant no more than to mind these Scoffers, that the World was once destroy'd by a Deluge of Water: meaning the *Animate World*, Mankind and living Creatures. And that it shall be destroy'd again by another Element, namely by Fire. So as there is no opposition or diversity betwixt the two Natural Worlds, taught or intended by the Apostle; but only in reference to their different fate or manner of perishing, and not of their different nature or constitution.

Here are two main points, you see, wherein our interpretations of this discourse of the Apostles, differ. First, In that they make the Apostle (in that *sixth verse*) to understand only the World *Animate*, or Men and brute Creatures. That these were indeed destroy'd, but not the Natural World, or the form and constitution of the then Earth and Heavens. Secondly, That there is no diversity or opposition made by S. *Peter* betwixt the ancient Heavens and Earth, and the present, as to their form and constitution. We pretend that these are mis-apprehensions, or mis-representations of the sence of the Apostle in both respects, and offer these reasons to prove them to be so.

For the first point; That the Apostle speaks here of the Natural World, particularly in the *6th* Verse; and that it perish'd, as well as the animate. These Considerations seem to prove.

First, Because the Argument or ground these Scoffers went upon, was taken from the Natural World, its constancy and permanency in the same state from the beginning; Therefore if the Apostle answers *ad idem*, and takes away their Argument, he must understand the same Natural World, and show that it hath been chang'd, or hath perish'd.

You will say, it may be, the Apostle doth not deny, nor take away the ground they went upon, but denies the consequence they made from it; That *Therefore there would be no change, because there had been none.* No, neither doth he do this, if by the *World* in the *6th. ver.* he understands Mankind only; for their ground was this, *there hath been no change in the Natural World*; Their consequence, this, *Therefore there will be none,* nor any Conflagration. Now the Apostle's answer, according to you, is this, *You forget that Mankind hath been destroyed in a Deluge.* And what then? what's this to the Natural World, whereof they were speaking? This takes away neither antecedent nor consequent, neither ground nor inference; nor any way toucheth their Argument, which proceeded from the Natural World to the Natural World. Therefore you must either suppose that the

Apoſtle takes away their ground, or he takes away nothing.

Secondly, What is it that the Apoſtle tells theſe Scoffers they were ignorant of? That there was a Deluge, that deſtroyed Mankind? They could not be ignorant of that, nor pretend to be ſo; It was therefore the conſtitution of thoſe Old Heavens and Earth, and the change or deſtruction of them at the Deluge, that they were ignorant of, or did not attend to; and of this the Apoſtle minds them. Theſe Scoffers appear to have been *Jews* by the phraſe they uſe, *ſince the Fathers fell aſleep*, which in both parts of it is a Judaical expreſſion; and does S. *Peter* tell the *Jews* that had *Moſes* read to them every Sabbath, That *they were ignorant that Mankind was once deſtroyed with a Deluge in the Days of Noah?* or could they pretend to be ignorant of that without making themſelves ridiculous both to *Jews* and Chriſtians? Beſides, theſe do not ſeem to have been of the vulgar amongſt them, for they bring a Philoſophical Argument for their opinion; and alſo in their very argument they refer to the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, in ſaying, *Since the Fathers fell aſleep*, amongſt which Fathers, *Noah* was one of the moſt remarkable.

There was a Sect amongſt the *Jews* that held this perpetuity and immutability of Nature; and *Maimonides* himſelf was of this principle, and gives the ſame reaſon for it with the Scoffers here in the Text, *Quod mundus retinet & ſequitur conſuetudinem ſuam.* And as to thoſe of the *Jews* that were *Ariſtoteleans*, it was very ſuitable to their principles to hold the incorruptibility of the World, as their Maſter did. *Vid. Med. in loc.*

Thirdly, The deſign of the Apoſtle is to prove to them, or to diſpoſe them to the belief of the Conflagration, or future deſtruction of the World; which I ſuppoſe you will not deny to be a deſtruction of the Natural World; therefore to prove or perſwade this, he muſt uſe an argument taken from a precedent deſtruction of the Natural World; for to give an inſtance of the periſhing of Mankind only, would not reach home to his purpoſe. And you are to obſerve here that the Apoſtle does not proceed againſt them barely by Authority; for what would that have booted? If theſe Scoffers would have ſubmitted to Authority, they had already the Authority of the Prophets and Apoſtles in this point: but he deals with them at their own weapon, and oppoſes reaſons to reaſons; What hath been done may be done, and if the Natural World hath been once deſtroyed, 'tis not hard, nor unreaſonable, to ſuppoſe thoſe Prophecies to be true, that ſay it ſhall be deſtroyed again.

Fourthly, Unleſs we underſtand here the Natural World, we make the Apoſtle both redundant in his diſcourſe, and alſo very obſcure in an eaſie Argument. If his deſign was only to tell them that Mankind was once deſtroy'd in a Deluge, what's that to the Heavens and the Earth? The *5th* Verſe would be ſuperfluous; which yet he ſeems to make the foundation of his diſcourſe. He might have told them how Mankind had periſh'd before with a Deluge, and aggravated that deſtruction as much as he pleas'd, without telling them how the Heavens and the Earth were conſtituted then; what was that to the purpoſe, if it had no dependance or connection with the other? In the precedent Chapter, *ver.* 5. when he ſpeaks only of the Floods deſtroying Mankind, he mentions nothing of the Heavens or the Earth: and if you make him to intend no more here, what he ſays more is ſuperfluous.

I alſo

I alſo add, that you make the Apoſtle very obſcure and operoſe in a very eaſie argument. How eaſie had it been for him, without this *Apparatus*, to have told them, as he did before, that God brought a Flood upon the World of the ungodly; and not given us ſo much difficulty to underſtand his ſence, or ſuch a ſuſpicion and appearance, that he intended ſomething more; for that there is at leaſt a great appearance and tendency to a further ſence, I think none can deny; And St. *Auſtin*, *Didymus Alex.* *Bede*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, underſtood it plainly of the natural World: Alſo modern Expoſitors and Criticks; as *Cajetan*, *Eſtius*, *Druſius*, *Heinſius*, have extended it to the natural World, more or leſs; tho' they had no Theory to miſlead them, nor ſo much as an hypotheſis to ſupport them; but attended only to the tenor of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe, which conſtrain'd them to that ſence, in whole or in part.

Fifthly, the oppoſition carries it upon the natural World. The oppoſition lies betwixt the οἱ ἔκπαλαι οὐρανοὶ καὶ γῆ and οἱ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ γῆ, the Heavens that were of old, and the Earth, and the preſent Heavens and Earth, or the two natural Worlds. And if they will not allow them to be oppos'd in their natures (which yet we ſhall prove by and by) at leaſt they muſt be oppos'd in their fate; and as This is to periſh by fire, ſo That periſh'd by water; And if it periſh'd by water, it periſh'd; which is all we contend for at preſent.

Laſtly, if we would be as eaſily govern'd in the expoſition of this place, as we are of other places of Scripture, it would be enough to ſuggeſt, that in reaſon and fairneſs of interpretation, the ſame World is deſtroy'd in the *6th. verſe*, that was deſcrib'd in the foregoing *verſe*; but it is the Natural World that is deſcrib'd there, the Heavens and the Earth, ſo and ſo conſtituted; and therefore in fairneſs of interpretation they ought to be underſtood here; that World being the ſubject that went immediately before, and there being nothing in the words that reſtrains them to the animate World or to Mankind. In the *2d ch. ver.* 5. the Apoſtle does reſtrain the word κόσμος by adding ἀσεβῶν, *the World of the ungodly*; but here 'tis not only illimited, but according to the context, both preceding and following, to be extended to the Natural World. I ſay by the following context too, for ſo it anſwers to the World that is to periſh by Fire; which will reach the frame of Nature as well as Mankind.

For a concluſion of this firſt point, I will ſet down S. *Auſtin*'s judgment in this caſe; who in ſeveral parts of his works hath interpreted this place of S. *Peter*, *of the natural world.* As to the heavens, he hath theſe words in his Expoſition upon *Geneſis*, *Hos etiam aerios cœlos quondam periiſſe Diluvio, in quâdam earum quæ Canonica appellantur, Epiſtolâ legimus. We read in one of the Epiſtles called Canonical*, meaning this of S. *Peter*'s, *that the aerial heavens periſh'd in the Deluge.* And he concerns himſelf there to let you know that it was not the ſtarry heavens that were deſtroy'd; the waters could not reach ſo high; but the regions of our air. Then afterwards he hath theſe words, *Faciliùs eos* (cœlos) *ſecundum illius Epiſtolæ authoritatem credi-*

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mus periisse, & alios, sicut ibi scribitur, repositos. We do more easily believe, according to the authority of that *Epistle, those heavens to have perish'd; and others, as it is there written, substituted in their place.* In like manner, and to the same sence, he hath these words upon *Psal.* 101. *Aerii utique cæli perierunt ut propinqui Terris; secundum quod dicuntur volucres cæli; sunt autem & cæli cælorum, superiores in Firmamento, sed utrùm & ipsi perituri sint igni, an hi soli, qui etiam diluvio perierunt, disceptatio est aliquanto scrupulosior inter doctos.* And in his Book *de Civ. Dei*, he hath several passages to the same purpose; *Quemadmodum in Apostolicâ illâ Epistolâ à toto pars accipitur, quod diluvio periisse dictus est mundus, quamvis sola ejus cum suis cælis pars ima perierit.* These being to the same effect with the first citation, I need not make them English; and this last place refers to the Earth as well as the Heavens, as several other places in S. *Austin* do, whereof we shall give you an account, when we come to shew his judgment concerning the second point, *the diversity of the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian World.* This being but a foretaste of his good will and inclinations towards this Doctrine.

These considerations alledg'd, so far as I can judge, are full and unanswerable proofs, that this discourse of the Apostle's comprehends and refers to the Natural World; and consequently they warrant our interpretation in this particular, and destroy the contrary. We have but one step more to make good, *That there was a change made in this natural world at the Deluge*, according to the Apostle; and this is to confute the second part of their interpretation, which supposeth that S. *Peter* makes no distinction or opposition betwixt the antediluvian Heavens and Earth, and the present Heavens and Earth, in that respect.

This second difference betwixt us, methinks, is still harsher than the first; and contrary to the very form, as well as to the matter of the Apostle's discourse. For there is a plain antithesis, or opposition made betwixt the Heavens and the Earth of old (*ver. the 5th.*) and the Heavens and the Earth that are now (*ver. the 7th.*) οἱ ἐκπαλαι οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ and οἱ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ, and the adversative particle, δὲ *but*, you see marks the opposition; so that it is full and plain according to Grammar and Logick. And that the parts or members of this opposition differ in nature from one another, is certain from this, because otherwise the Apostle's argument or discourse is of no effect, concludes nothing to the purpose; he makes no answer to the objection, nor proves any thing against the Scoffers, unless you admit that diversity. For they said, *All things had been the same from the beginning in the Natural World*, and unless he say, as he manifestly does, that there hath been a change in Nature, and that the Heavens and Earth that are now, are different from the ancient Heavens and Earth, which perish'd at the Flood, he says nothing to destroy their argument, nor to confirm the Prophetical doctrine of the future destruction of the Natural World.

This, I think, would be enough to satisfie any clear and free mind concerning the meaning of the Apostle; but because I desire to give as full a light to this place as I can, and to put the sence of it out of controversie, if possible, for the future, I will make some further remarks to confirm this exposition. And

And we may observe that several of those reasons which we have given to prove, That the *Natural World* is understood by S. *Peter*, are double reasons; and do also prove the other point in question, a *diversity betwixt the two Natural Worlds*, the Ante-diluvian and the present. As for instance, unless you admit this diversity betwixt the two natural Worlds, you make the *5th. verse* in this *Chapter* superfluous and useless: and you must suppose the Apostle to make an inference here without premises. In the *6th. verse* he makes an inference, * *Whereby* the World, that then was, perish'd in a Deluge; what does this *whereby* relate to? *by reason* of what? sure of the particular constitution of the Heavens and the Earth immediately before describ'd. Neither would it have signified any thing to the Scoffers, for the Apostle to have told them how the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth were constituted, if they were constituted just in the same manner as the present.

* δι' ὃν, *per quæ.* Vulgat. *Quamobrem.* Beza. *Quâ de causâ,* Grot. *Nemo interpretum reddidit δι' ὃν per quas; subintelligendo* aquas.

Hoc enim argumentationem Apostolicam tolleret, supponeretque illusores illos ignorâsse quod olim fuerit Diluvium; quod supponi non posse suprà ostendimus.

Besides, what is it, as I ask'd before, that the Apostle tells these Scoffers they were ignorant of? does he not say formally and expresly (*ver.* 5.) that they were ignorant that the Heavens and the Earth were constituted so and so, before the Flood? but if they were constituted as these present Heavens and Earth are, they were not ignorant of their constitution; nor did pretend to be ignorant, for their own (mistaken) argument supposeth it.

But before we proceed any further, give me leave to note the impropriety of our Translation, in the *5th.* Verse, or latter part of it; Ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὑδάτων (vel δι' ὕδατος) συνεστῶσα, This we translate *standing in the water, and out of the water*, which is done manifestly in compliance with the present form of the Earth, and the notions of the Translators: and not according to the natural force and sence of the *Greek* words. If one met with this sentence * in a *Greek* Author, who would ever render it *standing in the water and out of the water?* nor do I know any *Latin* Translator that hath ventur'd to render them in that sence; nor any *Latin* Father; St. *Austin* and St. *Jerome* I'm sure do not, but *Consistens ex aquâ*, or *de aquâ, & per aquam:* for that later phrase also συνεστάναι διὰ ὕδατος does not with so good propriety signifie *to stand in the water*, as to consist or subsist by water, or by the help of water, *Tanquam per causam sustinentem*; as St. *Austin* and *Jerome* render it. Neither does that instance they give from 1 *Pet.* 3. 20. prove any thing to the contrary, for the Ark was sustain'd by the waters, and the *English* does render it accordingly.

* This phrase or manner of speech συνεστάναι ἐκ vel ἐξ is not unusual in *Greek* Authors, and upon a like subject; *Plato* saith, τὸν δὲ κόσμον συνεστάναι ἐκ πυρὸς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, γῆς, but he that should translate *Plato, The World stands* out *of fire, water, &c.* would be thought neither *Grecian*, nor Philosopher. The same phrase is us'd in reciting *Heraclitus* his opinion, τὰ πάντα ἐκ πυρὸς συνεστάναι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι. And also in *Thales* his, which is still nearer to the subject, ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατός, φησι, συνεστάναι πάντα, which *Cicero* renders, ex aquâ, *dixit, constare omnia.* So that it is easie to know the true importance of this phrase, and how ill it is render'd in the English, *standing out of the water.*

The Translation being thus rectified, you see the ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth consisted of Water, and by water; which makes

way

way for a second observation to prove our sence of the Text; for if you admit no diversity betwixt those Heavens and Earth, and the present, shew us pray, how the present Heavens and Earth consist of water, and by water. What watery constitution have they? The Apostle implies rather, that *The now Heavens and Earth* have a fiery constitution. We have now Meteors of all sorts in the air, winds, hail, snow, lightning, thunder, and all things engender'd of fiery exhalations, as well as we have rain; but according to our Theory, the antediluvian Heavens, of all these Meteors had none but dews and vapors, or watery Meteors only; and therefore might very aptly be said by the Apostle to be *constituted of water*, or to have a watery σύστασις. Then the Earth was said to *consist by water*, because it was built upon it, and at first was sustain'd by it. And when such a Key as this is put into our hands, that does so easily unlock this hard passage, and makes it intelligible, according to the just force of the words, why should we pertinaciously adhere to an interpretation, that neither agrees with the words, nor makes any sence that is considerable?

Book 2. c. 5. p. 233.

Whether you refer the words ἐξ ὑδατ. καὶ δι' ὕδατ. separately, to the Heavens and the Earth, or both to the Earth, or both to both, it will make no great difference as to our interpretation.

Thirdly, If the Apostle had made the ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth the same with the present, his apodosis in the *7th.* Verse, should not have been οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐρανοὶ, but καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶ, &c. I say, it should not have been by way of antithesis, but of identity or continuation; *And the same Heavens and Earth are kept in store reserv'd unto fire, &c.* Accordingly we see the Apostle speaks thus, as to the Logos, or the *Word of God*, Verse 7. τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, *by the same Word of God*; where the thing is the same, he expresseth it as the same; And if it had been the same Heavens and Earth, as well as the same Word of God, Why should he use a mark of opposition for the one, and of identity for the other? to this I do not see what can be fairly answer'd.

Fourthly, the ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth were different from the present, because, as the Apostle intimates, they were such, and so constituted, as made them obnoxious to a Deluge; whereas ours are of such a form, as makes them incapable of a Deluge, and obnoxious to a Conflagration; the just contrary fate.

Theor. 1 Book. c. 2.

If you say there was nothing of natural tendency or disposition in either World to their respective fate, but the first might as well have perish'd by fire, as water, and this by water as by fire, you unhinge all Nature and natural providence in that method, and contradict one main scope of the Apostle in this discourse. His first scope is to assert, and mind them of that diversity there was betwixt the ancient Heavens and Earth, and the present; and from that, to prove against those Scoffers, that there had been a change and revolution in Nature; And his second scope seems to be this, to shew that diversity to be such, as, under the Divine conduct, leads to a different fate, and expos'd that World to a Deluge; for when he had describ'd the constitution of the first Heavens and Earth, he subjoyns, δι' ὧν ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπόλετο. *Quia talis erat,*

erat, saith *Grotius, qualem diximus, constitutio & Terræ & Cœli. WHEREBY the then World perish'd in a Flood of Water.* This *whereby* notes some kind of causal dependance, and must relate to some means or conditions precedent. It cannot relate to Logos, or *the Word of God*, Grammar will not permit that; therefore it must relate to the state of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth immediately premis'd. And to what purpose indeed should he premise the description of those Heavens and Earth, if it was not to lay a ground for this inference?

Having given these Reasons for the necessity of this Interpretation; in the last place, let's consider S. *Austin*'s judgment, and his sence upon this place, as to the point in question. As also the reflections that some other of the Ancients have made upon this doctrine of S. *Peter*'s. *Didymus Alexandrinus*, who was for some time S. *Jerome*'s Master, made such a severe reflection upon it, that he said this Epistle was corrupted, and should not be admitted into the Canon, because it taught the doctrine of a *Triple* or *Triform World* in this third Chapter. As you may see in his *Enarr. in Epist. Canonicas*. Now this threefold World is first that in the *6th ver. The World that then was.* In the *7th ver. The Heavens and the Earth that are now.* And in the *13th ver. We expect new Heavens and a new Earth, according to his promise.* This seems to be a fair account that S. *Peter* taught the doctrine of a Triple World; And I quote this testimony, to shew what S. *Peter*'s words do naturally import, even in the judgment of one that was not of his mind. And a Man is not prone to make an exposition against his own Opinion, unless he think the words very pregnant and expres.

But S. *Austin* owns the authority of this Epistle, and of this doctrine, as deriv'd from it, taking notice of this Text of S. *Peter*'s in several parts of his Works. We have noted three or four places already to this purpose, and we may further take notice of several passages in his Treatise, *de Civ. Dei*, which confirm our exposition. In his *20th.* Book, *ch.* 24. he disputes against *Porphyry*, who had the same Principles with these Eternalists in the Text; or, if I may so call them, Incorruptarians; and thought the World never had, nor ever would undergo any change, especially as to the Heavens. S. *Austin* could not urge *Porphyry* with the authority of S. *Peter*, for he had no veneration for the Christian Oracles; but it seems he had some for the *Jewish*, and arguing against him, upon that Text in the Psalms, *Cœli peribunt*, he shows upon occasion how he understands S. *Peter*'s destruction of the Old World. *Legitur Cœlum & Terra transibunt, Mundus transit, sed puto quod præterit, transit, transibunt aliquantò mitiùs dicta sunt quàm peribunt. In Epistolâ quoque Petri Apostoli, ubi aquâ inundatus, qui tum erat, periisse dictus est Mundus, satis clarum est quæ pars mundi à toto significata est, & quatenùs periisse dicta sit, & qui cœli repositi igni reservandi.* This he explains more fully afterwards by subjoyning a caution (which we cited before) that we must not understand this passion of S. *Peter*'s, concerning the destruction of the Ante diluvian World, to take in the whole Universe, and the highest Heavens, but only the aerial Heavens, and the sublunary World. *In Apostolicâ illâ Epistolâ à toto pars*

accipitur,

accipitur, quod Diluvio periisse dictus est mundus quamvis sola ejus, cum suis cœlis, pars ima perierit. In that Apostolical Epistle, a part is signified by the whole, when the World is said to have perish'd in the Deluge, although the lower part of it only, with the Heavens belonging to it, perished: that is, The Earth with the regions of the Air that belong to it. And consonant to this, in his exposition of that hundred and first Psalm, upon those words, *The Heavens are the work of thy hands, They shall perish, but thou shalt endure.* This perishing of the Heavens, he says, S. *Peter* tells us, hath been once done already, namely, at the Deluge; *Aperte dixit hoc Apostolus Petrus, Cœli erant olim & Terra, de aquâ & per aquam constituta, Dei verbo, per quod qui fuit tunc est mundus, aquâ inundatus deperiit; Terra autem & cœli qui nunc sunt, igni reservantur. Nam ergo dixit periisse cœlos per Diluvium.*

These places shew us that S. *Austin* understood S. *Peter*'s discourse to aim at the Natural World, and his *perit* or *periisse* (*ver.* 6.) to be of the same force as *peribunt* in the Psalms, when 'tis said the Heavens *shall perish*; and consequently that the Heavens and the Earth, in this Father's opinion, were as really chang'd and transform'd at the time of the Flood, as they will be at the Conflagration. But we must not expect from S. *Austin*, or any of the Ancients a distinct account of this Apostolical Doctrine, as if they knew and acknowledg'd the Theory of the First World; that does not at all appear, but what they said was either from broken Tradition, or extorted from them by the force of the Apostle's words and their own sincerity.

There are yet other places in S. *Austin* worthy our consideration upon this subject; especially his exposition of this 3d *chap.* of S. Peter, as we find it in that same Treatise *de Civ. Dei.* There he compares again, the destruction of the World at the Deluge, with that which shall be at the Conflagration, and supposeth both the Heavens and Earth to have perish'd. *Apostolus commemorans factum ante Diluvium, videtur admonuisse quodammodo quatenus in fine hujus sæculi mundum istum periturum esse credamus. Nam & illo tempore periisse dixit, qui tunc erat, mundum; nec solum orbem terræ, verùm etiam cœlos.* Then giving his usual caution, That the Stars and Starry Heavens should not be comprehended in that mundane destruction, He goes on, *Atque hoc modo* (pene totus aer) *cum terra perierat; cujus Terræ utique prior facies* (nempe ante-diluviana) *fuerat deleta Diluvio. Qui autem nunc sunt cœli & terra eodem verbo repositi sunt igni reservandi; Proinde qui cœli & quæ Terra, id est, qui mundus, pro eo mundo qui Diluvio periit, ex eâdem aquâ repositus est, ipse igni novissimo reservatur.* Here you see S. *Austin*'s sence upon the whole matter; which is this, That the Natural World, the Earth with the Heavens about it, was destroyed and chang'd at the Deluge into the present Heavens and Earth; which shall again in like manner be destroyed and chang'd by the last Fire. Accordingly in another place, to add no more, he saith the figure of the (sublunary) World shall be chang'd at the Conflagration, as it was chang'd at the Deluge. *Tunc figura hujus mundi*, &c. *cap.* 16.

cap. 18.

cap. 16.

Thus you see, we have S. *Austin* on our side, in both parts of our interpretation; that S. *Peter*'s discourse is to be referr'd to the natural

tural inanimate World, and that the present Natural World is distinct and different from that which was before the Deluge. And S. *Austin* having applyed this expresly to S. *Peter*'s doctrine by way of Commentary, it will free us from any crime or affectation of singularity in the exposition we have given of that place.

Venerable *Bede* hath followed S. *Austin*'s footsteps in this doctrine; for, interpreting S. *Peter*'s *Original World* (Ἀρχαῖος Κόσμος) 2 *Pet.* 3. 5. he refers both that, and this (*chap.* 3. 6.) to the natural inanimate World, which he supposeth to have undergone a change at the Deluge. His words are these, *Idem ipse mundus est* (nempe quoad materiam), *in quo nunc humanum genus habitat, quem inhabitaverunt hi qui ante diluvium fuerunt, sed tamen recte Originalis Mundus, quasi alius dicitur, quia sicut in consequentibus hujus Epistolæ scriptum continetur, Ille tunc mundus aquâ inundatus periit. Cœlis videlicet qui erant prius, id est, cunctis aeris hujus turbulenti spacijs, aquarum accrescentium altitudine consumptis, ac Terrâ in alteram faciem, excedentibus aquis, immutatâ. Nam etsi montes aliqui atque convalles ab initio facti creduntur, non tamen tanti quanti nunc in orbe cernuntur universo.* 'Tis the same World (namely, as to the matter and substance of it) *which mankind lives in now, and did live in before the Flood, but yet that is truly call'd the* ORIGINAL WORLD, *being as it were another from the present. For 'tis said in the sequel of this Epistle that the World that was then, perish'd in the Deluge, namely, The regions of the air were consumed by the height and excess of the waters, and by the same waters the Earth was chang'd into another form or face. For although some Mountains and Valleys are thought to have been made from the beginning, yet not such great ones as now we see throughout the whole Earth.*

De 6. dier. creat.

You see this Author does not only own a change made at the Deluge, but offers at a further explication wherein that change consisted, *viz.* That the Mountains and inequalities of the Earth were made greater than they were before the Flood; and so he makes the change or the difference betwixt the two Worlds gradual, rather than specifical, if I may so term it. But we cannot wonder at that, if he had no principles to carry it further, or to make any other sort of change intelligible to him. *Bede* also pursues the same sence and notion in his interpretation of that *fountain, Gen.* 2. 5. that watered the face of the Earth before the Flood. And many other transcribers of Antiquity have recorded this Tradition concerning a difference, gradual or specifical, both in the Ante-diluvian heavens (*Gloss. Ordin. Gen.* 9. *de Iride. Lyran. ibid. Hist. Scholast. c.* 35. *Rab. Maurus & Gloss. Inter. Gen.* 2. 5, 6. *Alcuin. Quæst. in Gen. inter.* 135.) and in the Ante-diluvian Earth, as the same Authors witness in other places. As *Hist. Schol. c.* 34. *Gloss. Ord. in Gen.* 7. *Alcuin. Inter.* 118, *&c.* Not to instance in those that tell us the properties of the Ante-diluvian World under the name and notion of Paradise.

Thus much concerning this remarkable place in S. *Peter*, and the true exposition of it; which I have the more largely insisted upon, because I look upon this place as the chief repository of that great Natural Mystery, which in Scripture is communicated to us concerning the Triple State or Revolution of the World. And of those

Men that are so scrupulous to admit the Theory we have propos'd, I would willingly know whether they believe the Apostle in what he says concerning the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth to come*, *ver.* 13. and if they do, why they should not believe him as much concerning the *Old Heavens* and the *Old Earth*, past; *ver.* 5, & 6. which he mentions as formally, and describes more distinctly than the other. But if they believe neither past nor to come, in a natural sence, but an unchangeable state of Nature from the Creation to its annihilation, I leave them then to their Fellow Eternalists in the Text, and to the character or censure the Apostle gives them, *Κατα τας ιδιας αυτων επιθυμιας πορευομενοι*, men that go by their own private humours and passions, and prefer that to all other evidence.

They deserve this censure, I am sure, if they do not only disbelieve, but also scoff, at this Propherick and Apostolick doctrine concerning the Vicissitudes of Nature and a Triple World. The Apostle in this discourse does formally distinguish Three Worlds (for 'tis well known that the *Hebrews* have no word to signifie the Natural World, but use that Periphrasis, *The Heavens* and *the Earth*) and upon each of them engraves a Name and Title that bears a note of distinction in it. He calls them the *Old Heavens and Earth*, the *Present Heavens and Earth*, and the *New Heavens and Earth*. 'Tis true, these Three are one, as to Matter and Substance; but they must differ as to Form and Properties, otherwise what is the ground of this distinction and of these three different appellations? Suppose the *Jews* had expected *Ezekiel*'s Temple for the Third, and Last, and most perfect; and that in the time of the Second Temple they had spoke of them with this distinction, or under these different names, The *Old Temple*, the *Present Temple*, and the *New Temple* we expect: Would any have understood those Three of one and the same Temple; never demolish'd, never chang'd, never rebuilt; always the same both as to Materials and Form? no, doubtless, but of Three several Temples succeeding one another. And have we not the same reason to understand this Temple of the World, whereof S. *Peter* speaks, to be threefold in succession; seeing he does as plainly distinguish it into the *Old* heavens and earth, the *Present* heavens and earth, and the *New* heavens and earth. And I do the more willingly use this comparison of the Temple, because it hath been thought an Emblem of the outward World.

I know we are naturally averse to entertain any thing that is inconsistent with the general frame and texture of our own thoughts; That's to begin the World again; and we often reject such things without examination. Neither do I wonder that the generality of Interpreters beat down the Apostle's words and sence to their own notions; They had no other grounds to go upon, and Men are not willing, especially in natural and comprehensible things, to put such a meaning upon Scripture, as is unintelligible to themselves; They rather venture to offer a little violence to the words, that they may pitch the sence at such a convenient height, as their Principles will reach to. And therefore though some of our modern Interpreters, whom I mention'd before, have been sensible of the natural tendency of this discourse of S. *Peter*'s, and have much ado to bear of the force

force of the words, so as not to acknowledge that they import a real diversity betwixt the two Worlds spoken of; yet having no Principles to guide or support them in following that Tract, they are forc'd to stop or divert another way. 'Tis like entering into the mouth of a Cave, we are not willing to venture further than the light goes. Nor are they much to blame for this; the fault is only in those Persons that continue wilfully in their darkness, and when they cannot otherwise resist the light, shut their eyes against it, or turn their head another way. But I am afraid I have staid too long upon this argument, not for my own sake, but to satisfie others.

You may please to remember that all that I have said hitherto belongs only to the first Head; To prove a *Diversity in general* betwixt the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth, and the present; not expressing what their particular form was. And this general diversity may be argued also by observations taken from *Moses* his History of the World, before and after the Flood. From the Longevity of the Antediluvians: The Rain-bow appearing after the Deluge: and the breaking open an Abyss capable to overflow the Earth. The Heavens that had no Rain-bow, and under whose benign and steddy influence, Men liv'd seven, eight, nine hundred years and upwards, must have been of a different aspect and constitution from the present Heavens. And that Earth that had such an Abyss, that the disruption of it made an universal Deluge, must have been of another form than the present Earth. And those that will not admit a diversity in the two worlds, are bound to give us an intelligible account of these Phænomena: How they could possibly be in Heavens and Earth, like the present. Or if they were there once, why they do not continue so still, if Nature be the same.

See Theor. Book 2. ch. 5.

We need say no more, as to the Ante-diluvian Heavens: but as to the Earth, we must now, according to the second Part of the first Head, enquire, If that *Particular Form*, which we have assign'd it before the Flood, be agreeable to Scripture. You know how we have describ'd the Form and situation of that Earth: namely, that it was built over the Abyss, as a regular Orb, covering and incompassing the waters round about: and founded, as it were, upon them. There are many passages of Scripture that favour this description: Some more expressly, others upon a due explication. To this purpose there are two express Texts in the Psalms: as *Psal.* 24. 1, 2. *The Earth is the Lords, and the fulness thereof: The habitable World, and they that dwell therein. FOR he has founded it upon * the Sea, and establish'd it upon the Floods.* An Earth founded upon the Seas, and establish'd upon the Waters, is not this the Earth we have describ'd? the first

* I know some would make this place of no effect by rendering the *Hebrew* particle עַל *juxta*, *by* or *near* to; so they would read it thus, *He hath founded the Earth by the Sea-side*, and establish'd it by the Floods. What is there wonderful in this, that the shores should lie by the Sea-side; Where could they lie else? What reason or argument is this, why the Earth should be the Lord's? The Earth is the Lord's, *for* he hath founded it *near* the Seas, Where is the consequence of this? But if he founded it upon the Seas, which could not be done by any other hand but his; it shows both the Workman and the Master. And accordingly in that other place, *Psal.* 136. 6. if you render it, he *stretched* out the Earth *near* the Waters. How is that one of God's great wonders? as it is there represented to be. Because in some few places this particle is render'd otherwise, where the sense will bear it, must we therefore render it so when we please, and where the sence will not bear it? This being the most usual signification of it; and there being no other word that signifies *above* more frequently or determinately than this does. Why must it signifie otherwise in this place? Men will wriggle any way to get from under the force of a Text, that does not suit to their own Notions.

Earth

Earth, as it came from the hands of its Maker. Where can we now find in Nature, such an Earth as has the Seas and the Water for its foundation? Neither is this Text without a second, as a fellow-witness to confirm the same truth: For in the 136. *Psal. ver.* 4, 5, 6. we read to the same effect, in these words: *To him, who alone does great wonders: To him that by wisdom made the Heavens: To him that stretched out the Earth above the Waters.* We can hardly express that form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, in words more determinate than these are. Let us then in the same simplicity of heart, follow the words of Scripture, seeing this literal sence is not repugnant to Nature, but, on the contrary, agreeable to it upon the strictest examination. And we cannot, without some violence, turn the words to any other sence. What tolerable interpretation can these admit of, if we do not allow the Earth once to have encompass'd and overspread the face of the Waters? To be *founded* upon the waters, to be *establish'd* upon the waters, to be *extended* upon the waters, what rational or satisfactory account can be given of these phrases and expressions from any thing we find in the present situation of the Earth? or how can they be verified concerning it? Consult Interpreters, ancient or modern, upon these two places: see if they answer your expectation, or answer the natural importance of the words, unless they acknowledge another form of the Earth, than the present. Because a Rock hangs its nose over the Sea, must the body of the Earth be said to be *stretched over the waters*? Or because there are waters in some subterraneous cavities, is the Earth therefore *founded upon the Seas*? Yet such lame explications as these you will meet with; and while we have no better light, we must content our selves with them; but when an explication is offer'd, that answers the propriety, force, and extent of the words, to reject it, onely because it is not fitted to our former opinions, or because we did not first think of it, is to take an ill method in expounding Scripture. This *Foundation* or *Establishment* of the Earth upon the Seas, this *Extension* of it above the waters, relates plainly to the body, or whole circuit of the Earth, not to parcels and particles of it; as appears from the occasion, and its being joyn'd with the Heavens, the other part of the World. Besides, *David* is speaking of the Origin of the World, and of the Divine power and wisdom in the construction and situation of our Earth, and these attributes do not appear from the holes of the Earth, and broken Rocks; which have rather the face of a ruin, than of wisdom; but in that wonderful libration and expansion of the first Earth over the face of the waters, sustained by its own proportions, and the hand of his Providence.

These two places in the Psalms being duly consider'd, we shall more easily understand a third place, to the same effect, in the *Proverbs*; delivered by *WISDOM*, concerning the Origin of the World, and the form of the first Earth, in these words, *Chap. 8. 27. When he prepared the Heavens I was there, when HE SET an Orb or Sphere upon the face of the Abyss.* We render it, when we set a *Compass* upon the face of the Abyss; but if we have rightly interpreted the Prophet *David*, 'tis plain enough what compass is here to be understood; not an imaginary circle, (for why should that be thought one of the wonderful works of God) but that exterior Orb of the Earth that was set upon the waters. That was the Master-piece of the Divine art in framing of the first Earth, and therefore very fit to be taken notice of by *Wisdom*. And upon this occasion, I desire you to reflect upon St. *Peter*'s expression, concerning the first Earth, and to compare it with *Solomon*'s, to see if they do not answer one another. St. *Peter* calls it, γῆν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὑδάτων, *An Earth consisting, standing, or sustained by the waters.* And *Solomon* calls it חוג על פני תהום *An Orb drawn upon the face of the Abyss.* And St. *Peter* says, that was done τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ by the *wisdom of God*: which is the same Λόγος or *wisdom*, that here declares her self to have been present at this work. Add now to these two places, the two forementioned out of the Psalmist; *An Earth founded upon the Seas*, (Psal. 24. 2.) and an *Earth stretched out above the waters*; (Psal. 136. 6.) Can any body doubt or question, but all these four Texts refer to the same thing? And seeing St. *Peter*'s description refers certainly to the Ante-diluvian Earth, they must all refer to it; and do all as certainly and evidently agree with our Theory concerning the form and situation of it.

The pendulous form and posture of that first Earth being prov'd from these four places, 'tis more easie and emphatical to interpret in this sence that passage in *Job ch.* 26. 7. *He stretcheth out the North over the Tohu*, (for so it is in the original) *and hangeth the Earth upon nothing.* And this strange foundation or no foundation of the exterior Earth seems to be the ground of those noble questions propos'd to *Job* by God Almighty, *Ch.* 38. *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth? Declare if thou hast understanding. Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastned, and who laid the corner-stone?* There was neither foundation, nor corner-stone, in that piece of Architecture; and that was it which made the art and wonder of it. But I have spoken more largely to these places in the Theory it self. And if the four Texts before-mentioned be consider'd without prejudice, I think there are few matters of natural Speculation that can be so well prov'd out of Scripture, as the Form which we have given to the Ante-diluvian Earth. Book 1. p. 88.

But yet it may be thought a just, if not a necessary appendix to this discourse, concerning the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, to give an account also of the *Ante-diluvian Abyss*, and the situation of it according to Scripture; for the relation which these two have to one another, will be a further means to discover if we have rightly determin'd the form of that Earth. The *Abyss* or *Tehom-Rabbah* is a Scripture notion, and the word is not us'd, that I know of, in that distinct and peculiar sence in Heathen Authors. 'Tis plain that in Scripture it is not always taken for the Sea (as *Gen.* 1. 2. & 7. 11. & 49. 25. *Deut.* 33. 13. *Job* 28. 14. & 38. 16. *Psal.* 33. 7. & 71. 20. & 78. 15. & 135. 6. *Apoc.* 20. 1. 3.) but for some other mass of waters, or subterraneous store-house. And this being observ'd, we may easily discover the nature, and set down the History of the Scripture-Abyss.

The Mother-Abyss is no doubt that in the beginning of *Genesis*, *v.* 2. which had nothing but darkness upon the face of it, or a thick caliginous air. The next news we hear of this Abyss is at the Deluge, (*Gen.* 7. 11.) where 'tis said to be broke open, and the waters of it to have drowned

drowned the World. It ſeems then this Abyſs was clos'd up ſome time betwixt the Creation and the Deluge, and had got another cover than that of darkneſs. And if we will believe *Wiſdom*, (*Prov.* 8. 27.) who was there preſent at the formation of the Earth, an *Orb was ſet upon the face of the Abyſs* at the beginning of the World.

That theſe three places refer to the ſame Abyſs, I think, cannot be queſtioned by any that will compare them and conſider them. That of the Deluge, *Moſes* calls there *Tehom-Rabbah*, the *Great Abyſs*; and can there be any greater than the forementioned Mother-Abyſs? And *WISDOM*, in that place in the *Proverbs*, uſeth the ſame phraſe and words with *Moſes*, *Gen.* 1. 2. עַל פְּנֵי תְהוֹם, *upon the face of the Deep* or of the *Abyſs*; chang ng *darkneſs* for that *Orb* of the exteriour Earth which was made afterwards to incloſe it. And in th's vault is lay, and under this cover, when the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks of it in theſe words (*Pſal.* 33. 7. *He gathereth the waters of the Sea, as in a bag; he layeth up the Abyſs in ſtore-houſes.* Laſtly, we may obſerve that 'twas this Mother-Abyſs whoſe womb was burſt at the Deluge, when the Sea was born, and broke forth as if it had iſſued out of a womb; as God expreſſeth it to *Job*, *ch.* 38. 8. in which place the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe reads it, when it broke forth, *coming out of the Abyſs*. Which diſruption at the Deluge ſeems alſo to be alluded to *Job* 12. 14, 15. and more plainly, *Prov.* 3. 20. *by his knowledge the Abyſſes are broken up.*

* *This reading or tranſlating is generally followed,* (Theor. Book 1. p. 86.) *though the* Engliſh *Tranſlation read* on a heap, *unſuitably to the matter and to the ſence.*

Thus you have already a threefold ſtate of the Abyſs, which makes a ſhort Hiſtory of it; firſt, *Open*, at the beginning; then *covered*, till the Deluge. Then *broke open* again, as it is at preſent. And we purſue the Hiſtory of it no further; but we are told, *Ap. c.* 20. 3. That it ſhall be ſhut up again, and the great Dragon in it, for a Thouſand years. In the mean time we may obſerve from this form and poſture of the Ante diluvian Abyſs, how ſuitable it is and coherent with that form of the Ante-diluvian Earth which St. *Peter* and the *Pſalmiſt* had deſcrib'd; *ſuſtain'd by the waters*; *founded upon the waters*; *ſtretcht above the waters*; for if it was the cover of this Abyſs (and it had ſome cover that was broke at the Deluge) it was ſpread as a Cruſt or Ice upon the face of thoſe waters, and ſo made an *Orbis Terrarum*, an habitable ſphere of Earth about the Abyſs.

SO much for the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth and Abyſs; which as they aptly correſpond to one another, ſo, you ſee, our Theory anſwers and is adjuſted to both; and, I think, ſo fitly, that we have no reaſon hitherto to be diſpleas'd with the ſucceſs we have had in the examination of it, according to Scripture. We have diſpatch'd the two main points in queſtion, firſt, to prove a diverſity in general betwixt the two natural Worlds, or betwixt the Heavens and the Earth before and after the Flood. Secondly, to prove wherein this diverſity conſiſted; or that the particular form of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth was ſuch according to Scripture, as we have deſcrib'd it in the Theory. You'l ſay, then the work is done, what

what needs more, all the reſt follows of courſe; for if the Antediluvian Earth had ſuch a form as we have propos'd and prov'd it to have had, there could be no Deluge in it but by a diſſolution of its parts and exteriour frame: And a Deluge ſo made, would not be in the nature of a ſtanding Pool, but of a violent agitation and commotion of the Waters. This is true; Theſe parts of the Theory are ſo cemented, that you muſt grant all, if you grant any. However we will try if even theſe two particulars alſo may be prov'd out of Scripture; That is, if there be any marks or memorandums left there by the Spirit of God, of ſuch a fraction or diſſolution of the Earth at the Deluge. And alſo ſuch characters of the Deluge it ſelf, as ſhow it to have been by a fluctuation and impetuous commotion of the Waters.

To proceed then; That there was a Fraction or Diſſolution of the Earth at the Deluge, the hiſtory of it by *Moſes* gives us the firſt account, ſeeing he tells us, as the principal cauſe of the Flood, That the Fountains of the *Great Abyſs* were *cloven* or *burſt aſunder*; and upon this diſruption the waters guſh'd out from the bowels of the Earth, as from the widen'd mouths of ſo many Fountains. I do not take *Fountains* there to ſignifie any more than Sources or Stores of Water; noting alſo this manner of their eruption from below, or out of the ground, as Fountains do. Accordingly in the *Proverbs*, (*chap.* 3. 20.) 'tis only ſaid, the *Abyſſes were broken open*. I do not doubt but this refers to the Deluge, as *Bede*, and others underſtand it; the very word being us'd here, both in the *Hebrew* and Septuagint, that expreſs'd the diſruption of the Abyſs at the Deluge. נִבְקְעוּ נבקעו תהומות.

And this breaking up of the Earth at that time, is elegantly expreſt in *Job*, by the burſting of the Womb of Nature, when the Sea was firſt brought to light; when after many pangs and throes and dilacerations of her body, Nature was delivered of a burthen which ſhe had born in her Womb Sixteen Hundred Years. *Job* 38.

Theſe three places I take to be memorials and proofs of the diſruption of the Earth, or of the Abyſs, at the univerſal Deluge. And to theſe we may add more out of the Prophets, *Job*, and the *Pſalms*, by way of alluſion (commonly) to the ſtate of Nature at that time. The Prophet *Iſaiah* in deſcribing the future deſtruction of the World, *chap.* 24. 18, 19. ſeems plainly to allude and have reſpect to the paſt deſtruction of it at the Deluge; as appears by that leading expreſſion, *the windows from an high are open*, אֲרֻבּוֹת מִמָּרוֹם נִפְתָּחוּ, Συνετρίβησαν ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀνεῴχθησαν, taken manifeſtly from *Gen.* 7. 11. Then ſee how the deſcription goes on, *the windows from an high are open, and the foundations of the Earth do ſhake. The Earth is utterly broken down, the Earth is quite diſſolv'd, the Earth is exceedingly moved.* Here are Concuſſions, and Fractions, and diſſolutions, as there were in the Mundane Earth-quake and Deluge; which we had expreſt before only by *breaking open the Abyſs*. By the Foundations of the Earth here and elſewhere, I perceive many underſtand the Centre; ſo by *moving* or *ſhaking* the foundations, or putting them out of courſe, muſt be underſtood a diſplacing of the Centre; which was really done at the Deluge, as we have ſhewn in its proper place. If we therefore remember that there was both a diſlocation, as I may ſo ſay; *Theor. book* 2. *p.* 194, 195.

ſay; and a fraction in the body of the Earth, by that great fall; a diſlocation as to the Centre, and a fraction as to the Sunface and Exterior Region, it will truly anſwer to all thoſe expreſſions in the Prophet, that ſeem ſo ſtrange and extraordinary. 'Tis true, this place of the Prophet reſpects alſo and foretels the future deſtruction of the World; but that being by Fire, when the *Elements ſhall melt with fervent heat, and the Earth with the works therein ſhall be burnt up*, theſe expreſſions of *fractions and concuſſions*, ſeem to be taken originally from the manner of the World's firſt deſtruction, and to be transferr'd, by way of application, to repreſent and ſignifie the ſecond deſtruction of it, though, it may be, not with the ſame exactneſs and propriety.

There are ſeveral other places that refer to the diſſolution and ſubverſion of the Earth at the Deluge: *Amos* 9. 5, 6. *The Lord of Hoſts is he that toucheth the Earth, and it ſhall melt, or be diſſolv'd.——and it ſhall riſe up wholly like a Flood, and ſhall be drowned as by the Flood of Egypt.* By *this* and by *the next verſe* the Prophet ſeems to allude to the Deluge, and to the diſſolution of the Earth that was then. This in *Job* ſeems to be call'd *breaking down the Earth, and overturning the Earth*, Chap. 12, 14, 15. *Behold he breaketh down and it cannot be built again, He ſhutteth upon man, and there can be no opening. Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up; alſo he ſendeth them out, and they overturn the Earth:* Which place you may ſee paraphras'd, *Theor. Book* 1. *p.* 91, 92. We have already cited, and ſhall hereafter cite, other places out of *Job*; And as that Ancient Author (who is thought to have liv'd before the Judaical Oeconomy, and nearer to *Noah* than *Moſes*) ſeems to have had the *Præcepta Noachidarum*, ſo alſo he ſeems to have had the *Dogmata Noachidarum*; which were deliver'd by *Noah* to his Children and Poſterity, concerning the myſteries of Natural Providence, the origine and fate of the World, the Deluge and Ante-diluvian ſtate, *&c.* and accordingly we find many ſtrictures of theſe doctrines in the Book of *Job*. Laſtly, In the Pſalms there are Texts that mention the *ſhaking of the Earth*, and the *foundations* of the World, in reference to the Flood, if we judge aright; whereof we will ſpeak under the next Head, *concerning* the raging of the Waters in the Deluge.

Theſe places of Scripture may be noted, as leſt us to be remembrancers of that general ruine and diſruption of the Earth at the time of the Deluge. But I know it will be ſaid of them, That they are not ſtrict proofs, but alluſions only. Be it ſo; yet what is the ground of thoſe alluſions? ſomething muſt be alluded to, and ſomething that hath paſt in Nature, and that is recorded in Sacred Hiſtory; and what is that, unleſs it be the Univerſal Deluge, and that change and diſturbance that was then in all Nature. If others ſay, that theſe and ſuch like places are to be underſtood morally and allegorically, I do not envy them their interpretation; but when Nature and Reaſon will bear a literal ſence, the rule is, that we ſhould not recede from the Letter. But I leave theſe things to every one's thoughts; which the more calm they are, and the more impartial, the more eaſily they will feel the impreſſions of Truth. In the mean time, I proceed to the laſt particular mention'd, *The form of the Deluge it ſelf.*

This

This we ſuppoſe to have been not in the way of a ſtanding Pool, the Waters making an equal Surface, and an equal heighth every where; but that the extreme heighth of the Waters was made by the extreme agitation of them, caus'd by the weight and force of great Maſſes or Regions of Earth falling at once into the Abyſs; by which means, as the Waters in ſome places were preſt out, and thrown at an exceſſive height into the Air, ſo they would alſo in certain places gape, and lay bare even the bottom of the Abyſs; which would look as an open Grave ready to ſwallow up the Earth, and all it bore. Whilſt the Ark, in the mean time, falling and riſing by theſe gulphs and precipices, ſometimes above water, and ſometimes under, was a true Type of the ſtate of the Church in this World; And to this time and ſtate *David* alludes in the name of the Church, *Pſal.* 42. 7. *Abyſs calls unto Abyſs at the noiſe of thy Cataracts or Water-ſpouts; All thy waves and billows have gone over me.* And again, *Pſal.* 46. 2, 3. In the name of the Church, *Therefore will not we fear, tho' the Earth be removed, and tho' the mountains be carried into the midſt of the Seas. The waters thereof roar and are troubled, the mountains ſhake with the ſwelling thereof.*

But there is no deſcription more remarkable or more eloquent, than of that Scene of things repreſented, *Pſal.* 18. 7, 8, 9, *&c.* which ſtill alludes, in my opinion, to the Deluge-ſcene, and in the name of the Church. We will ſet down the words at large.

Ver. 6. *In my diſtreſs I called upon the Lord, and cryed unto my God; He heard my voice out of his Temple, and my cry came before him into his ears.*

7. *Then the Earth ſhook and trembled, the foundations alſo of the hills moved and were ſhaken, becauſe he was wroth.*

8. *There went up a ſmoke from his noſtrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; Coals were kindled by it.*

9. *He bowed the Heavens alſo and came down, and darkneſs was under his feet.*

10. *And he rode upon a Cherub and did flie, he did flie upon the wings of the wind.*

11. *He made darkneſs his ſecret place, his pavilion round about him was dark waters and thick clouds of the ſkie.*

12. *At the brightneſs before him the thick clouds paſſed, hail and coals of fire.*

13. *The Lord alſo thunder'd in the Heavens, and the Higheſt gave his voice, hail and coals of fire.*

14. *Yea, he ſent out his arrows, and ſcatter'd them: and he ſhot out lightnings and diſcomfited them.*

15. *Then the Chanels of waters were ſeen, and the foundations of the World were diſcovered; at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blaſt of the breath of thy noſtrils.*

He ſent from above, he took me; he drew me out of great waters. מַיִם רַבִּים

This I think is a rough * draught of the face of the Heavens and the Earth at the Deluge, as the laſt Verſes do intimate; and 'tis ap-

ply'd to expreſs the dangers and deliverances of the Church: The Expreſſions are far too high to be applyed to *David* in his Perſon, and to his deliverance from *Saul*; no ſuch agonies or diſorders of Nature as are here inſtanc'd in, were made in *David*'s time, or upon his account; but 'tis a Scheme of the Church, and of her fate, particularly, as repreſented by the Ark, in that diſmal diſtreſs, when all nature was in confuſion. And though there may be ſome things here intermixt to make up the Scene, that are not ſo cloſe to the ſubject as the reſt, or that may be referr'd to the future deſtruction of the World: yet that is not unuſual, nor amiſs, in ſuch deſcriptions, if the great ſtrokes be fit and rightly plac'd. That there was Smoke, and Fire, and Water, and Thunder, and Darkneſs, and Winds, and Earth-quakes at the Deluge, we cannot doubt, if we conſider the circumſtances of it; Waters daſh'd and broken make a ſmoke and darkneſs, and no Hurricano could be ſo violent as the motions of the Air at that time; Then the Earth was torn in pieces, and its Foundations ſhaken; And as to Thunder and Lightning, the encounters and colliſions of the mighty Waves, and the cracks of a falling World, would make flaſhes and noiſes, far greater and more terrible, than any that can come from vapours and clouds. There was an Univerſal Tempeſt, a conflict and claſhing of all the Elements; and *David* ſeems to have repreſented it ſo; with God Almighty in the midſt of it, ruling them all.

See *Philo Judæus* his deſcription of the Deluge, both as to the commotions of the Heavens, and the fractions of the Earth. In his firſt Treatiſe de *Abrahamo*, mihi, p. 279.

But I am apt to think ſome will ſay, all this is Poetical in the Prophet, and theſe are Hyperbolical and figurate expreſſions, from which we cannot make any inference, as to the Deluge and the Natural World. 'Tis true, thoſe that have no Idea of the Deluge, that will anſwer to ſuch a Scene of things, as is here repreſented, muſt give ſuch a ſlight account of this Pſalm. But on the other hand, if we have already an Idea of the Deluge that is rational, and alſo conſonant to Scripture upon other proofs, and the deſcription here made by the Prophet anſwer to that Idea, whether then is it not more reaſonable to think, that it ſtands upon that ground, than to think it a meer fancy and Poetical Scene of things: This is the true ſtate of the caſe, and that which we muſt judge of. Methinks 'tis very harſh to ſuppoſe all this a bare fiction, grounded upon no matter of fact, upon no Sacred Story, upon no appearance of God in Nature. If you ſay it hath a moral ſignification, ſo let it have, we do not deſtroy that; it hath reference no doubt, to the dangers and deliverances of the Church; but the queſtion is, whether the words and natural ſence be a fancy only, a bundle of randome hyperboles: or whether they relate to the hiſtory of the Deluge, and the ſtate of the Ark there repreſenting the Church. This makes the Sence doubly rich, Hiſtorically and Morally; and grounds it upon Scripture and Reaſon, as well as upon Fancy.

That violent eruption of the Sea out of the Womb of the Earth, which *Job* ſpeaks of, is, in my judgment, another deſcription of the Deluge; 'Tis *Chap.* 38. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Who ſhut up the Sea with doors, when it broke forth, as if it had iſſued out of a Womb; When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkneſs a ſwadling band for it. And broke up for it my decreed place——hitherto ſhalt thou come, &c.*

Here

Here you ſee the birth and nativity of the Sea, or of *Oceanus*, deſcrib'd *; how he broke out of the Womb, and what his firſt garment and ſwadling cloaths were; namely clouds and thick darkneſs. This cannot refer to any thing, that I know of, but to the face of Nature at the Deluge; when the Sea was born, and wrapt up in clouds and broken waves, and a dark impenetrable miſt round the body of the Earth. And this ſeems to be the very ſame that *David* had expreſt in his deſcription of the Deluge, *Pſal.* 18. 11. *He made darkneſs his ſecret place, his pavilion round about him were d rk waters and thick clouds of the ſkies.* For this was truly the face of the World in the time of the Flood, tho' we little reflect upon it. And this dark confuſion every where, above and below, aroſe from the violent and confus'd motion of the Abyſs; which was daſht in pieces by the falling Earth, and flew into the air in miſty drops, as duſt flies up in a great ruin.

* *Hîc comparatio præcedens*, Ver. 4, 5, 6. *de ortu Telluris, ſumitur ab ædificio, ita hæc altera de ortu maris, ſumitur à partu; & exhibetur Oceanus, primùm, ut fœtus incluſus in utero, dein ut erumpens & prodeuns, denique ut faſciis & primis ſuis pannis involutus. Atque ex aperto Terræ utero prorupit aquarum moles, ut proluvies illa, quam ſimul cum fœtu profundere ſolet puerpera.*

See Theor. Book 1. p. 99.

But I am afraid, we have ſtayed too long upon this particular, *the form of the Deluge*; ſeeing 'tis but a Corollary from the precedent article about the diſſolution of the Earth. However time is not ill ſpent about any thing that relates to natural Providence, whereof the two moſt ſignal inſtances in our Sacred Writings, are, the *Deluge* and the *Conflagration*. And ſeeing *Job* and *David* do often reflect upon the works of God in the external creation, and upon the adminiſtrations of Providence, it cannot be imagin'd that they ſhould never reflect upon the Deluge, the moſt remarkable change of Nature that ever hath been, and the moſt remarkable judgment upon mankind. And if they have reflected upon it any where, 'tis, I think, in thoſe places and thoſe inſtances which I have noted; and if thoſe places do relate to the Deluge, they are not capable, in my judgment, of any fairer or more natural interpretation than that which we have given them; which, you ſee, how much it favours and confirms our Theory.

I have now finiſht the heads I undertook to prove, that I might ſhew our Theory to agree with Scripture in theſe three principal points; firſt, in that it ſuppoſeth a diverſity and difference betwixt the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth, and the preſent Heavens and Earth. Secondly, in aſſigning the particular form of the Ante-diluvian Earth and Abyſs. Thirdly, in explaining the Deluge by a diſſolution of that Earth, and an eruption of the Abyſs. How far I have ſucceeded in this attempt, as to others, I cannot tell; but I am ſure I have convinc'd my ſelf, and am ſatisfied that my thoughts, in that Theory, have run in the ſame tract with the holy Writings: with the true intent and ſpirit of them. There are ſome perſons that are wilfully ignorant in certain things, and others that are willing to be ignorant as the Apoſtle phraſeth it; ſpeaking of thoſe Eternaliſts that denied the doctrine of the change and revolutions of the Natural World: And 'tis not to be expected but there are many ſtill of the ſame humour; and therefore may be called *willingly ignorant*, that is, they will not uſe that pains and attention that is neceſſary for the examination of ſuch a doctrine, nor impartiality in judg-

ing after examination; they greedily lay hold on all evidence on one side, and willingly forget, or slightly pass over, all evidence for the other; this I think is the character of those that are *willingly ignorant*; for I do not take it to be so deep as a down-right wilful ignorance, where they are plainly conscious to themselves of that wilfulness; but where an insensible mixture of humane passions inclines them one way, and makes them averse to the other; and in that method draws on all the consequences of a willing *ignorance*.

There remains still, as I remember, one Proposition that I am bound to make good; I said at first, that our Hypothesis concerning the Deluge was more agreeable not only to Scripture in general, but also to the particular History of the Flood left us by *Moses*; I say, more agreeable to it than any other Hypothesis that hath yet been propos'd. This may be made good in a few words. For in *Moses*'s History of the Deluge there are two principal points, The extent of the Deluge, and the Causes of it; and in both these we do fully agree with that sacred Author. *As to the extent of it*, He makes the Deluge universal; *All the high hills under the whole heaven were cover'd, fifteen cubits upwards*; We also make it universal, over the face of the whole Earth; and in such a manner as must needs raise the waters above the top of the highest Hills every where. As *to the causes of it*, *Moses* makes them to be the disruption of the *Abyss*, and the *Rains*; and no more; and in this also we exactly agree with him; we know no other causes, nor pretend to any other but those two. Distinguishing therefore *Moses* his narration as to the substance and circumstances of it, it must be allowed that these two points make the substance of it, and that an Hypothesis that differs from it in either of these two, differs from it more than Ours; which, at the worst, can but differ in matter of circumstance. Now seeing the great difficulty about the Deluge is the quantity of Water required for it, there have been two explications proposed, besides ours, to remove or satisfie this difficulty; One whereof makes the Deluge not to have been universal, or to have reacht only *Judea* and some neighbouring Countries; and therefore less water would suffice; The other owning the Deluge to be universal, supplies it self with Water from the Divine Omnipotenty, and says *new* Waters were created then for the nonce, and again annihilated when the Deluge was to cease. Both these explications you see, (and I know no more of note that are not obnoxious to the same exceptions) differ from *Moses* in the substance, or in one of the two substantial points, and consequently more than ours doth. The first changeth the Flood into a kind of national inundation, and the second assigns other causes of it than *Moses* had assigned. And as they both differ apparently from the Mosaical History, so you may see them refuted upon other grounds also, in the third Chapter of the First Book of the Theory.

This may be sufficient as to the History of the Flood by *Moses*. But possibly it may be said the principal objection will arise from *Moses* his Six-days Creation in the first Chapter of *Genesis*: where another sort of Earth, than what we have form'd from the Chaos, is represented to us; namely, a Terraqueous Globe, such as our Earth is at pre-

present. 'Tis indeed very apparent, that *Moses* hath accommodated his Six-days Creation to the present form of the Earth, or to that which was before the eyes of the people when he writ. But it is a great question whether that was ever intended for a true Physical account of the origine of the Earth: or whether *Moses* did either Philosophize or Astronomize in that description. The ancient Fathers, when they answer the Heathens, and the adversaries of Christianity, do generally deny it; as I am ready to make good upon another occasion. And the thing it self bears in it evident marks of an accommodation and condescention to the vulgar notions concerning the form of the World. Those that think otherwise, and would make it literally and physically true in all the parts of it, I desire them, without entring upon the strict merits of the cause, to determine these Preliminaries. First, whether the whole universe rise from a Terrestrial Chaos. Secondly, what Systeme of the World this Six-days Creation proceeds upon: whether it supposes the Earth, or the Sun, for the Center. Thirdly, Whether the Sun and Fixt Stars are of a later date, and a later birth, than this Globe of Earth. And lastly, Where is the Region of the Super-celestial Waters. When they have determin'd these Fundamentals, we will proceed to other observations upon the Six-days work, which will further assure us, that 'tis a narration suited to the capacity of the people, and not to the strict and physical nature of things. Besides, we are to remember, that *Moses* must be so interpreted in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, as not to interfere with himself in other parts of his History; nor to interfere with S. *Peter*, or the Prophet *David*, or any other Sacred Authors, when they treat of the same matter. Nor lastly, so, as to be repugnant to clear and uncontested Science. For, in things that concern the natural World, that must always be consulted.

With these precautions, let them try if they can reduce that narrative of the Origine of the World, to physical truth; so as to be consistent, both with Nature, and with Divine Revelation every where. It is easily reconcileable to both, if we suppose it writ in a Vulgar style, and to the conceptions of the People: And we cannot deny that a Vulgar style is often made use of in the holy Writings. How freely and unconcernedly does Scripture speak of God Almighty, according to the opinions of the vulgar? of his *passions*, *local motions*, *parts and members of his body*. Which all are things that do not belong, or are not compatible with the Divine Nature, according to truth and Science. And if this liberty be taken, as to God himself, much more may it be taken as to his works. And accordingly we see, what motion the Scripture gives to the Sun: what figure to the Earth: what figure to the Heavens: All according to the appearance of sence and popular credulity; without any remorse for having transgressed the rules of intellectual truth.

This vulgar style of Scripture in describing the natures of things, hath been often mistaken for the real sence, and so become a stumbling-block in the way of truth. Thus the *Anthropomorphites* of old contended for the humane shape of God, from the Letter of Scripture; and brought many expres Texts for their purpose: but found

reason

reason at length, got the upper hand of Literal authority. Then, several of the Christian Fathers contended, that there were no *Antipodes*: and made that doctrine irreconcileable to Scripture. But this also, after a while, went off, and yielded to reason and experience. Then, the Motion of the Earth must by no means be allow'd, as being contrary to Scripture: for so it is indeed, according to the Letter and Vulgar style. But all intelligent Persons see thorough this Argument, and depend upon it no more in this case, than in the former. Lastly, The original of the Earth from a Chaos, drawn according to the rules of Physiology, will not be admitted: because it does not agree with the Scheme of the Six-days Creation. But why may not this be writ in a Vulgar style, as well as the rest? Certainly there can be nothing more like a Vulgar style, than to set God to *work by the day*, and in Six-days to finish his task: as he is there represented. We may therefore probably hope that all these disguises of truth will at length fall off, and that we shall see God and his Works in a pure and naked Light.

Thus I have finish'd what I had to say in confirmation of this Theory from Scripture. I mean of the former part of it, which depends chiefly upon the Deluge, and the Ante-diluvian Earth. When you have collated the places of Scripture, on either side, and laid them in the balance, to be weigh'd one against another; If you do but find them equal, or near to an equal poise, you know in whether Scale the Natural Reasons are to be laid: and of what weight they ought to be in an argument of this kind. There is a great difference betwixt Scripture with Philosophy on its side, and Scripture with Philosophy against it: when the question is concerning the Natural World. And this is our Case: which I leave now to the consideration of the unprejudic'd Reader: and proceed to the Proof of the Second Part of the Theory.

THE later Part consists of the *Conflagration of the World*, and the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. And seeing there is no dispute concerning the former of these two, our task will now lie in a little compass. Being only this, To prove that there will be New Heavens, and a New Earth, after the Conflagration. This, to my mind, is sufficiently done already, in the first, second and third Chapters of the *4th.* Book, both from Scripture and Antiquity, whether Sacred or Prophane: and therefore, at present, we will only make a short and easie review of Scripture-Testimonies, with design chiefly to obviate and disappoint the Evasions of such, as would beat down solid Texts into thin Metaphors and Allegories.

The

The Testimonies of Scripture concerning the *Renovation of the World*, are either expres, or implicit. Those I call expres, that mention the New Heavens and New Earth: And those implicit that signifie the same thing, but not in expres terms. So when our Saviour speaks of a *Palingenesia*, or Regeneration, (*Matt.* 19. 28, 29.) Or S. *Peter* of an *Apocatastasis* or Restitution, (*Act.* 3. 21.) These being words us'd by all Authors, Prophane or Ecclesiastical, for the *Renovation* of the World, ought, in reason, to be interpreted in the same sence in the Holy Writings. And in like manner, when S. *Paul* speaks of his *Future Esh*, or an *habitable World to come*, Hebr. 2. 5. or of a *Redemption* or liberation of the present state of Nature, *Rom.* 8. 21, 22. These leads again, in other terms, to the same *Renovation* of the World. But there are also some places of Scripture, that let the *New Heavens* and *New Earth* in such a full and open view, that we must shut our eyes not to see them. S. *John* says, he saw them, and observ'd the frm of the New Earth, *Apoc.* 21. 1. The Seer *Isaiah* spoke of them in expres words, many hundred years before. And S. *Peter* mark the time when they are to be introduc'd, namely, after the Conflagration, or after the Dissolution of the present Heavens and Esh: 2 *Pet.* 3. 12, 13.

ἡ εἰκουμένη ἡ μέλλουσα.

Isa. 65. 17.

These last Texts of Scripture, being so expres, there is but one way left to elude the force of them; and that is, by turning the *Renovation of the World* into an Allegory: and making the New Heavens and New Earth to be Allegorical Heavens and Earth, not real and materal, as ours are. This is a bold attempt of some modern Authors, who chuse rather to strain the Word of God, than their own Notions. There are Allegories, no doubt, in Scripture, but we are not to allegorize Scripture without some warrant: either from an Apostolical Interpretation, or from the necessity of the matter: and I do not know how they can pretend to either of these, in this case. However, That they may have all fair play, we will lay aside, at present, all the other Texts of Scripture, and confine our selves wholly to S. *Peter's* words: to see and examine whether they are, or can be turn'd into an Allegory, according to the best rules of Interpretation.

S. *Peter's* words are these: *Seeing then all these things shall be dissolv'd, what manner of persons ought ye to be, in holy conversation and godliness? Looking for, and hasting the coming of the Day of God: wherein the Heavens being on fire shall be dissolv'd, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heat. NEVERTHELESS, we, according to his promise, look for New Heavens and a New Earth, wherein Righteousness shall dwell.* The Question is concerning this last Verse, *Whether the New Heavens and Earth* here promis'd, are to be real and material Heavens and Earth, or only figurative and allegorical. The words, you see, are clear: and the general rule of Interpretation is this, *That* we are not to recede from the letter, or the literal sence, unless there be a necessity from the subject matter; such a necessity, as makes a literal Interpretation absurd. But where is that necessity in this Case? Cannot God make New Heavens and a New Earth, as easily as he made the Old ones: Is his strength decay'd since that

2 *Pet.* 3. 11, 12, 13.

Time,

Time, or is Matter grown more disobedient? Ny, does not Nature offer her self voluntarily to raise a New World from the Second Chaos, as well as from the First: and, under the conduct of Providence, to make it as convenient an habitation as the Primæval Earth? Therefore no necessity can be pretended of leaving the literal sence, upon an incapacity of the subject matter.

The Second Rule to determine an Interpretation to be Literal or Allegorical, is, The use of the same words or phrase in the Context, and the signification of them there. Let's then examine our case according to this rule. S. *Peter* had us'd the same praise of *Heavens and Earth* twice before in the same Chapter. The *Old Heavens and Earth, ver.* 5. The *Present Heavens and Earth, ver.* 7. and now he uses it again, *ver.* 13. The *New Heavens and Earth.* Have we not then reason to suppose, that he takes it here in the same sence, that he had done twice before, for real and material Heavens and Earth? There is no mark set of a new signification, nor why we should alter the sence of the words. That he us'd them always before for the material Heavens and Earth, I think none will question; and therefore, unless they can give us a sufficient reason, why we should change the signification of the words, we are bound, by this second rule also, to understand them in a literal sence.

Lastly, The very form of the Words, and the manner of their dependance upon the Context, leads us to a literal sence, and to material Heavens and Earth. *NEVERTHELESS*, says he Apostle, *we expect New Heavens, &c.* Why *Nevertheless!* that is, no withstanding the dissolution of the present Heavens and Earth. The Apostle foresaw, what he had said, might raise a doubt in their minds, whether all things would not be at an end. Nothing more of Heavens and Earth, or of any habitable World, after the Conflagration; and to obviate this, he tells them, *Notwithstanding* that wonderful desolation that I have describ'd, we do, according to God's promises, expect New Heavens and a New Earth, to be an Habitation for the Righteous.

You see then the New Heavens and New Earth, which the Apostle speaks of, are substituted in the place of those that were destroy'd at the Conflagration; and would you substitute Allegorical Heavens and Earth in the place of Material? A shadow for a substance? What an Equivocation would it be in the Apostle, when the doubt was about the material Heavens and Earth, to make an answer about Allegorical. Lastly, The Timeing of the thing determines the sence. When shall this New World appear? after the Conflagration, the Apostle says: Therefore it cannot be understood of any Moral Renovation, to be made at, or in the times of the Gospel, as these Allegorists pretend. We must therefore, upon all accounts, conclude, that the Apostle intended a literal sence: real and material Heavens, to succeed these after the Conflagration; which was the thing to be prov'd. And I know not what Bars the Spirit of God can set, to keep us within the compass of a Literal Sence, if these be not sufficient.

Thus much for the Explication of S. *Peter*'s Doctrine, concerning the New Heavens and New Earth: which secures the Second Part of

of our Theory. For the Theory stands upon two Pillars, or two Pedestals, The Ante-diluvian Earth and the Future Earth: or, in S. *Peter*'s phrase, The Old Heavens and Earth, and the New Heavens and Earth. And it cannot be shaken, so long as these two continue firm and immoveable. We might now put an end to this Review, but it may be expected possibly that we should say something concerning the *Millennium*; which we have, contrary to the general Sentiment of the Modern *Millenaries*, plac'd in the *Future* Earth. Our Opinion hath this advantage above others, that, all fanatical pretensions to power and empire in this World, are, by these means, blown away, as chaff before the wind. Princes need not fear to be dethron'd, to make way to the Saints: nor Governments unhing'd, that They may rule the World with a rod of Iron. These are the effects of a wild Enthusiasm; seeing the very state which they aim at, is not to be upon this Earth.

But that our sence may not be mistaken or misapprehended in this particular, as if we thought the Christian Church would never, upon this Earth, be in a better and happier posture than it is in at present; We must distinguish betwixt a *melioration* of the World, if you will allow that word, and a *Millennium*. We do not deny a reformation and improvement of the Church, both as to Peace, Purity, and Piety. That knowledge may increase, mens minds be enlarg'd, and Christian Religion better understood: That the power of Antichrist shall be diminish'd, Persecution cease, Liberty of Conscience allow'd, amongst the Reformed: and a greater union and harmony establish'd. That Princes will mind the publick good, more than they do now; and be themselves better examples of Vertue and true Piety. All this may be, and I hope will be, e're long. But the *Apocalyptical Millennium*, or the *New Jerusalem*, is still another matter. It differs not in degree only from the present state, but is a new order of things: both in the Moral World and in the Natural; and that cannot be till we come into the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. Suppose what Reformation you can in this World, there will still remain many things inconsistent with the true Millennial state. Antichrist, tho' weaken'd, will not be finally destroy'd till the coming of our Saviour, nor Satan bound. And there will be always Poverty, Wars, Diseases, Knaves and Hypocrites, in this World: which are not consistent with the *New Jerusalem*, as S. *John* describes it. *Apoc.* 21. 2, 3, 4, *&c.*

You see now what our notion is of the Millennium, as we deny this Earth to be the Seat of it. 'Tis the state that succeeds the first Resurrection, when Satan is lockt up in the bottomless pit. The state when the Martyrs are to return into Life, and wherein they are to have the first lot and chief share. A state which is to last a thousand years. *And Blessed and Holy is he, that hath a part in it: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be Priests of God and Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.* If you would see more particular reasons of our judgment in this case, why such a Millennium is not to be expected in this World: they are set down in the 8*th.* Chapt. of the 4*th.* Book, and we do not think it necessary that they should be here repeated.

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As to that diſſertation that follows the Millennium, and reaches to the Conſummation of all things, ſeeing it is but problematical, we leave it to ſtand or fall by the evidence already given. And ſhould be very glad to ſee the conjectures of others, more learned, in Speculations ſo abſtruſe and remote from common knowledge. They cannot ſurely be thought unworthy or unfit for our Meditations, ſeeing they are ſuggeſted to us by Scripture it ſelf. And to what end were they propos'd to us there, if it was not intended that they ſhould be underſtood, ſooner or later?

I have done with this Review: and ſhall only add one or two reflections upon the whole diſcourſe, and ſo conclude. You have ſeen the ſtate of the Theory of the Earth, as to the *Matter*, *Form*, and *Proofs* of it: both Natural and Sacred. If any one will ſubſtitute a better in its place, I ſhall think my ſelf more obliged to him, than if he had ſhew'd me the Quadrature of the Circle. But it is not enough to pick quarrels here and there: that may be done by any writing, eſpecially when it is of ſo great extent and comprehenſion. They muſt build up, as well as pull down, and give us another Theory inſtead of this, fitted to the ſame Natural Hiſtory of the Earth, according as it is ſet down in Scripture: and then let the World take their choice. He that cuts down a Tree, is bound in reaſon to plant two, becauſe there is an hazard in their growth and thriving.

Then as to thoſe that are ſuch rigorous Scripturiſts, as to require plainly demonſtrative and irreſiſtible Texts for every thing they entertain or believe; They would do well to reflect and conſider, whether, for every article in the three Creeds (which have no ſupport from natural reaſon) they can bring ſuch Texts of Scripture as they require of others: or a fairer and juſter evidence, all things conſider'd, than we have done for the ſubſtance of this Theory. We have not indeed ſaid all that might be ſaid, as to Antiquity: that making no part in this Review, and being capable ſtill of great additions. But as to Scripture and Reaſon I have no more to add. Thoſe that are not ſatisfied with the proofs already produc'd upon theſe two heads, are under a fate, good or bad, which is not in my power to overcome.

F I N I S.

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